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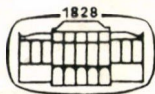
I. BORZSÁK, J. HARMATTA, GY. NÉMETH, Á. SZABÓ,
S. SZÁDECZKY-KARDOSS, CS. TÖTTÖSSY

REDIGIT

ZS. RITOÓK

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AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST
1998

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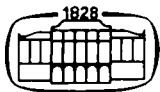
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IOHANNI HARMATTA

DE STUDIIS ANTIQUITATIS
ET ORIENTALIS ET GRAECO-ROMANAE
COLENDIS DOCENDIS AUGENDIS
OPTIME MERITO
OCTOGENARIO

AMICI
COLLEGAE
DISCIPULI

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA

TAMÁS ADAMIK

DIE ZWEITE BOTSCHAFT DER *AENEIS*

1. Vor einigen Jahren habe ich in zwei Aufsätzen die erste Botschaft der *Aeneis* dargelegt. In dem ersten wollte ich wahrscheinlich machen, daß Vergil in dem ersten Drittel seines Epos in den Gestalten von Aeneas und Dido zwei Welten zusammenstoßen läßt: die der stoischen und gemeinschaftlichen Werte einerseits und die der epikureischen und individuellen andererseits¹. Nach der Absicht des Dichters mußte die stoische Seite aus diesem Konflikt siegreich hervorgehen. Ferner habe ich in diesem Aufsatz darauf hingewiesen, daß die Hauptpersonen der *Aeneis* – Aeneas, Dido, Turnus – den Leser an die Hauptpersonen von Vergils Epoche – an Augustus, Kleopatra, Antonius – erinnern. In dem zweiten Aufsatz wollte ich zeigen, daß die „Hauptpersonen“ in dem zweiten Drittel der *Aeneis* Aeneas und Rom sind². Ferner habe ich betont, daß Vergil Aeneas der Verantwortung für Didos Tod enthebt, und er die ganze Struktur der Unterwelt in den Dienst der Heldenschau stellt. Aus beiden Aufsätzen habe ich den Schluß gezogen: Der Dichter wollte in seinem Epos einerseits das römische Volk und seine Institutionen, andererseits dessen Stammvater, Aeneas, beziehungsweise Octavianus Augustus und seine Reformen hochpreisen. Diese Interpretation nenne ich die erste Botschaft der *Aeneis*. Über diese erste Botschaft der *Aeneis* hat man in der Fachliteratur viel geschrieben³, und die reiche Fachliteratur zeigt, daß diese Interpretation naheliegend und in der Tendenz vom Dichter wohl so gewollt war. Wegen dieser klar hervortretenden ersten Botschaft hat – meiner Meinung nach – Octavianus Augustus verboten, die Handschrift der *Aeneis* gegen Vergils letzten Willen zu verbrennen. Er hat schnell erkannt, daß das Epos

¹ T. ADAMIK: The Function of Dido's Figure in the Aeneis. AUB Sectio Classica 9–10, 1982–1985, 11–21.

² T. ADAMIK: Die Struktur und die Funktion des sechsten Buches der *Aeneis*. Acta Ant. Hung. 35, 1994, 107–115.

³ Zum Beispiel: BR. OTIS: Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry. Oxford 1964; V. PÖSCHL: Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der Äneis. Dritte, überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin, New York 1977.

seines Dichters für das römische Volk und für sich selbst und seine Politik nützlich und zweckdienlich sein würde⁴.

Die erste Botschaft der *Aeneis* scheint mir der Botschaft des Werkes des Velleius Paterculus ähnlich zu sein: Was Octavianus Caesar tut, ist immer gut. Was schlecht und grausam ist, machen andere Leute. Zum Beispiel, schreibt Velleius Paterculus über die Proskriptionen der Triumviren wie folgt: *repugnante Caesare sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum Sullani exempli malum, proscriptio* (2, 66). Daß heißt, Velleius Paterculus will die Verantwortung für die Grausamkeiten der Proskriptionen von Octavianus Augustus auf die beiden anderen abschieben. Dieses Urteil von Velleius Paterculus entspricht der historischen Wahrheit nicht. Suetonius, der Octavianus Augustus im allgemeinen positiv beurteilt, schildert ihn als schonungslosen und grausamen *triumvir*: *solus magno opere contendit ne cui parceretur, proscripsitque etiam C. Toranium tutorem suum, eundem collegam patris sui Octavi in aedilitate* (27, 1). In ähnliches Licht stellt Tacitus ihn: *proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum ne ipsis quidem, qui fecere, laudatas* (Ann. 1, 10, 2). Auch die moderne Forschung bestreitet nicht, daß die Proskriptionen eine düstere Facette der Persönlichkeit Oktavians darstellen. D. Kienast schreibt wie folgt: „Der Sicherung der persönlichen Machtstellung der Dreimänner dienten auch die schon in der Konferenz bei Bologna beschlossenen Proskriptionen, denen insgesamt 300 Senatoren und 2000 Ritter zum Opfer gefallen sein sollen und von denen auch Cicero nicht verschont wurde. Dieser blutige Terror sollte für alle Zeiten einen düsteren Schatten auf das Bild des Caesar Augustus werfen ... Mochten dem Oktavian viele Senatoren die Rache für seinen Adoptivvater noch als ein Gebot der *pietas* verzeihen, seine Teilnahme an den Proskriptionen konnten sie nur als Verrat empfinden“⁵.

Nun, der junge Vergil hat nicht durch die Proskriptionen, sondern durch die *divisio agrorum* gelitten, und hat schreckliche Jahre erlebt, bis er dann unter der Protektion von Octavianus Augustus sein Leben in Ruhe verbringen konnte. Als ein Dichter von empfindlicher Natur wird er die Tragödien seiner Jugend schrecklich miterlebt haben. In seinen Eklogen und Georgica finden wir Spuren dieser negativen Erlebnisse, aber trotz alledem rühmt er Octavianus Augustus. Er macht dasselbe in seiner *Aeneis*: wo er dem Namen nach Octavianus Augustus erwähnt, rühmt er ihn und seine Reformen. Dennoch mußte er um die grausamen Taten des Augustus wissen; ehrlich und unverdorben, wie er von Natur war, mußte er unbewußt sein Mißfallen irgendwie zum Ausdruck bringen.

In meinem schon erwähnten Aufsatz *The Function of Dido's Figure in the Aeneis* habe ich den Schluß gezogen: Aeneas ist Symbol oder Prototyp von Augustus. D. Kienast schreibt dasselbe: „Wie sich im Schicksal des Aeneas die ganze römische Geschichte symbolhaft verkörpert, der Krieg um Italien ebenso angedeutet wird wie die Auseinandersetzung mit Karthago, so ist Aeneas auch zugleich Ahnherr und Prototyp des Augustus“⁶. Wenn diese Folgerung wahr ist, muß Aeneas nicht nur

⁴ Und es war für diese Zwecke wirklich nützlich; vgl. H. A. GÄRTNER: *Imperium Romanum*. RAC 17, 1996, 1147–1148.

⁵ D. KIENAST: *Augustus*. Darmstadt 1982, 34.

⁶ D. KIENAST: (N. 5) 243.

die Tugenden, sonder auch die Fehler von Augustus verkörpern. So hat Vergil dichterisch die Möglichkeit erschaffen, seinen innigsten Empfindungen indirekt Ausdruck geben zu können, so auch in Verbindung mit Octavianus Augustus.

Also wenn wir solche Äußerungen, Deutungen, Angaben, oder Zeichen zwischen den Zeilen finden können, die der obenerwähnten ersten Botschaft der *Aeneis* widersprechen, nennen wir sie *die zweite Botschaft der Aeneis*. Die Möglichkeit der Anwendung dieser Methode gibt Vergil selbst in die Hände der Forscher, als er über Sibyllas Worte schreibt: *obscuris vera involvens* (6, 100), denn ein wahrer Dichter ist immer Sibylla, und Vergil ist ein wahrer Dichter, der ein Wissender aller Geheimnisse ist. Die Diktatur lehrt die Dichter, im Schreiben komplex und nuanciert zu sein⁷.

2. Natürlich ist das Bemühen, diese zweite Botschaft der *Aeneis* zu suchen, nicht neu. Schon in der Antike hat man in der Figur des Aeneas Probleme gefunden, und noch mehr in dem 20. Jahrhundert, so in der Belletristik – zum Beispiel Ovid⁸, beziehungsweise Hermann Broch⁹ –, wie auch in der literarischen Kritik – zum Beispiel Laktanz¹⁰, beziehungsweise Michael C. J. Putnam. Die Ergebnisse dieser Richtung sind nicht immer einwandfrei. Putnam betont zum Beispiel, es wäre besser gewesen, Turnus am Ende des Epos nicht zu töten: „It would be the most appropriate as well as most impressive time to put away hatred, private against Turnus, public against all Italic opposition.“¹¹ Laut Putnam widerspricht die Tötung des Turnus dem Prinzip der Regierung *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (6, 853), das Anchises in der Unterwelt seinem Sohn, Aeneas mitteilt. Ich kann mit dieser Interpretation nicht einverstanden sein. Erstens, dramaturgisch muß Turnus in der *Aeneis* sterben so, wie Hektor in der *Ilias* sterben mußte. Zweitens, Turnus war in der zweiten Hälfte der *Aeneis* bis zum Ende *superbus*, so mußte Aeneas ihn *debellare*¹². Drittens, als Aeneas mit Evander einen Bund schloß, und der alte König seinen Sohn, Pallas als Anführer einer Truppe Aeneas übergab, war die Rache für seinen eventuellen Tod für Aeneas ein *officium foederis* gewesen. Daraus folgt, daß es eine Naivität gewesen wäre, die ein Dichter wie Vergil sich nicht erlauben konnte, Turnus am Ende des Epos im Leben zu lassen. Doch zeugt von der dichterischen und menschlichen Größe des Dichters, daß er die Frage des Erbarmens aufwirft. Er wußte wohl, daß Erbarmen in der römischen Politik unmöglich war, doch hat er unmißverständlich ausgedrückt: wie schön es wäre, wenn das Erbarmen auch in der Politik möglich wäre.

3. Im folgendem werde ich einige Äußerungen Vergils über Aeneas interpretieren, die meiner Meinung nach im Gegensatz zu Aeneas Lobpreisung stehen.

Als Aeneas sich der Venus vorstellt, sagt er über sich selbst: *Sum pius Aeneas* (1, 378). Im allgemeinen zitieren die Kommentare die *Odyssee* (9, 19–20), in der

⁷ Vg. J. P. SULLIVAN: Literature, Patronage, and Politics: from Nero to Nerva. In: Mnemai. Ed. H. J. EVJEN. Chico, Cal. 1987. 151.

⁸ Heroides 7: *Dido Aeneae*.

⁹ H. BROCH: Der Tod des Vergils. Wien 1945.

¹⁰ Div. inst. 5, 10, 1–11.

¹¹ M. C. J. PUTNAM: Virgil's Aeneid. Chapel Hill and London 1995, 18.

¹² Vgl. W. A. CAMPS: An introduction to Virgil's Aeneid. Oxford 1969, 31–40; Br. OTIS: (N. 3) 380–381; V. PÖSCHL: (N. 3) 168; K. GALINSKY: The anger of Aeneas. AJPh 109, 1988, 321–348.

Odysseus sich prahlerisch vorstellt, und sagen, daß es „nicht Prahlerci, sondern Nativität des selbstbewußten Heldentums“¹³ ist. Dies trifft zu, was die Heldenzeit betrifft. Aber zur Zeit von Vergil, als jeder Leser seines Epos eine gründliche rhetorische Ausbildung besaß, hatte dieses Selbstlob eine negative Konnotation. Schon in der *Rhetorica ad Herennium* finden wir wie folgt: *Deminutio est, cum aliquid inesse in nobis aut in iis, quos defendimus, aut natura aut fortuna aut industria dicemus egregium, quod, ne qua significetur adrogans ostentatio, deminuitur et adtenuatur oratione* (4, 38, 50). Wie wahr diese Behauptung ist, können wir mit Ciceros Beispiel illustrieren. Quintilian bemerkt bezüglich des Dekorum (*decorum, aptum*), daß Cicero sich viele Feinde gemacht hatte, weil er sich in seinen Reden oft rühmte: *reprehensus est in hac parte non mediocriter Cicero* (Inst. 11, 1, 17–18). Vergil mußte es wissen, doch ließ er Aeneas sagen: *Sum pius Aeneas*.¹⁴

Es ist erwähnenswert, daß Dido Aeneas' *pietas* in Frage stellt: *arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit impius* (4, 495–6). Ovid macht dasselbe. In Didos Brief an Aeneas ist es klar ausgedrückt, daß Aeneas von Anfang an Dido betrogen hat. In der Grotte haben nicht die Nymphen, sondern die Eumeniden geheult: *Audieram vocem; nymphas ululasse putavi; Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis* (Her. 7, 25–26).¹⁵ Es ist bezeichnend, daß die Eumeniden im 6. Buch der *Aeneis*, in der Unterwelt an verschiedenen Plätzen vorkommen (280, 555, 571, 605), und J. Bollók hält es für unlogisch.¹⁶ In der Poesie ist nichts unlogisch. Meiner Meinung nach wollte der Dichter betonen, daß die Strafe für *impietas* überall erfolgen wird, darum verteilte er die Eumeniden auf mehrere Plätze in der Unterwelt.

Vergil verurteilt nicht nur Didos Liebe (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam* 4, 173), sondern auch Aeneas' Liebe: er läßt *Fama* über Didos und Aeneas' Liebe sprechen: *turpique cupidine captos* (4, 194). Das Wort *captos* steht in Mehrzahl in Maskulinum, und es bezieht sich nicht nur auf Dido, sondern auch auf Aeneas. Auch Iuppiter verurteilt ihre frevelhafte Liebe, als er sagt: *oblitos famae melioris amantis* (4, 221). Wenn die Leser der *Aeneis* Aeneas dem Augustus gleichsetzten, konnten sie an die Liebesaffäre von Augustus denken. Laut Suetonius hat er seine ersten drei Frauen verlassen, und *statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter* (Aug. 62, 1–2). Er hat aus politischen Gründen verheiratete Frauen verführt: *adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque mulieres exquireret* (69). Und noch mehr. Als Dido Aeneas verflucht, sagt sie unter anderem: *videatque indigna suorum funera* (4, 617–618). Dieser Fluch lastete auf Octavianus Augustus. Er hat Liebe mit Politik verwechselt, darum verursachte er viele Tragödien in seiner eigenen Familie. Mit der Relegation hat er letztlich seine eigene Tochter und zwei Enkelkinder – Iulia und Agrippa – getötet. Es ist erwähnenswert, daß

¹³ K. KAPPES, M. FICKELSCHERER: Vergil, Aeneide 1. Leipzig und Berlin 1904, 24; F. PLESSIS, P. LEJAY: Oeuvres de Virgile. Paris 1918, 263–264.

¹⁴ Vgl. G. STÉGEN: Le Livre I de l'Énéide. Namur 1975, 168–169; R. D. WILLIAMS: The Aeneid of Virgil. Books 1–6. Glasgow 1972, 189.

¹⁵ Vgl. I. K. HORVÁTH: Impius Aeneas. Acta Ant. Hung. 6, 1958, 391–392.

¹⁶ Vgl. T. ADAMIK, B. M. RÉVÉSZ, J. BOLLÓK: Vergilius. Aeneis I–VI. Budapest 1988, 310.

Ovid den zitierten Fluch von Dido – *videatque indigna suorum funera* – nicht zu wiederholen wagte, weil man zu seiner Zeit schon ahnen konnte, daß dieser Fluch von Dido an Octavianus Augustus in Erfüllung gehen würde.

Der Wortgebrauch gibt dem Dichter die Möglichkeit, seine Meinung über jemanden indirekt auszusprechen. Vergil gebraucht manchmal dasselbe Wort in verschiedenem Kontext, somit gibt das Wort einem anderen Kontext seine Konnotation weiter. Im 7. Buch verwendet König Latinus das Wort *tyrannus* bezüglich Aeneas: *pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni* (266), und im 12. Buch nennt Turnus Aeneas *tyrannus*: *Phrygio mea dicta tyranno haud placitura refer* (12, 75–76). In den Kommentaren liest man: „im griechischen Sinn – *regis*, des Aeneas“¹⁷ und „*tyrann* steht hier, 342 und X 448 ohne gehässigen Nebengriff“¹⁸, und man zitiert Servius: *Graece dixit, id est regis, nam apud eos tyranni et regis nulla discretio est*. Das Wort *tyrannus* kann eine negative Konnotation in der *Aeneis* haben, weil es in ihr Kontexte gibt, in denen Vergil das Wort *tyrannus* in negativem Sinn verwendet, zum Beispiel in Verbindung mit dem grausamen Pygmalion: *quibus aut odium crudele tyranni aut metus acer erat* (1, 361–362), mit Iarbas: *te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni odere* (4, 320) und mit Mezentius: *Quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni effera* (8, 483–484).

Vergil hat seine Leser beirrt, als er auch Latinus *tyrannus* (*Laurentis tecta tyranni* 7, 342) nannte, der in Wirklichkeit kein *tyrannus* war. Aber die Wahrheit ist, daß das Wort *tyrannus* in der Epoche von Augustus unabhängig von dem Kontext nur negativ gebraucht wurde. Diese Behauptung läßt sich mit den Deklamationen belegen, die Seneca der Ältere aus der Zeit der Augustus zusammengestellt hat. Unter diesen Deklamationen habe ich sieben Stücke gefunden, deren Haupthema der *tyrannus* ist: Contr. 1, 7; 2, 5, 13; 3, 6; 5, 8; 7, 6, 21; 9, 4, 27. Die Figur des *tyrannus* ist immer negativ, sogar grausam und furchtbar, zum Beispiel: *Qui patrem pulsaverit manus ei praecidantur. Tyrannus patrem in arcem cum duobus filiis arcessiit; imperavit adolescentibus ut patrem caederent. Alter ex his praecipitavit se, alter cecidit. Postea in amicitiam tyranni receptus occiso tyranno praemium accepit. Petuntur manus eius; pater defendit* (Contr. 9, 4, 27). Aus dieser Deklamation geht klar hervor, daß man den *tyrannus* töten soll und der *tyrannicida* ein *praemium* dafür bekommt. Aufgrund der Schultradition kann man verstehen, wie Tacitus, Seneca und Suetonius die Figur und das *ingenium* des *tyrannus* auf die „schlechten“ römischen Kaiser übertragen konnten.

Nun, die Tatsache, daß Vergil Aeneas *tyrannus* nannte, konnte auch auf Octavianus Augustus einen Schatten werfen. Wenn wir mit dieser Möglichkeit rechnen, bekommen wir einen Schlüssel, der die Tür zur Lösung anderer Probleme öffnen kann. In der Karthago-Szene gibt es eine Zeile, die viele *Aeneis*-Ausgaben weglassen. Als der Dichter beschreibt, wie die Karthager ihre neue Stadt bauen, schaltet er diese Zeile ein:

iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum (1, 426, Mynors).

¹⁷ K. KAPPES: *Aeneis VII–IX*. Leipzig 1989, 15.

¹⁸ TH. LADEWIG, C. SCHAPER: *Vergils Gedichte*. Buch VII–XII der Äneis. Berlin 1904, 16.

Einige Verleger und die Kommentatoren sagen, daß diese Zeile in den Kontext nicht hineinpaßt. Kappes schreibt wie folgt: „Einschießel aus späterer Zeit, das sachlich mit dem Wesen des patriarchalischen Königtums nicht im Einklang steht (vgl. v. 509), formal die einander entsprechenden Subjekte *pars – alii* unterbricht.“¹⁹ Aber die besten Handschriften enthalten diese Zeile, und andere Verleger und Kommentatoren verteidigen sie.²⁰ Es ist wahr, daß der Ausdruck *sanctum senatum* im Karthager Kontext nicht richtig ist, aber er kann in römischem Kontext tiefsinnig sein. Doch konnte Vergil den römischen *senatus* nicht *sanctus* (unverletzlich, unantastbar) nennen, weil die zeitgenössischen Leser sofort an Octavianus Augustus' Maßnahmen gegen den römischen *senatus* gedacht hätten. Suetonius berichtet darüber, wie er die Zusammensetzung des *senatus* verändert hat: *prima ipsorum arbitratu, quo vir virum legit, secunda suo et Agrippae; quo tempore existimatur lorica sub veste munitus ferroque cinctus praesedis decem valentissimis senatorii ordinis amicis sellam suam circumstantibus. Cordus Cremutius ne admissum quidem tunc quemquam senatorum nisi solum et praetemptato sinu* (Aug. 35, 1–2).

Augustus selbst sagt, daß er dreimal eine Revision des *senatus* durchgeführt hat (RG 8,2). Die erste Revision war im Jahre 29 v. Chr., und er setzte 190 Senatoren ab. In der zweiten Revision reduzierte er die Zahl der Senatoren von 1000 zu 600. Die dritte *lectio* war im Jahre 4 n. Ch., als er drei Senatoren des Amts enthoben hat. Aus Suetonius' Beschreibung geht klar hervor, wie peinlich diese Revisionen den Kreis der Senatoren berührten, und auch die Sicherheit von Augustus war gefährdet. Es war eine heikle politische Situation, weil alle Glieder des *senatus* fühlen mußten, daß die republikanische Freiheit zu Ende ging. J. M. Carter hat Recht, wenn er über Suetonius' Bericht schreibt: „The changes here described were consequent upon the establishment of *de facto* monarchy. The offering by each senator as he took his seat gave a solemn and ritual quality to meetings which helped to conceal the fact that they were no longer important.“²¹ In dieser unbequemen Lage konnte Vergil bezüglich des römischen Senats nicht direkt behaupten, daß er *sanctus* sei, aber über den Karthager Senat war es möglich es zu sagen, unabhängig von der Tatsache, daß seine Behauptung historisch irrelevant war. Doch hat der Dichter mit diesem Kunstgriff die Möglichkeit geschaffen, zu betonen, daß der römische Senat heilig und unverletzbar sei.

Endlich möchte ich kurz das viel diskutierte Problem von Aeneas' *furor* berühren. Nach Pallas Tod beginnt Aeneas mit Raserei und Wut die Rutuler und Latiner niederzumetzeln. Aus dieser grausamen Episode hebe ich zwei Szenen hervor: die Opferung der feindlichen Jünglinge bei der Bestattung von Pallas (10, 517–520 11, 81–84) und die Tötung von Maemonides, den priester von Apollo und Trivia (10, 537–542).

¹⁹ K. KAPPES: (N. 17) 27.

²⁰ R. G. AUSTIN: P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos, Liber primus. Oxford 1971, 148; G. STÉGEN: (N. 14) 194–195.

²¹ J. M. CARTER: Suetonius, Divus Augustus. Bristol 1982, 146.

Der wütende Aeneas nimmt vier Jünglinge gefangen, um sie am Scheiterhaufen des Pallas aufzuopfern. Es ist bedeutend, wie kurz Vergil diese Szene darstellt, als ob er sie hätte verbergen wollen:

*Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammis* (10, 517–520).

Doch im 11. Buch beschreibt er, wie Aeneas die gefangenen Jünglinge aufopfert:

*Vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis,
indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis
ipsos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi* (11, 81–84).

Antonie Wlosok hat in einem Aufsatz gezeigt, wie Laktanz die Opferung der Jünglinge für *impietas* gehalten hat: „Aus seiner Perspektive gehören die als impietas entlarvten Handlungen des Aeneas gerade zur pietas des Helden. Der Dichter steht für Laktanz somit voll hinter seinem Helden. In der gegenwärtigen Aeneaskritik dagegen besteht die Tendenz, Vergil von seinem Helden abzurücken und mit einer gezielten Destruktion des Helden durch den Autor zu rechnen.“²² In dieser Beziehung hat die gegenwärtige Aeneaskritik recht, weil es in der Heldenzeit herkömmlich war, lebendige Menschen aufzuopfern, aber zur Zeit des Augustus wäre solche Tat unethisch gewesen. Vergil wußte dies wohl, und doch hat er diese Opferungsszene geschildert, womit er die Grausamkeit des wütenden Aeneas hervorhebt. R. D. Williams hat in seinem Kommentar zum 10. Buch der Aeneis darauf hingewiesen²³, daß Octavius 300 vornehme Männer aus Perusia – laut Suetonius – aufgeopfert hat: *Perusia capta in plurimos animadvertit, orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens moriendum esse. scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos* (Aug. 15).

Es ist erwähnenswert, daß J. M. Carter den Wahrheitsgehalt dieser Aussage bezweifelt, weil eine solche Handlung unrömisch ist.²⁴ D. Kienast aber glaubt an die Authentizität dieser Überlieferung²⁵. Ob diese Geschichte wahr ist oder nicht, ist nicht wichtig. Es ist aber wichtig, daß Gerüchte darüber verbreitet waren, und Vergil und seine Mitwelt konnten von diesen Gerüchten wissen. Als seine zeitgenössischen Leser diese Opferszene in der *Aeneis* gelesen haben, konnten sie sich an Oktavians ähnliche Tat erinnern und sich darüber entsetzen.

Die Tötung des Priesters von Apollo konnten nicht nur die gebildeten, sondern auch die Durchschnittsrömer für *impietas* halten. Einen Priester zu töten, galt immer als Sakrileg. Aber wenn er Priester von Apollo war, war seine Tötung noch grausamer.

²² A. WLOSOK: Zwei frühchristlicher 'Vergilrezeption': Polemik (Lact., div. inst. 5, 10) und Usurpation (Or. Const. 19–21). In: Symposium Vergilianum. Szeged 1984, 13–14.

²³ R. D. WILLIAMS: (N. 14) 356.

²⁴ J. M. CARTER: (N. 21) 104. S. J. HARRISON ebenso: Vergil Aeneid 10. Oxford 1997, 202–203.

²⁵ D. KIENAST: (N. 5) 39.

Man könnte einwenden, daß Aeneas das nicht wahrgenommen habe. Aber die Beschreibung des Priesters, ist so klar, daß Aeneas wahrnehmen mußte, daß der Mann, den er angegriffen hat, ein Priester von Apollo war:

*Nec procul Hemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,
totus conluens veste atque insignibus albis.
Quem congressus agit campo, lapsumque superstans
immolat ingentique umbra tegit, arma Serestus
lecta refert umeris tibi, rex Gradive, tropaeum* (10, 537–542).

Die gebildeten Römer mußten aus dem 1. Buch der Iliade wissen, daß den Priester von Apollo zu beleidigen, eine Tat ist, die schwere Folgen hat. Agamemnon hatte die Tochter des Priesters von Apollo nicht zurückgegeben, und der Gott schickte dem Heer der Griechen eine Pestilenz, die solange dauerte, bis Agamemnon das Mädchen zurückerstattete. Der andere heikle Punkt ist, daß Apollo der beliebte und geehrte Gott von Oktavian Augustus war. Daß eben Aeneas, der Prototyp von Oktavian Augustus ihn beleidigt, muß eine spezielle Ursache haben. Aeneas tötet Apollos Priester und in demselben Buch betet er doch zu Iuppiter und Apollo: *Sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo* (10, 875). Vergil wollte fühlen lassen, daß es in dem speziellen Kultus des Apollo, den Oktavian Augustus offiziell fordert, Probleme gibt, weil er den Gott durch etwas, vielleicht durch den Tod von Gallus beleidigt hat. Mit der grotesken Tatsache, daß Serestus die Waffen des getöteten Priesters dem Gott Mars anbietet, spielt Vergil auf *Mars Ultor* an, und will indirekt zum Ausdruck bringen, es ist schon allzuviel an Rache, nun sollte Aussöhnung und Vergebung kommen. Es ist wohl möglich, daß Vergil den Plan von Oktavian Augustus, einen Tempel für *Mars Ultor* zu bauen, kannte, und er hielt diese Absicht des Augustus für beleidigend hinsichtlich der Opfer des Bürgerkrieges.²⁶

4. Aufgrund des oben Gesagten können wir mit der Behauptung des Reiseführers *Italia* nicht zufrieden sein: „I prati della campagna mantovana, immersi in un’atmosfera brumosa e dolce, sotto un cielo frequentemente velato, spiegano la malinconia dell’autore delle Bucoliche, delle Georgiche e di quella Eneide.“²⁷ Die wahre Ursache der Melancholie von Vergil besteht darin, daß er zu viel Grausamkeit, zu viel Schuld und Sünde gegen die Humanität gesehen und erlebt hat, und er wollte seinem Wunsch Ausdruck geben, daß diese Entsetzlichkeiten endlich aufhören. Nur auf Grund dieses Gedankens können wir seine fortwährenden Anflehnungen für Erbarmen und Erinnerung verstehen, mit denen er sein Epos bestreut. Diese Anflehnungen und Ermahnungen treten aus dem Kontext der *Aeneis* heraus und selbständigen sich, um Oktavian Augustus und andere Leser aufmerksam zu machen,

²⁶ Vgl. M. C. J. PUTNAM: (N. 11) 254: „In commenting on Aeneas’ expropriation of live victims for sacrifice, Bailey succinctly remarks: “The idea here is wholly un-Roman”. There is, of course, a precedent in the *Iliad* in the twelve Trojan youths whom Achilles seizes (as blood price, he says) and then slaughters at the funeral of Patroclus (21, 27–28). But even Homer’s narrator censures the deed (23, 175–176).“ T. J. LUCE: *Livy, Augustus, and the Forum Augustum*. In: *Between Republic and Empire*. Edited by K. A. RAAFLAUB, M. TOHER. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1990, 123–130.

²⁷ *Italia*. Michelin, Verona 1968, 137.

die Forderungen der Humanität einzuhalten; zum Beispiel: *O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum), o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem* (1, 198–199); *Quem das finem, rex magne, malorum* (1, 241); *Hic pietatis honos?* (1, 253); *cana Fides et Vesta Remo cum fratre Quirinus iura dabunt* (1, 292); *adflctis melius confidere rebus* (1, 452); *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*²⁸ (1, 462); *at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi* (1, 543); *si quid usquam iustitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti, praemia digna ferant* (1, 603–605); *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (1, 630); *quamquam animus meminisse horret* (2, 12); *infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis audierit* (2, 345–346); *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* (2, 354); *Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis* (2, 402); *Numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti* (2, 670); *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames* (3, 56–57); *Cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur* (3, 188); *Di ... placidi servate pios* (3, 265–266); *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito* (6, 95); *alma, precor, miserere* (6, 117); *Tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus, diva parens* (6, 546); *et nimium meminisse necesse est* (6, 514); *melioribus utere fatis* (6, 546); *Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos* (6, 620); *Nimium vobis Romana propago visa potens* (6, 870) usw.

Die erste Botschaft der *Aeneis* hat Vergil klar dargelegt, die zweite hat er zwischen den Zeilen verborgen. Doch ist seine zweite Botschaft vielleicht wichtiger und allgemeiner als die erste. In meinem Aufsatz wollte ich diese verborgene Botschaft entfalten, um zu zeigen, daß Vergil nicht Velleius Paterculus war, obwohl er Octavianus Augustus rühmen mußte.

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²⁸ Vgl. K. SZABÓ: *Sunt lacrimae rerum*. AUB Sectio classica 9–10, 1982–1985, 99–103.

JÁNOS BOLLÓK

WANN WURDE TROIA NEUGEGRÜNDET?

DIE BEDEUTUNG DER ASTROLOGISCHEN FORMELSPARCHE DES PROPERZ IV 1

Im IV. Buch des Properz tauchen außer den Problemen, die sich im allgemeinen bei der Interpretation alexandrinischer Dichter der hellenistischen Epoche sowie bei ihren römischen Nachfolgern melden – wie etwa die Erschließung komplizierter Bezugssysteme oder die Entschlüsselung des oder der Kodes – auch textkritische Probleme auf, die die Forschung erheblich erschweren. Diese sind dazu noch verdichtet gerade in der zweiten größeren Einheit der ersten Elegie des Buches (71–150 = I b) zu finden, und das wirkt sich in mehrerer Hinsicht auf die Interpretation des ganzen Buches aus. Einerseits kann es kaum bezweifelt werden, daß die Rede des Horos für das ganze Elegienbuch einen wichtigen Aussagewert hat, worauf neben seiner eminenten Stelle unter anderem auch die Tatsache verweist, daß ihr als hellenistisches Vorbild die Einleitung der *Aitia* des Kallimachos gedient hatte.¹ Andererseits sind im Zusammenhang mit der Horos-Szene grundlegende Fragen bis heute nicht geklärt; z. B. bleibt nicht nur die Frage offen, warum gerade ein ägyptischer Sterndeuter dem Dichter Unterweisung erteilt, in einer Zeit, in der die Sterndeuter von den römischen Schriftstellern und Dichtern im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. normalerweise als Chaldäer bezeichnet wurden,² sondern auch, was der genaue Gehalt dieser Unterweisung ist, der ein viel wichtigeres darstellt als das vorhin genannte Problem. Solange keine befriedigende Antwort auf diese Frage gefunden ist, kann über den Bezug der Horos-Rede zum ersten Teil der Elegie bzw. zum ganzen Band nur herumgerätselt werden.

Was Horos bestreitet, zeigt sich eindeutig in der ersten größeren Einheit der Elegie (1–70 = I a). Hier erscheint der Dichter zuerst in der Maske eines Fremdenführers und versucht als solcher vom nordwestlichen Hang des Palatinus aus³ die „Welthauptstadt“ einem gewissen *hospes* darzustellen, indem er dem Reichtum und Größe austrahlenden Rom seiner Zeit das kleine, belanglose und sogar ärmliche Rom

¹ K. W. WEBER: Das IV. Properz-Buch. Diss. Bochum 1977. 38–45.

² Über die Verbreitung der Astrologie in Rom bis zum Ende des augusteischen Zeitalters: W. GUNDEL – H. G. GUNDEL: *Astrologumena*. Sudhoffs Archiv 6. Wiesbaden 1966. 121–143.

³ Es ist die geistreiche Anmerkung W. A. CAMPS (Propertius Elegies Book IV. Cambridge 1965. 74), daß das der imaginäre Platz ist, von dem alles sichtbar ist, was Properz anführt.

der Gründungszeit gegenüberstellt (1–36). Nach einer Erweiterung des historischen Horizonts bis hin zu Troias Verfall und Aeneas' Flucht (37–56) gibt er sein dichterisches Vorhaben an, nämlich die Ursprungslegenden von Roms Festen, Religionsbräuchen und alten Ortsnamen in elegischer Form zum Ruhm seiner Heimat sowie seiner eigenen Person und seiner Geburtsstadt darzustellen, damit sie – nämlich seine Geburtsstadt – sich seiner als eines römischen Kallimachos' rühmen kann (57–70).⁴ Aus den Hinweisen geht hervor, daß er sich mit seinen Quellen und seiner Geschichtsauffassung als treuer Nachfolger des Vergil behaupten will⁵ und nur beabsichtigt, die Geschichte Roms in einer anderen Gattung zu erzählen. Da übernimmt der Sterndeuter, Horos, das Wort (71) – der aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit dem in den Anfangszeilen angesprochenen *hospes* identisch ist – und versucht den Dichter in einem überheblichen, belehrenden Stil von seiner Absicht abzubringen:

*Quo ruis imprudens, vage, dicere fata, Properti?
non sunt a dextro condita fila colo;
accersis lacrimas cantans, aversus Apollo,
poscis ab invita verba pigenda lyra. (72–74)*

Bereits diese Worte des Horos, die mit ihren knarrenden „r“- und zischenden „s“-Lauten unheimlich klingen, werfen eine ganze Reihe von Fragen auf. Warum stammen die „Fäden“ des Dichters nicht von einem „glücklichen Spinnrad“? Was für Tränen „verursacht“ Properz mit seinem Lied? Warum wendet sich Apollo von ihm ab, und warum sind die Worte „gegen die Laute“, die er dem Instrument „abverlangt“ und deren er sich später schämen muß? Und da keine dieser Fragen unmittelbar beantwortet werden, bleibt auch das Wesen des *certum* im Dunkel, das der Sterndeuter dagegen zu empfehlen hat, obgleich Horos die Authentizität seiner Quellen sowie seine Fachkenntnis als *vates* mit Nachdruck betont:

*Certa feram certis auctoribus, aut ego vates
nescius aerata signa movere pila. (75–76)*

Die Mehrheit der Properz-Forscher versteht die ganze Horos-Rede als einen Versuch des Sterndeuters, den berauschten Dichter zu ernüchtern, mit der Erklärung; diese falsche Begeisterung sei umsonst, weil der Dichter sowieso nicht imstande sei, mit der Liebeselegie zu brechen, denn er soll nach seinem Schicksal, von den Sternen bestimmt, in der Liebesdichtung beharren. Nach dieser Auffassung ist die Horos-Rede ihrer Funktion nach eine bloße Korrektur des früher entworfenen dichterischen Programms. Diese Annahme scheint auch davon untermauert zu werden – und das könnte auch einen weiteren Beweis zur organischen Zusammengehörigkeit der Elegie I a und I b liefern –, daß der Band, der sowohl ätiologische Elegien als auch solche enthält, die sich mit der Mann-Frau-Beziehung auseinandersetzen, eine gemeinsame Verwirklichung des „properzianischen“ wie des „horeischen“ Program-

⁴ Über das Verhältnis des Properz zu Kallimachos: W. WIMMEL: Kallimachos in Rom. Hermes-Einzelschriften 16. Wiesbaden 1960. 132–161.

⁵ C. BECKER: Die späten Elegien des Properz. Hermes 99, 1971, 449–480. P. J. BOUCHER: Virgile et Properce. Mélanges à P. Weuillmier. Collection d'Études Latines XXXV. Paris 1980. 39–44.

mes widerspiegelt.⁶ Wenn das stimmt, ist die Rede des Horos wirklich bloß ein astrologisches Geschwafel, durch das der Astrologe dem Dichter allein die Glaubwürdigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit seiner Worte zu beweisen sucht, ganz bis zur Stelle, an der er mit der Vita des Dichters beginnt. Horos erweist sich sogar nicht nur als ein überheblicher Schwätzer, sondern eher als eine groteske Figur, weil er mit seiner astrologischen „Allwisserei“ bloß die wichtigsten römischen Götter aufzuzählen vermag.⁷

Diese mehr oder weniger allgemein akzeptierte, einseitige Horos-Deutung weist mehrere Widersprüche auf. Warum hat denn Properz – auch wenn nur zum Teil – den Rat des Horos befolgt, wenn er ihn als eine komische Figur darstellen wollte? Was sollte dann z.B. die Wendung „*hactenus historiae*“ (119) bedeuten, wenn seine Rede wirklich nichts mit der römischen Geschichte zu tun hat? Genauso bedenkenswert ist, daß sich der Sterndeuter *vates* nennt. Der Begriff *vates* weist eindeutig auf den *Pergamea vates* der I a 51 – also auf *Cassandra* – hin, deren Wahrung eindeutig eine geschichtlich-politische Botschaft enthält:

„*vertite equum, Danai! male vincitis! Ilia tellus
vivet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.*“ (53–54)

und das ist wohl wichtiger, als das, was das Wort bei den Dichtern des goldenen Zeitalters generell bedeuten mochte.⁸

Und hier melden sich die textkritischen Probleme, auf die am Anfang hingewiesen wurde. Um die Horos-Rede interpretieren zu können, müßte zunächst die wortwörtliche Bedeutung der Rede klar verstanden werden. Während jedoch der Gedankengang des Sterndeuters bis Zeile 80 mühelos nachvollziehbar ist – auch wenn die Bedeutung seiner Worte ab und zu dunkel bleibt –, ist der in Manuskripten überlieferte Text grammatisch konfus, manchmal sogar unverständlich.

81	<i>nunc pretium fecere deos et fallitur auro</i>
82	<i>Iuppiter obliquae signa iterata rotae;</i>
83	<i>felicesque Iovis stellas Martisque rapacis</i>
84	<i>et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput;</i>
85	<i>quid moveant Pisces animosaque signa Leonis,</i>
86	<i>lotus in Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.</i>
87	<i>dicam, Troia cades et Troica Roma resurges,</i>
88	<i>et maris et terrae longa sepulchra canam.</i>

Hier ist es nicht einmal völlig klar, ob die zum *fallitur auro* gehörende Wendung, die *signa iterata* (82), im Nominativ oder im Akkusativ steht. Die Textverschlechterung läßt sich vor allem jedoch nicht hier, sondern in den darauffolgenden Zeilen (83–86) bemerken. Die *felices stellas* kann nämlich nur im Akkusativ stehen,

⁶ J. P. SULLIVAN: Propertius Book IV. Themes and structures. ICS 9, 1984, 30–34, obwohl er u. M. zu stark den ablehnungsartigen Charakter des Buches betont.

⁷ Aber trotz allem beabsichtigte Properz nicht den Astrologen grammatisch fehlerhaft sprechen zu lassen: C. BECKER: Horos redselig? FS Lesky. WSt 79, 1966, 442–451.

⁸ W. PÖSCHL: Dichtung und dionysische Verzauberung in der Horaz-Ode 3,25. In: Horazische Lyrik. Interpretationen. Heidelberg 1970. 164–178.

also steht auch *sidus* im Akkusativ, und genauso eindeutig ist, daß die mit *quid* eingeleiteten Sätze nur akkusativisch Fragesätze sein können. Es wäre jedoch schwer zu sagen, wovon die Akkusative abhängen. Es wäre eine Zumutung, sie an das *dicam* der Zeile 87 anzuschließen, denn so käme das Hauptverb ans Ende einer mehrzeiligen Konstruktion, was im Propertius-corpus einzigartig wäre, und die darauffolgenden, beinahe zwei Zeilen wären dann auch problematisch. Wenn nämlich „Troia cades ... resurges“ der Struktur nach mit *dicam* in Verbindung stehen sollte, gehörte *dicam* als Hauptverb zu zwei, voneinander gänzlich unterschiedlichen Konstruktionen, was ein sprachlicher Nonsens ist. Wenn sie jedoch voneinander getrennt werden (*dicam. Troia, cades, et Troica regna resurges, / et maris et terrae longa sepulchra canam*), wird der erste Satzteil unverständlich. Diese Schwierigkeiten sind natürlich jedem Properz-Forscher bekannt, und es herrscht Übereinstimmung, daß diese Probleme vor allem nur durch eine Änderung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung aufgehoben werden können.

Von den Textkorrekturen, die bloß in kleineren Texteinheiten vorgenommen wurden, ist die bekannteste und vielleicht geistreichste die von Housman, der *fallitur* in *fallimus* verändert und *Iuppiter* als Vokativ strukturmäßig vom Satz getrennt hat: *et fallimus auro (Iuppiter!) obliquae signa iterata rotae*. Damit hat er anscheinend das größte sprachliche Problem gelöst, denn zum *fallimus* können zweifelsohne auch Akkusative gehören. Eine solche Textkorrektur paßt jedoch nicht in den Gedankengang hinein, weil dann die Textstelle 81–86 die einzige Funktion hätte, die Verfälschungen der Astrologen zu unterstützen, wobei Horos sich selbst dann als Verfälscher ausgäbe, obwohl er in den vorangehenden beiden Zeilen das Gegenteil zu beweisen bestrebt:

*di mihi sunt testes non degenerasse propinquos,
inque meis libris nil prius esse fide. (79–80)*

Viel radikaler waren Marcilius und Scaliger, die die Zeilen 87–88 einfach ans Ende der ersten größeren Einheit der Elegie versetzt hatten, der erstere nach Zeile 70, der letztere zwischen die Zeilen 68–69.⁹ Im Grunde hat sich Camps Scaligers Vorschlag angeschlossen,¹⁰ mit dem Unterschied, daß er die „störenden Worte“: „*fallitur auro Iuppiter*“ in Klammern gesetzt hat. Diese Änderung könnte dadurch motiviert werden, daß nach Auffassung der Vertreter dieses Standpunktes in der zweiten größeren Einheit der Elegie dies die einzige Stelle ist, die auf den Stil ätiologischer Elegien hinweist, was ihrer Meinung nach nicht den Intentionen der gesamten Horos-Rede entspricht. Diese Interpretation birgt die Gefahr in sich – abgesehen davon, daß sie sich im Kreis herumdreht –, daß das Verhältnis zwischen den in den Manuskripten überlieferten Zeilen von I a und I b zerstört wird, was wiederum die Deutung des Gesamtbandes hindern kann.¹¹

⁹ Gleicherweise R. HANSLIK: Propertius (Teubner) 1979. 154.

¹⁰ W. A. CAMPS: a. W. 14 und 64–66.

¹¹ Die Wichtigkeit des Zahlenverhältnisses der Zeilen der Elegien I a und I b betont auch M. VON ALBRECHT: Properz als augusteischer Dichter. Wst NF 16, 1982, 221–235.

Trotzdem sind wir einverstanden damit, daß es einfacher zu sein scheint, Textversetzungen vorzunehmen, anstatt sich forcierter, grammatisch absurder Erklärungen zu bedienen.¹² Die zwei Zeilen, die mit *dicam* beginnen, sind auch unserer Ansicht nach nicht an ihrem Platz, wir würden sie jedoch im Gegensatz zu Marcilius, Scaliger und Camps nur um vier Zeilen zurück, also in die Zeilen 81–83 versetzen. Dann lautet die problematische Textstelle wie folgt:

79 *Di mihi sunst testes non degenrasse propinquos,*
 80 *inque meis libris nil prius esse fide;*
 81 *nunc pretium fecere deos, et fallitur auro*
 82 *Iuppiter obliquae signa iterata rotae.*
 87 ***Dicam: „Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges“,***
 88 ***et maris et terrae longa sepulchra canam:***
 83 *felicesque Iovis stellas, Martisque rapacis,*
 84 *et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput;*
 85 *quid moveant Pisces animosaeque signa Leonis,*
 86 *lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.*

Dieser zunächst nur hypothetische Änderungsvorschlag wird durch folgende Argumente erhärtet:

a) Auf diese Weise läßt sich ein vollkommen korrekter, dem Stil des Properz angemessener Text herstellen, in dem „*Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges*“ als oratio recta hinter *dicam* steht: ([Ich] werde schon sagen, [was es bedeutet] „Troia, du wirst fallen und als troianisches Rom wirst du wiederauferstehen“), und die Akkusative und Akkusativsätze der Zeilen 83–86 hängen so von *canam* ab.

b) Auf diese Weise läßt sich der logische Bruch vermeiden, der unausweichlich wäre, falls die Zeilen 83–86 gänzlich von *fecere* abhingen.

c) Diese Zeilenumstellung stört das Zahlenverhältnis der in den Manuskripten überlieferten Zeilen von I a und I b nicht

d) und berücksichtigt weiterhin den Gehalt und die Verhältnisse der entsprechenden Texteinheiten der Elegie I a mit. Im „Properz-Teil“ der Elegie wird nämlich auf zwei Prophezeiungen hingewiesen:

si modo Avernalis tremulae cortina Sibyllae
dixit Aventino rura pianda Remo,
aut si Pergameae sero rata carmina vatis
longaevum ad Priami vera fuere caput:
„vertite equum, Danaï! male vincitis! Ilia tellus
vivet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.“ (49–54)

In der ersten wird ein persönliches Schicksal – das von *Remus* –, in der zweiten das Schicksal Roms betont; das Verhältnis der beiden Prophezeiungen ist 2:4. In der Horos-Rede kommen bis auf die Stelle, die den Dichter behandelt, wiederum zwei

¹² Dieses Verfahren rechtfertigt auch der Umstand, daß Textverderbungen solcher Art im Falle des Properz schon im Altertum erscheinen: J. E. G. ZETZEL: The earliest transposition of Propertius. *AJPh* 101, 1980, 314–315.

Prophezeiungen hintereinander vor (87–86 bzw. 89–102); die erste, die im Zusammenhang mit Troias Wiedergeburt steht, wird durch *dicam*, die zweite, welche die Vollendung einzelner Schicksale aufzählt, durch *dixi* eingeführt; das Zeilenverhältnis ist 6:14, was dem Verhältnis 2:4 sehr ähnlich ist.

Wie bei jeder astrologischen Einlage in einem literarischen Werk, so stellt sich auch hier die Frage, ob die astrologische Äußerung aus astrologischer Sicht bewertbare Bedeutung hat und dadurch einen organischen Teil der dichterischen Aussage bildet oder bloß als dichterisches Ornament dient. Auch im Zusammenhang mit der Horos-Rede ist dies der Fall, wobei die Frage ist, ob sie hier astrologisch ernst genommen werden soll oder als seltsame Abart der Variationstechnik bzw. zum Teil auch als Mittel dichterischer Charakterisierung gilt. Um das zu entscheiden, muß unbedingt eine astrologiegeschichtliche Analyse der betreffenden Textstelle unternommen werden.¹³

Horos erwähnt drei Planeten und drei zodiakale Sternbilder, also die Himmelskörper, die nach den Astrologen den entscheidendsten Einfluß auf die irdischen Ereignisse und menschlichen Schicksale ausüben. Der Sterndeuter bestimmt auch den grundlegenden Charakter der einzelnen Planeten richtig: Iuppiter ist der „wohl-tätigste“ Planet, es ist also richtig, sich des Attributes *felix* im Zusammenhang mit ihm zu bedienen, wie auch bei den beiden „lasterhaften“ Planeten, Mars und Saturn, die Attribute *rapax* bzw. *grave* ihre bestimmende Charakteristik trefflich kennzeichnen. Im Grunde gilt das auch für das Attribut *animosus* des Löwen. Nun sind diese Feststellungen gleichsam Gemeinplätze in der Astrologie, die auch den Laien nicht unbekannt sind. Die Überheblichkeit Horos' scheint also unbegründet, sogar komisch, wenn man diese Momente mitberücksichtigt. In Horos' Aufzählung folgen auf die drei Planeten drei zodiakale Sternbilder. Das könnte auch als ein Zeichen des Parallelismus verstanden werden: Neben drei Planeten kommen drei Sternbilder vor. Da die Astrologie jedoch zwischen den Planeten und den zodiakalen Sternbildern eine vielfältige Beziehung voraussetzt, ist es empfehlenswert, die Beziehung der drei erwähnten zodiakalen Sternbilder zu den Planeten nach allgemeinen astrologischen Gesichtspunkten zu untersuchen. Dabei handelt es sich um: 1. Hausverhältnisse, 2. Exaltations- und Depressionspunkte, 3. Dekane,¹⁴ 4. Grenzen, 5. Dodekatemorien.¹⁵

Die Fische sind Iuppiters Haus, der Löwe das der Sonne, der Steinbock das des Saturn. Da die Sonne nicht in diese Reihe hineinpaßt, kann auf diese Weise keine Beziehung zwischen den erwähnten zodiakalen Sternbildern und den Planeten festgestellt werden.

Der Exaltationspunkt des Iuppiter ist im Krebs, der des Mars im Steinbock und der des Saturn in der Waage; zwischen den drei Planeten und den zodiakalen Stern-

¹³ In neuerer Zeit wurde der Gedanke aufgeworfen, daß die Horos-Rede das Geburtshoroskop des Dichters enthält: T. K. P. KEYSER: Propertius' horoscope: a suggested birthdate. CPh 87, 1992, 328–334. Die Zurückweisung dieser Ansicht: J. L. BUTRICA: Propertius horoscope and a birthdate rejected. CPh 88, 1993, 330–331. Die vorausgesetzte Einwirkung der Astrologie auf die Liebeslegien des Properz: T. N. HABINCK: Cynthia and the lunar year. Latomus 41, 1982, 589–596.

¹⁴ Dieser Gesichtspunkt wurde von *Ptoleamios* außer acht gelassen.

¹⁵ Über diese Grundbegriffe s.: W. GUNDEL: Planeten. RE XX/2, 2122–2131. c.

bildern der Elegie kann also auch in dieser Hinsicht kein Zusammenhang entdeckt werden.

Auf das Problem der „Grenzen“ bzw. der „Dodekatemorien“ einzugehen, hat hier keinen Zweck, denn die Grenzen je eines zodiakalischen Sternbildes verteilen sich immer unter fünf Planeten, und das Dodekatemorion läßt sich immer nur durch Einzelrechnung feststellen.

Die Dekane werden absichtlich erst jetzt behandelt. Sie stellen nach der Lehre der Astrologie göttliche Kräfte dar, von denen jede einzelne einen Winkelbereich von 10 Grad der Ekliptik beherrscht – insgesamt gibt es also 36 – und innerhalb ihres Winkelbereiches durch je einen Planeten ihre Wirkung ausübt. Da jedes zodiakale Sternbild im Prinzip 30 Grad von der Ekliptik abdeckt, gehören zu jedem je drei Dekane und dadurch je drei ihnen zugeordnete „Vermittler-Planeten“. Nach Firmicus Maternus sieht die Aufteilung der von Horos erwähnten drei zodiakalen Sternbilder nach Dekanen folgendermaßen aus:

*In Piscibus primus decanus Saturni, secundus Iovis, tertius Martis;
Leonis primus decanus Saturni, et secundus Iovis, tertius Martis;
Capricorni primus decanus Iovis, et secundus Martis, tertius Solis.* (II. 4,3)

Die Planeten der Fische und des Löwen entsprechen genau den von Horos erwähnten Planeten, die Reihenfolge der eigentlichen Planeten und der zu den Dekanen gehörenden Planeten weicht jedoch ab:

die Reihenfolge bei den Planeten:	Iuppiter – Mars – Saturn
und bei den Planeten der Dekane:	Saturn – Iuppiter – Mars

Nach Horos ist diese die richtige Reihenfolge der Planeten der Dekane, obgleich – wie er sagt – einige seiner Zeitgenossen bereit sind, für Geld Iuppiter von seinem Platz wegzurücken: *fallitur auro / Iuppiter abliquae signa iterata rotae* (81–82): „Iuppiter wird bezüglich der sich wiederkehrenden Sternbilder auf der sich schief drehenden Kreisbahn (d.h. der Ekliptik) verfälscht“. Die auf den ersten Blick nur schwer erkennbare Bezeichnung *signa iterata* ist also grammatikalisch ein *accusativus Graecus*, der zu *fallitur* gehört.¹⁶

Der Steinbock paßt anscheinend nicht in die Reihe hinein, weil der Planet seines dritten Dekans die Sonne ist. Nun erscheint jedoch dieses zodiakale Sternbild in der Aufzählung als „*lotus in Hesperia ... aqua*“, d.h. als eines, das schon „im Wasser des Ozeans eingetaucht ist“. Dieses Attribut bietet mehrere Deutungsmöglichkeiten (später wird sich zeigen, daß das kein Zufall ist). Nach einer solchen Deutungsmöglichkeit ist ein Teil des Sternbildes bereits untergegangen, ein anderer Teil ist jedoch noch über dem Horizont. Aber welcher Teil ist untergegangen?

Die zodiakalen Sternbilder bewegen sich auf ihrer Tagesbahn auf der Ekliptik mit ihren Gradeinstellungen (Widder /0–30/ → Stier /30–60/ → Zwillinge /60–90/ → ...) in einer entgegengesetzten Reihenfolge (... Zwillinge /90–60/ → Stier /60–30/ → Widder /30–0/ → Fische /360–330/ ...). Beim Aufgehen erhebt sich also zuerst

¹⁶ Es ist also überflüssig, die *signa iterata* von der *fallitur auro Iuppiter* abzutrennen, wie es u. a. R. HANSLIK in seiner Properz-Ausgabe getan hatte: a. W. 154.

immer der 30. Grad über den Horizont, und der Untergang beginnt auch immer mit dem Untergehen des 30. Grades. Die Sonne ist der Dekan des Widders im Winkelbereich 20–30°, d.h., beim Untergehen dieses Sternbildes senkt sich zuerst dieser Winkelbereich hinter den Horizont. Was nun den Widder betrifft, braucht nach einer möglichen Deutung die Sonne als letzter Planet des Dekans in einer gewissen Sicht nicht berücksichtigt zu werden, weil ihr Bereich bereits untergegangen ist. Dies angenommen, bleiben zwei Planeten, der Iuppiter und der Mars, die in Frage kommen können, und zwar ausschließlich in dieser Reihenfolge, und keinesfalls umgekehrt. Daraus ergibt sich, daß Horos aus irgendeinem Grunde die Reihenfolge der Planeten für außerordentlich wichtig hält und ihn in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem das Verhältnis zwischen dem Iuppiter und dem Mars interessiert.

Die drei zodiakalen Sternbilder haben vor allem die Funktion, daß Horos durch sie auf die früher erwähnten drei Planeten Iuppiter, Mars und Saturn, zurückverweisen und zugleich betonen kann, daß bei der zweiten Aufzählung eine andere Reihenfolge gilt als zuvor.

Die bloße Erschließung des Verhältnisses zwischen den Planeten und ihren Dekanen der Elegie kann zum besseren Verständnis beitragen, warum der Astrologe gerade Horos heißt. Der Name *Horos*, der übrigens mit dem Namen des Gottes Horus identisch ist, gehörte nach Zeugnis der Papyrusfunde im hellenistischen Ägypten als theophorischer Name zu den beliebtesten Personennamen.¹⁷ In der hellenistischen Astrologie ist jedoch das Dekan-System als eindeutig ägyptische Erbschaft zu betrachten.¹⁸ Die Dekane, die als in einem Zeitabschnitt von je einer Stunde hintereinander aufgehende Sterne oder Sternengruppen ursprünglich zur Zeitmessung dienten, entwickelten sich – nach Verlust ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion und nach Zunahme ihrer Anzahl – im Laufe der Jahrhunderte, zu göttlichen Wesen mit großer Macht, wobei sie nicht nur mit der Totenliteratur, sondern auch mit der Astrologie in Berührung kamen, um zuletzt sogar den zodiakalen Sternbildern und Planeten die Macht zu nehmen. Das Verknüpfen der zodiakalen Sternbilder und der Dekanen läßt sich in das 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. verfolgen (hier verweise ich auf das Deckenfresko des Esna I.-Tempels, das nur durch eine schriftlich überlieferte Darstellung bekannt ist),¹⁹ eine Systematisierung der Beziehungen der zodiakalen Sternbilder, der Planeten und ihrer Dekane wurde aber erst von den Vertretern der sog. „hermetischen Astrologie“ (von ägyptischen Priestern?) vorgenommen; Die in griechischer Sprache abgefaßten Schriften dieser astrologischen Schule waren bereits von der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an bekannt.²⁰ In den überlieferten Fragmenten dieser Schriften gehören zu jedem zodiakalen Sternbild je drei Dekane; die Dekane verfügen über

¹⁷ A. S. HUNT AND E. C. EDGAR: *Select papyri with an English translation I–II*. London and New York 1932–34. *passim*.

¹⁸ W. GUNDEL: *Dekane und Dekansternbilder*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker. Glückstadt-Hamburg. 1936; *ders*: *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos*. Abh. München. Phil./hist. Abt. NF 12. 1936.

¹⁹ KÁKOSY L.: *Egyiptom és az antik csillaghit* [Ägypten und der antike Sternglaube]. Budapest 1978. 128–129.

²⁰ Unter dem Namen *Hermes Trismegistos* waren in der hellenistischen Epoche mehrere griechische astrologische Schriften im Verkehr, aber nach der schriftstellerischen Fiktion hatte *Hermes* (= *Thoth*) selbst die Geheimnisse der Sterndeutung auch Nechepso und Petosiris mitgeteilt.

genauso viel Kraft wie die Planeten, sie sind es jedoch, die die Bewegung der Planeten bestimmen und regeln, deshalb hängt nicht nur das Schicksal eines Neugeborenen, sondern das Schicksal der ganzen Welt schlechthin von ihnen ab. Naturkatastrophen (Überschwemmungen, Hungersnot, Seuchen etc.) werden ebenso von ihnen hervorgerufen wie große historische Umwälzungen (Aufstände, Machtwechsel etc.). Im Dekan-System der hermetischen Astrologie gibt es zahlreiche spekulative Elemente, die rational nicht zu erfassen sind, deshalb vertrat sie eine verhältnismäßig selbständige Richtung in der Astrologie, der viele Astrologen der Antike nicht zugeneigt waren.²¹ Der Verfasser eines der beiden großen astrologischen Handbücher der Antike, *Ptolemaios*, lehnte sie z.B. ab, während *Firmicus Maternus* mit Andacht über sie sprach und sogar ganz genau die Quelle seiner Kenntnisse über diese astrologische Schule nannte.²² Die ausführlichste Zusammenfassung der Vorstellungen, die im hellenistischen Zeitalter an die Dekanen anknüpften, ist im *Liber Hermetis* überliefert.²³

Horos und sein Stammbaum können uns deshalb weitere Unterweisungen geben. *Horos* nennt sich den Sohn des babylonischen *Orops* (*Horops*), was darauf verweist, daß er eher ein Vertreter der hermetischen Astrologie ist, auch wenn er die babylonische Astrologie nicht verwirft. Das kann auch als ein heimlicher Wink des Dichters aufgefaßt werden, in welchen Quellen die Bedeutung der von *Horos* erwähnten Planeten zu suchen wäre.

Aus dem Kontext geht eindeutig hervor, daß für *Horos* die Reihenfolge der Planeten wichtig ist und die unmittelbar genannten Planeten und die Planeten der Dekanen irgendwie mit der Zerstörung und der Wiedergeburt von Troia im Zusammenhang stehen müssen. Diese beiden Momente legen im voraus nahe, daß man der Lösung des Rätsels der Planeten höchstwahrscheinlich durch Untersuchung der astrologischen Theorien betreffs ihrer sogenannten Chronokratie näher kommen kann, denn das ist sozusagen die einzige Möglichkeit, damit die Planeten in solcher Weise auf historische Ereignisse hinweisen können. Mittelbar ist dieses Verfahren auch durch die Worte des *Horos* gerechtfertigt, in denen er sich über die Bestechlichkeit und Habgier der anderen Astrologen beklagt, denn eine ähnliche, invektiveartige Äußerung über die ägyptischen Sterndeuter ist bei *Vettius Valens* gerade in Verbindung mit der Chronokratienrechnung zu finden: ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὴν μὲν χώραν διοδεύσαντες καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διελθόντες, διδασκάλοις φιλαργύροις περιπεσόντες, τὰς μὲν τῶν χρημάτων δόσεις ἐποιησάμεθα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίαν, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντες ... (IV 10,4).

Die Astrologen haben wohl aus der periodischen Bewegung der Planeten darauf gefolgert, daß auch die Intensität ihrer Auswirkung periodisch wechselt und in gewissen Zeitabläufen besonders stark wird. Da die Geschwindigkeit ihrer Kreislaufbewegung verschieden ist, müssen diese „starken Phasen“ jedes einzelnen selbstverständlich nach verschiedenen Zeiträumen eintreten. Daraus ergaben sich die Vor-

²¹ KÁKOSY L.: a. W. 235–240.

²² *Omnia enim, quae Aesculapio Mercurius ... vix tradiderunt, quae Petosiris explicavit et Nechepso, et quae Abram, Orfeus et Critodemus ediderunt ceterique huius artis scii ... (Math. IV. Prooem. 5.)*

²³ W. GUNDEL: Dekane und Dekansternebilder. 343–344.

stellungen über die sogenannten „Chronokratores“, „Zeitherrscher“, weil der Planet in dieser Phase nach der Auffassung der Astrologen sozusagen zum „Herr der Zeit“ wird. Es gab zahlreiche Systeme, mittels derer man diese Zeitpunkte auszurechnen bestrebt war, die jedoch in zwei Grundtypen einzuordnen sind. Der eine rechnet die Zeitherrschaft der einzelnen Planeten von je einem Grad des Horoskops mit Berücksichtigung der Konstellation, der andere bestimmt sie nach einem automatischen Schema unabhängig von der jeweiligen Konstellation. (Die Erinnerung an eine solche in auf Jahre, Monate, Wochen, Tage und Stunden zerlegbare Zeitherrschaftsrechnungsweise bewahren heutzutage die Namen der einzelnen Wochentage in einigen westeuropäischen Sprachen, vor allem im Französischen.) Das letztere Verfahren hat nicht viel mit der mathematischen Astrologie zu tun, es beruht auf reiner Spekulation, und in historischer Hinsicht dürften diese Rechnungen auf die abergläubischen Vorstellungen von „glücklichen“ und „unglücklichen“ Tagen zurückgeführt werden. Ein solches spekulatives System kann man aus dem 15. Kapitel des oben erwähnten *Liber Hermetis* herauslesen, wonach

jedes	3. Jahr	unter der Macht	des <i>Saturnus</i> ,
"	9. "	"	des <i>Iuppiter</i> ,
"	7. "	"	des <i>Mars</i> ,
"	18. "	"	des <i>Sol</i> ,
"	5. "	"	der <i>Venus</i> ,
"	8. "	"	des <i>Mercurius</i> ,
"	13. "	"	der <i>Luna</i> steht.

Also ist diese Chronokratorie-Theorie auch in einer astrologischen Schrift zu finden, die sich auch mit den Dekanen beschäftigt, obwohl nicht nur dort: Bei *Vettius Valens* im Zusammenhang mit den Klimakterenrechnungen, die dem *Kritodemos* zugeschrieben wurden, kommen dieselbe Zahlen vor: λέγει δὲ τὰ συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον εὐτονώτερα καὶ ἐμφανέστερα γίνεσθαι, ἔαν ἴδιος ἢ ὁ τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς τοῦ συμφωνοῦντος πρὸς τὴν ἀποδιάστασιν ἀστέρος, οἷον οὕτως: τὰ μὲν γ' εἶναι Κρόνου, τὰ δὲ ε' Ἀφροδίτης, τὰ δὲ ζ' Ἀρεως, τὰ δὲ η' Ἑρμοῦ, τὰ δὲ θ' Διός, τὰ ἰγ' Σελήνης, τὰ δὲ ιη' Ἡλίου (V 8, 18).

Um die Frage zu beantworten, welche möglichen Konsequenzen das für die Planeten der Elegie hat, ist ein kürzerer Exkurs erforderlich.

In den ätiologischen Elegien im IV. Buch des Properz sind *Troitas*, *Romanitas* und *Tuscitas* ebenso gleichzeitig vorhanden wie in der *Äneis* des Vergilius, und im Zusammenhang damit sieht Properz in Rom das wiedergeborene Troia ebenso, wie der Dichter der *Äneis*. Mit dieser Geschichtsauffassung sind sie natürlich unter den Dichtern und Geschichtsschreibern der Zeit des Augustus nicht allein.²⁴ Properz will jedoch betonen, daß sein IV. Buch auch hier eng mit der *Äneis* verbunden ist, und zwar dadurch, daß er in der I. Elegie, wenn er über das Verhältnis zwischen Troia und Rom berichtet, unverkennbar beide Male auf die *Äneis* zurückgreift:

²⁴ Ein ähnlicher Gedanke bei Horatius im *Carmen saeculare* (37–38): *Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaequae / litus Etruscum tenuere turmae*.

arma resurgentis portans victricia Troiae (I a 47)

illic fas est regna resurgere Troiae (Aen. I 201)

... *Troia cades, et Troica Roma* resurges (I b 87)

Aber wie vieler Jahre bedurfte es zur Wiedergeburt, und seit wann kann man mit dem Anfang dieser Wiedergeburt rechnen? Properz scheint hervorzuheben, daß nach seiner Auffassung die Wiedergeburt im Moment der Zerstörung Troias begonnen hatte: *huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit* (I 54).

Auf die Frage, wie viele Jahre von Aeneas' Kämpfen in Italien bis zu Roms Gründung vergingen, scheint Iuppers berühmtes Versprechen an Venus eine exakte Antwort zu geben:

*bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
at puer Ascanius ...
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet et magna vi munit Albam.
hinc iam ter centos totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea. donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dedit Ilia prolem.
inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.* (263–267 und 269–277)

Iuppiter erwähnt also insgesamt $3 + 30 + 300 = 333$ Jahre, was *Servius* und wohl auch die Mehrheit seiner Quellen so verstand, daß diese Jahre die Zeitspanne zwischen Aeneas' Ankunft in Latium bis zu Roms Gründung bezeichnen.²⁵ Wenn dazu die sieben Jahre der Wanderung der Trojaner addiert werden – was die klassische Tradition zu teilen scheint²⁶ und was auch aufgrund der Äneis einfach nachzuvollziehen ist –, dann liegen zwischen Troias Untergang und Roms Gründung genau $7 + 333 = 340$ Jahre.²⁷ Das ist jedoch nur eine mögliche und nicht die konsequenteste Deutung der Worte des Iuppiter. Iuppiter sagt wirklich, daß 333 Jahre bis zur Geburt von Romulus und Remus vergehen würden, er behauptet jedoch nicht – und es folgt auch nicht aus seinen Worten –, daß die Zwillinge als Säuglinge mit der Stadtgründung begannen. Im Gegenteil: das Wort *inde* weist gerade darauf hin, daß Romulus irgendwann „später“ die Macht über sein Volk übernehme und

²⁵ *Quomodo trecentos annos dicit, cum eam quadringentis regnasse constet sub Albanis regibus? sed cum praescriptione ait „trecentum“, scilicet usque ad ortum urbis Romae.* (Aen. I. 272)

²⁶ *Aeneas enim post errores VII annorum cum ad Italiam pervenisset...* (Servius: Aen. I. 259)

²⁷ Auch die Rechnung des Servius und seiner Quellen führte zu demselben Resultat: *Inter excidium vero Troiae et ortum urbis Romae inveniuntur CCCXL* (Aen. I. 267)

Rom gründe, was durchaus als logisch erscheint. Aber wann? Wie alt genau Romulus bei Roms Gründung war, erfährt man aus den Quellen der augusteischen Zeit nicht: *iuvenis* ist ein dehnbarer Begriff, kann sogar das 40. Lebensjahr bezeichnen.

Und hier wird nach unserer Meinung die Bemerkung – die u.a. in der Augustus-Biographie des Sueton zu lesen ist – hinsichtlich der Elegie und des Properz bedeutsam, wonach auf den Vorschlag des Munatius Plancus zur Zuerkennung des Augustus-Titels 28 v. Chr. der ernsthafte Gegenvorschlag gemacht wurde, daß Octavianus, der gleichsam die Stadt neugegründet habe, selbst Romulus genannt werden solle (*quibusdam consentibus Romulum appellari oportere quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis* – 7,2). Es ist bekannt, daß Octavianus der Augustus-Titel im Januar 27 v. Chr., in seinem 36. Lebensjahr, zuerkannt wurde. Keiner wußte, wie alt der Stadtgründer der Legende bei Roms Gründung war, es wußte aber jeder, wie alt der „zweite Romulus“ war, als er für die „Neugründung“ Roms den Ehrentitel erhielt. Im Zusammenhang mit Augustus' Tod zitiert Tacitus die Berechnungen von *vana mirantes* ausführlich, und das beweist, daß „die Neigung zu heimlichen Zusammenhängen“ unter der Regierung des Augustus nicht ungewöhnlich war. So mag keiner überrascht gewesen sein, wenn ein Dichter auf den Gedanken kam, daß bei der Stadtgründung der „erste Romulus“ genauso alt war wie der „zweite Romulus“ bei ihrer „Neugründung“. Augustus dürfte wohl eine solche Meinung nicht übernommen haben, da der ja selbst wahrscheinlich aus dem gleichen Grunde – um die Ähnlichkeit zwischen ihm und dem ersten Stadtgründer hervorzuheben – sehr viel für die Pflege des Romulus-Kultes getan hatte. Ein anschauliches Beispiel dafür waren die beiden Statuengruppen des *Forum Augusti*; bei der nordwestlichen Exedra stand Aeneas, umgeben von den mythischen Ahnen der kaiserlichen Familie, und ihm gegenüber, bei der gegenseitigen Exedra, schaute Romulus inmitten der *summi viri* die Vorübergehenden an.²⁸ Wenn nun unter Berücksichtigung des oben Dargelegten zu bestimmen versucht wird, wie viele Jahre zwischen Troias Untergang und Roms Gründung liegen, müssen zu den 340 Jahren noch die vermutlichen 36 Lebensjahre des Romulus hinzugerechnet werden, und so kommt man zu der Zahl 376.

Kehren wir nun zur aus dem *Liber Hermetis* gewonnenen Chronoktratorien-Tabelle und zu Horos' Planeten zurück! Horus erwähnt bei Iuppiter und Mars, aber im Grunde genommen auch bei Saturnus nicht einen Planeten, sondern Planeten im Plural, obgleich der Singular nicht einmal gegen die Metrik verstoßen hätte. Warum tut er das? Und warum betont er die Wichtigkeit der Reihenfolge der Planeten, die durch die Dekane des zodiakalen Sternbildes gekennzeichnet sind?

Die von dem Sterndeuter angeführten Sternbilder weisen nicht nur auf die Planeten hin, sondern astrogeographisch betrachtet enthalten sie gleich Anspielungen auf die Grenzen des Imperiums und auf zeitgenössische Ereignisse. Nach den Lehren der Astrogeographie gehören in den Wirkungsbereich der Fische unter anderen τὰ ἐμπρόσθια Εὐφράτης καὶ Τίγρις, καὶ τὰ μέσα Συρία καὶ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, Ἰνδική, μέση Περσίς, in den des Löwen Ἰταλία, Γαλλία, Σικελία, Ἀπουλία, in den des

²⁸ P. AICHHOLZER: Darstellungen der römischen Sagen. VWGÖ Wien 1983. 2. Zum ideologischen Hintergrund: E. S. GRUEN: Culture and national identity in the Republican Rome. Ithaca-New York 1992. 6.

Steinbocks κατὰ ... τὰς πλευρὰς Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος, Κόρινθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ζώνην, Σικυῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν νῶτον ἡ Μεγάλη θάλασσα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν οὐρὰν Ἰβερία ...²⁹ Also sind die Wirkungsbereiche der genannten zodiakalen Sternbilder identisch mit der Italia, bzw. mit den östlichen und mit den westlichen Grenzen des *imperium Romanum*, aber sie weisen gleichzeitig einerseits auf die hispanische Expedition des Agrippa und auf seinen endgültigen Sieg über die Cantabren (19), andererseits auf die östliche Expedition des Augustus (22–19) und im Zusammenhang mit der letzterer auf den Friedensschluß mit den Parthern hin, den die augusteischen Dichter ungeachtet dessen, daß die Wahrheit bei weitem banaler war, als einen großen Sieg des Princeps gefeiert hatten.³⁰

Auf die Frage, was für ein Zusammenhang der Planeten mit der römischen Geschichte und vor allem mit den in bezug auf Augustus wichtigen Ereignissen existieren könnte, bekommt man eine einleuchtende Antwort, wenn man berechnet, welcher Planet welches Jahr nach der „vergilischen A-Variante“, bzw. – wie jetzt schon wohl mit Recht hinzugefügt werden kann – nach der „properzischen B-Variante“ in den Jahren 50–16 v. Chr., die Jahresrechnung mit Troias Verwüstung beginnend, beherrschte. Diese Berechnung ist sehr einfach:

Saturnus	A.	$(7 + 333 + 753 - x) : 3$	B.	$(7 + 333 + 36 + 753 - x) : 3$
Iuppiter		$(7 + 333 + 753 - x) : 9$		$(7 + 333 + 36 + 753 - x) : 9$
Mars		$(7 + 333 + 753 - x) : 7$		$(7 + 333 + 36 + 753 - x) : 7$

Das heißt:

A. Saturnus	Iuppiter	Mars	B. Saturnus	Iuppiter	Mars
49	49	50	49	49	51
46			46		44
43		43	43		
40	40		40	40	
37		36	37		37
34			34		
31	31		31		30
28		29	28		
25			25		
22	22	22	22	22	23
19			19		
16			16		16

Das Bild, das sich anhand der Chronokratorien-Tabelle entfaltet, spricht für sich: Fast jedes wichtigere Moment des letzten, großen Auftaktes des Bürgerkrieges, insbesondere das in der politischen Karriere und staatsorganisatorischen Tätigkeit von Augustus fiel auf das Jahr, welches einer oder gleich zwei dieser drei Planeten

²⁹ A. LUDWICH: *Maximi et Ammonis carmina* ... = Vettius Valens, App. III. ed. D. Pingree (Teubner) 1986. 393–395.

³⁰ Siehe Horatius Epist. I 12, 26–28: *Cantaber Agrippae, Claudii virtute Neronis / Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates / Caesaris accepit genibus minor.*

beherrschten. Besonders wichtig ist das 31. Jahr, das nach beiden Rechnungen das Jahr nicht nur des Saturn und des Iuppiter, sondern auch der Sonne war. (A: 1093–31 = 59; B: 1129–31 = 1098: 18 = 61) Properz unterläßt es nicht, das zu betonen, und es kann auch kein Zufall sein, daß er darauf gerade durch Einbeziehung des Steinbocks (Capricornus) hinweist, welches Sternbild als Zodiakalzeichen der Zeugung von Augustus eine außerordentlich wichtige Rolle in der Propaganda der Augustus-Zeit spielte: u.a. wurde es ein Legionen-Zeichen, außerdem erscheint es auf der *gemma Augustea*,³¹ nicht zu sprechen von seinen zahlreichen literarischen Erwähnungen. Die Zweiteilung des *Capricornus* bei der Aufzählung der zodiakalen Sternbilder hat also einen doppelten Zweck: außer der Betonung der Wichtigkeit der Planetenreihenfolge hat sie die Person des Augustus hervorzuheben. Letzteres wird durch das Verhältnis von der Sonne zu Apollo und zum Teil zwischen Apollo und Augustus in der augustinischen Propaganda besonders wichtig.³²

Aber warum war die Reihenfolge der zu Dekanen gehörenden Planeten für den Dichter so bedeutend? Wenn wahr ist, was unserer Meinung nach aus den Chronokratorien-Tabellen herauszulesen ist, daß nämlich die einzelnen Planeten bestimmte Jahre bezeichnen, dann sucht Properz die Ereignisse von drei Jahren als wichtigste Momente der Wiedergeburt von Troia herauszuheben, und zwar in gleicher Reihenfolge wie die der Dekanen. Er erhellte schon vorher, daß man sich vor allem hüten soll, die Reihenfolge Iuppiter–Mars zu verwechseln. Warum? Weil in diesem Falle das Jahr 31 – eventuell als letztes Glied einer Reihe 43–36–31– auf jede Weise das abschließende Moment der Wiedergeburt bezeichnete, das mit der Auffassung der Äneis übereinstimme. Aber Horos-Propertius ist einer anderen Meinung, nach der die Wiedergeburt erst nach der Herstellung der altrömischen (troianischen) Sittlichkeit und Religion mit den Jahresfeiern zur Ehre Augustus' im Jahre 16 stattfand. Also ist die Rede des Horos einerseits eine „zeitmäßige Verbesserung“ der Geschichtsauffassung der Äneis, das heißt eine *aemulatio*, eine Ehrerbietung des Andenkens an den einige Jahre zuvor gestorbenen Vergil, andererseits ziemte sich diese pseudohistorische Konzeption auch dem Dichter der *sacra diesque* besser. Das ganze Buch war in solchem Geist entstanden, und gerade darum geriet die Beschreibung des Apollo-Tempels mit Actium in seine Mitte, in die Achse. Also erstreckt sich die Gültigkeit der Horos-Rede nicht nur auf die nicht-ätiologischen Elegien, sondern auch auf das ganze Buch IV.

In erster Linie haben die Planeten der Dekanen historischen Zeichenwert, die ersten drei, mittelbar genannten Planeten Iuppiter–Mars–Saturn bedeuten vielmehr nur den Schlüssel zur Chronokratorie der Dekanen, obwohl in einer Form, daß auch sie auf die verschiedenen Phasen der troianisch-römischen Urgeschichte hinweisen: Troia war glücklich 9 Jahre, solange sie dem Sturm widerstehen konnte (= Iuppiter), die Wanderung des Aeneas dauerte 7 Jahre (= Mars), und in der Zahl der Jahre von

³¹ W. GUNDEL – H. G. GUNDEL: *Astrologumena* 128. E. SIMON: *Sterngottheiten auf zwei augusteischen Panzerstatuen*. WJA NF 5, 1979, 263–272. DIESELB: *Die drei Horoskope der Gemma Augustea*. NAC 15, 1986, 179–195.

³² A. JUCKER: *Apollo Palatinus und Apollo Actius auf augusteischen Münzen*. MH 39, 1982, 82–100. U. SCHMITZER: *Zeitgeschichte in Ovids Metamorphosen*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 4. Stuttgart 1990. 89–108.; weitere Literatur dort.

Lavinium bis zur Gründung Roms, 333 oder 369, ist es nicht schwer, die dominierende 3 zu entdecken (= Saturn).

Diese symbolische Sprache des Properz war weder ungewöhnlich noch unverständlich im Maecenaskreis, dessen Gönner nicht nur selbst in der Astrologie bewandert war, sondern auch an sie glaubte.³³ Wahrscheinlich hat sich nicht einmal Augustus als ein Halbgläubiger³⁴ über sie entrüstet, er konnte sogar auch die Erwähnung eines Astrologen im Zusammenhang mit Actium als stilgerecht empfinden, wenn man Plutarch Glauben schenken kann, der in seiner Vita Antonii über Antonius u. a. schreibt: ἦν γάρ τις ἀνὴρ σὺν αὐτῷ μαντικὸς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν τὰς γενέσεις ἐπισκοπούντων, ὃς εἶτε Κλεοπάτρα χαριζόμενος εἶτε χρώμενος ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπαρρησιάζετο, λέγων τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτην οὔσαν καὶ μεγίστην ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀμαυροῦσθαι ... (Plutarchos: Antonius 33.)

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³³ J. BOLLÓK: Horace and Astrology. ACUSD 19, 1993, 11–19.

³⁴ In seinem an den Enkel Gaius geschriebenen Brief ist zu lesen: *nam, ut vides, κλιμακτῆρα communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus*. Gell. 15, 7, 3.

GÁBOR BOLONYAI

LYRIC GENRES IN ARISTOTLE'S *POETICS*

In the first sentence of his *Poetics* Aristotle promises a comprehensive survey of all kinds of poetry: *Περὶ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς τε καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς, ἥν τινα δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει ... λέγωμεν*.¹ The reader's expectations, however, are not fully met in the course of his analysis. In the extant first book the focus is almost exclusively on tragedy, while epic receives only minor attention; other genres are usually discussed simply in connection with them. The lost second book was most likely devoted to comedy and there seems to have been very little discussion of other kinds of poetry, the only exception being perhaps the iambus. Genres other than epic and the two forms of drama are presented by less than twenty quotations and references.

The explanation for the distinctive position of these two dramatic genres is fairly obvious: in Aristotle's view they represent the culmination of the gradual evolution of all the innate possibilities in the mimetic capacity of human nature.² Nature itself has found in them the forms which renders its own functioning perfect and complete. As a result, description is gradually subordinated to evaluation as the treatise proceeds. This approach does not allow for the discussion of a theory of less developed and less refined genres to which lyric poetry too can be assigned. Yet this explanation does not really explain the almost complete lack of an analysis of these genres. It still remains to be resolved whether we can discover any mention in the most comprehensive and non-evaluative system of the genres discussed in the first three chapters of those genres which, although left unmentioned in the treatise, are assumed to have once played an important role in the history of Greek literature.

¹ "Our topic is poetry in itself and its kinds, and what potential each has", 1447a8–12. In the following I shall quote the English translation by R. JANKO (Aristotle: *Poetics*. Indianapolis 1987).

² See S. HALLIWELL: *Aristotle's Poetics*. (Chapel Hill, NC 1986) 279. He convincingly refutes both G. F. ELSE'S and I. BYWATER'S explanations. ELSE'S suggestion (Aristotle's *Poetics*: The Argument. Cambridge, MA 1957, 15 n. 56) that Aristotle only discusses genres which were still familiar and important in his days simply does not correspond to the facts. The weak point in BYWATER'S explanation (Aristotle on the Art of Poetry. Oxford 1909, ad loc. 47a 8) who thought that lyric genres belonged to music rather than to poetry, is that rhythm and tune are among the poetic media.

And, above all, where do the genres called lyric genres in modern terms³ – i.e. solo songs accompanied by a string instrument, choral songs, elegiacs and other songs accompanied by a wind instrument – fit in? Does Aristotle's general approach to poetry account for the fact that he does not even briefly elaborate on them? Are the most fundamental distinctions and concepts for describing poetic activity unsuitable for grasping the essence of lyric poetry?

Taking this as a yes-or-no question, I believe that the answer can hardly be other than assertive. Instead of challenging the truth of this statement I shall in the following attempt to pinpoint which of the categories essential to any theory of ancient lyric poetry are missing and which distinctions are not complete in this respect. My conclusion, however, will not be entirely negative. I would also like to stress that certain categories in the *Poetics* are formulated in a way that they can also include some of the lyric genres as well. There are certain concepts which play a subordinated role in the theory of tragedy, but which could serve as an adequate basis for characterizing certain lyric genres. Thus, although the *Poetics* does not include even a latent theory of lyric genres, it does offer at least the possibility of describing them with the help of certain categories in the Aristotelian system.

Let us start with an overview of how the most fundamental concepts are introduced. One well-known feature of the treatise is that Aristotle applies the very methods he recommends for art, a technical study. First, he defines the particular concept which defines the essence of any poetical activity and can serve as a genus concept. This concept is imitation; every kind of poetry (πᾶσαι) τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον.⁴ Aristotle does not verify this statement; he simply quotes specific types of poetry as examples which confirm his claim clearly and unambiguously. His statement can also be viewed as an inductive reasoning from six specific cases (epic, comedy, tragedy, dithyramb, auletike for the most part and kitharistike); in any case, Aristotle assumes that anyone can gain an insight into how things are and will thus hardly have any doubts. His initial claim, based on these examples, is clearly a starting point whose truth can be grasped through intuition (νοῦς).⁵

The same path is followed in the discussion of the points in which different types of imitation differ from each other. Aristotle defines three kinds of differences (in regard to objects, techniques and modes), but he does not offer an explanation for his selection of these three differences and his rejection of others: διαφέρουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων τρισίν, ἥ γὰρ τῷ ἐν ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ ἕτερον ἢ τῷ ἑτέρως καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.⁶ In the next sentence he refers to painting, but only as a contrasting parallel, as a genre in which imitation is achieved by other techniques than in poetry.

³ For the theory of lyric poetry in general, see J. KAISER: *De veterum arte...* (Diss. Leipzig 1906); H. FÄRBER: *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike* (München 1936); C. O. BRINK: *Horace on Poetry* (Cambridge 1963) 162ff.; P. STEINMETZ: *Gattungen und Epochen der griechischen Literatur in der Sicht Quintilians*: H 92 (1964); L. E. ROSSI: *I generi letterari e le loro leggi scritte e non scritte nella letteratura classica*: BICS 18 (1971); W. R. JOHNSON: *The Idea of Lyric* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1982) 76ff. I have not seen A. E. HARVEY: *The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry*, CQ 7, 1957, 206–223.

⁴ 1447 a16.

⁵ *An. Post.* 100 b6–17.

⁶ 1447 a16–18.

Thus the similarities and differences noted by Aristotle underline the importance of technique, but add little to the statement that poetic imitation can be achieved in three different ways. This is also a matter of intuitive comprehension and has to be accepted as an axiom.

Nor does Aristotle offer any arguments when he specifies the possible objects, techniques and modes of poetic imitation. Objects can be noble and good, or base and bad persons (or those in-between like "us"), in other words, persons whose actions can be characterized unequivocally from a moral perspective. The poetic techniques are words, rhythm and melody. The modes can be narrative or dramatic or a combination of the two.

But shouldn't these categories and distinctions to be challenged? I am fully aware that challenging them is, in a certain sense, rather anachronistic. Nevertheless, we can take the risk of being anachronistic if we seek to determine the points on which Aristotle's theory fails to grasp what we consider to be the characteristics of lyric poetry.⁷ I shall therefore consider the following questions:⁸

1. Is imitation as a generic term broad enough to include lyric genres as well?
2. Can the objects of imitation as defined by Aristotle be those of lyric genres, too?
3. Is lyric poetry covered by the two techniques of imitation?

1. As regards the general concept of imitation, there are no grounds for challenging its validity. It was a traditional view that poets' activity in a sense offer an imitation of life, even though this imitation was interpreted in various ways. Admittedly, Aristotle does not accept the whole range of possible meanings of imitation

⁷ I will not offer a comprehensive theory of lyric poetry, although I do assume that certain features are indispensable to any discussion of the genre. These are (i) the personal voice of the poet; (ii) a well-defined and specific relationship with his audience; (iii) a well-defined situation of life corresponding to a certain speech-act, especially if it is an important religious, social or private occasion distinguished from ordinary events of everyday life by certain traditional modes of behaviour; (iv) the prominence of emotions both as a state of mind to be expressed and as a state of mind to be induced in the audience; (v) a way of direct communication with the gods. Obviously, not all of these features must necessarily play a significant role in each and every lyric poem. For these characteristics see R. PFEIFFER: *Gottheit und Individuum in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*, *Philologus* 84, 1929, 137–152; E. STAIGER: *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* (Zürich/Freiburg 1946); B. SNELL: *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg 1955, 3. ed.) 83ff; H. FRÄNKEL: *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (München 1969, 3. ed.) 487ff; F. CAIRNS: *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972); E.-R. SCHWINGE: *Griechische Poesie und ihre Gattungen*, *Ant.u. Ab.* 27, 1981, 143–152; H. MAEHLER: *Die Lieder des Bakchylides I.* (Leiden 1982) 1–5; T. TODOROV: *Genres in discourse* (Oxford 1990) 1–26; W. SCHADEWALDT: *Die frühgriechische Lyrik* (Frankfurt 1989) 9–39.

⁸ I will not deal with two related questions. First, I only mention in passing the problem of whether objects, techniques and modes are suitable categories for distinguishing different genres of poetry, since other categories such as the *purpose* of imitation, can also be set up. This category is vital to both the definition and the detailed analysis of tragedy. It is not quite clear why Aristotle failed to take into account the different ambitions of poets composing different kinds of poetry. The absence of this category as a criterion of differentiation is one of the reasons why it is so difficult to find a definite place for lyric genres which were traditionally (and quite naturally) thought to have a different effect on their audiences than tragedies. Neither will I discuss the question of techniques of imitation, i.e. why a few lyric genres are mentioned in the class in which poetic expression takes the form of words, rhythm and melody.

and – in contrast to Plato – he uses the word in a much more restricted way; thus, for example, he never applies it to denote a certain relationship between beings of different level.⁹ But it is Aristotle himself who makes one think twice before considering every kind of poetry as poetry. I am not thinking of cases when one uses poetic techniques without imitation.¹⁰ The problem is that imitation is not a simple, invariable ingredient that appears in all species of poetry in the same way and to the same extent. Imitation has an innate dynamic; one kind of poetry can be more imitative than the other.¹¹ This potential is not a consequence of accidental factors, but rather depends on what, how and by what means a poet imitates. Accordingly, we should examine these factors.

2. As regards the possible objects of imitation, there are two basic problems. The first is that Aristotle restricts these objects to the realm of human behaviour. It is a generally accepted assumption that one of the reasons that Aristotle regarded Plato's critique of poetry as irrelevant is that he disagreed with his master on the matter of whom poets were writing about.¹² Aristotle only considers human persons as the proper object of poetry. This statement can be substantiated mainly by arguments *ex silentio*, for in most cases he simply neglects the gods of the tragedies who appear among the *personae dramatis* and who govern human action indirectly.¹³ His words used for the definition of tragedy are revealing since he does not attach any particular importance to the fact that the characters are usually of divine lineage, and concentrates only on their moral quality and social standing.¹⁴ Nor does he consider the portrayal of the gods appearing in the dramas as the poet's attempt to give a meaningful shape to the powers that limit and determine human actions. Aristotle talks about these representations as if they were simply traditional concepts that a poet should accept and make use of in order to have the desired influence on his audience, but not as if they were genuine parts of the poet's own vision of the realm beyond the human world.¹⁵ Nor does he hesitate to call both hymns and encomia as poems depicting magnificent actions, irrespectively of whether they were accomplished by divine or human persons.¹⁶ One consequence of Aristotle's choice of

⁹ See 1447 b13; but even his concept of imitation is far from being unambiguous; he prefers dramatic imitation to narrative.

¹⁰ 1447 b19–20.

¹¹ ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑποκριτῆς ἀγωνιστὴς καὶ μιμητῆς, ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἤτιον μιμεῖται. *Prob.* 918 b28–9. The adjective "imitative" even has the superlative form; *Poet.* 1448 b7; *Rhet.* 1404 a22; *Prob.* 956 a14.

¹² HALLIWELL (n. 2) 229ff.

¹³ For exceptions see also D. H. ROBERTS: *Outside the Drama: The Limits of Tragedy in Aristotle's Poetics*, A. O. RORTY (ed.): *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics* (Princeton 1992) 133–154.

¹⁴ In contrast even to his pupil, Theophrastus who in his definition of tragedy emphasized the heroic status of the tragic characters (fr. 708 FORTENBAUGH).

¹⁵ This is suggested by his answer to Xenophanes's critique of the representation of gods in Homer: οἷον τὰ περὶ θεῶν· ἴσως γὰρ οὔτε βέλτιον οὕτω λέγειν οὐτ' ἀληθῆ, ἀλλ' εἰ ἐτιχεν ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνει· ἀλλ' οὖν φασι. ("... e.g. the [stories] about the gods. These are perhaps neither better [told this way] nor true, but are possibly [lies] as Xenophanes thought; yet people say [it is] so."), 1460 b35–61 a1.

¹⁶ οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμμοῦντο πράξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων. ... ποιῶντες ... ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια, 1448 b25–7. Taking Aristotle's own view seriously about what kind of action a god is (or gods are) supposed to do, such "magnificent deeds" cannot be among them.

restricting the objects of imitation to human beings only is that it remains doubtful whether his theory is suitable for adequately describing genres such as theogonies and poems written to and named after particular deities: paeans, dithyrambs, mournings for Adonis (ἀδωνίδια), nomoi, hymns, processional odes (προσόδιον), songs accompanied by pantomimic action (ὑπορχήματα), etc. This remains a fact even if we know that in Aristotle's opinion it was the universal and significant imitation of *human action* that made poetry a meaningful and worthwhile activity.

The second difficulty concerns the different elements in human behaviour. In the most general description Aristotle takes two premises as his starting points: "*those who represent represent people in action*", and "*these people are necessarily either good or bad*". Therefore, he concludes, the possible objects of imitation are "*either (i) better than we are, or (ii) worse, or (iii) such [as we are]*". (He also introduces two other premises before his conclusion whose truth is also taken for granted: these explain why and why only character – and thus action – is taken into account: because "*characters almost always follow from these [qualities] alone*" and "*everyone differs in character because of vice and virtue*".)¹⁷ From his later analysis it also becomes clear why action (πρᾶξις) is more important than character (ἦθος), especially in poetry: character can hardly be defined or portrayed without a particular action. Character always defines one's actions, whereas action, even if only in extreme cases, can be achieved without representing character.¹⁸ The ultimate object of imitation, therefore, is what a person does and not what he is like. Ideally, a person's moral fibre is also revealed by his decision and motives, yet it is only secondary to what he actually does.

In the case of tragedy, other elements in human behaviour are also subordinated to action: passion or emotion (πάθος) and reasoning or argumentation (διάνοια).¹⁹ Of these, reasoning is the third qualitative part of tragedy beside plot and character.²⁰ *Pathos* is twice as far from action as character and reasoning. In the sense of "suffer-

¹⁷ Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμῶνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας [first premise], ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτους ἢ σπουδαίους ἢ φαύλους εἶναι [second premise] (τὰ γὰρ ἦθη σχεδὸν ἀεὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις [third premise supporting the second premise], κακία γὰρ καὶ ἀρετὴ τὰ ἦθη διαφέρουσι πάντες [fourth premise supporting the third premise], ἥτοι βελτίονας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ χείρονας ἢ καὶ τοιοῦτους [conclusion], 1448 a1–5. (In this passage JANKO dissects the line of arguments in a different way.)

¹⁸ ἄνευ μὲν πράξεως οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραγῳδία, ἄνευ δὲ ἡθῶν γένοιτ' ἂν· αἱ γὰρ τῶν νέων τῶν πλείστων ἀήθεις τραγῳδαί εἰσιν, καὶ ὅλως ποιηταὶ πολλοὶ τοιοῦτοι. ("without action a tragedy cannot exist, but without characters it may. For the tragedies of most recent [poets] lack character, and in general there are many such poets") 1450 a23–6. In real life a particular action always originates from and is a direct consequence of a person's innate ethical character, but in poetry the moral assessment of an action is not possible unless his moral decision becomes obvious to the audience (1450 b8 and 1454a18). See A. O. RORTY: *The Psychology of Aristotelian Tragedy*, (RORTY n. 13) 1–22; M. W. BUNDELL: *Ethos and Dianoia Reconsidered*, RORTY (n. 13), 155–176.

¹⁹ It would appear that in tragedy not only character, but argumentation is also needed to judge an action: πράττεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν πρᾶττόντων, οὓς ἀνάγκη ποιούς τινας εἶναι κατὰ τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν (διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις εἶναι φᾶμεν ποιᾶς τινας ("Since [tragedy] ... is enacted by people acting, these people are necessarily of a certain sort according to their character and their reasoning")) 1449 b36–50 a1.

²⁰ ἃ δὲ μιμῶνται, τρία ("the objects which they represent, three") 1450 a11.

ing”, *pathos* constitutes but one of the third part of plot;²¹ *pathos* in the sense of “emotion” is one way in which a character can influence others by his argumentation.²² Thus both “suffering” and “emotions” are presented from a perspective which portrays them as “actions”. “*Suffering is a destructive or painful action*”,²³ with a subtle shift of focus from the sufferer to the perpetrator who, as a matter of fact, is somebody else. “Emotions” too appear from the person’s angle who arouses them in others.

The emphasis on action is clearly related to the prominent position of action in his ethical theory and his preference for the corresponding dramatic mode of imitation.²⁴ Still, it is fairly obvious that the subordination of passions and character to action is hardly a principle which provides a suitable basis for describing most lyric genres. There is a passage in the *Poetics*, however, where action, character and passion are mentioned as possible objects of imitation in a way which does not necessarily suggest a hierarchy between these elements. At the very beginning of the treatise Aristotle refers to dance as one species of poetry which, although offering imitation by using only one of the poetical techniques, is nonetheless capable of representing the same things as the other types: αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ [μιμῶνται] χωρὶς ἁρμονίας ἢ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν μιμῶνται καὶ ἥθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις).²⁵ In this passage these three elements appear to have equal importance without any subordination between them.²⁶ It would appear that in this respect Aristotle regarded dance as closely resembling music, in which tunes and harmonies were traditionally distinguished from each other according to their capacity to represent *either* character *or* action *or* passion.²⁷ The question is obvious: is there any trace in the *Poetics* of this sort of equation between action, character and passion in connection with the forms of imitation which use *words*? An equation and distinction of this kind is certainly necessary for dealing with poems which are not more than (a) a direct expression of a particular state of mind or emotion; or (b) simply contain a description or a characterization of a person; or (c) portray a person, often thought to be identical with the poet himself, as trying to influence or persuade

²¹ δὲ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου μέρη ταῦτ’ ἐστί, περιπέτεια καὶ ἀναγνώρισις· τρίτον δὲ πάθος. (“*These, then, reversal and recognition, are two parts of plot. A third is suffering.*”) 1452 b9–10.

²² One part of the argumentation is τὸ πάθος παρασκευάζεθν (οἷον ἔλεον ἢ φόβον ἢ ὀργὴν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα) (“*the production of emotions (e.g. pity, terror, anger, etc.)*”) 1456 a38–56 b1.

²³ 1452 b11.

²⁴ In this respect his approach is similar to Plato’s: πρᾶττοντας, φαιμέν, ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖται ἢ μιμητικὴ βιαίους ἢ ἐκουσίας πράξεις, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πρᾶττειν ἢ εὖ οἰομένους ἢ κακῶς πεπραγέναι, καὶ ἐν τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν ἢ λυπουμένους ἢ χαίροντας, *Resp.* 603 C.

²⁵ “*the art of dancers [uses] rhythm by itself without melody; for they too can represent characters, sufferings and actions*”, 1447 a26–28.

²⁶ “in Kapitel 1, 1447 a 28 stehen Handlung und Charakter hier noch unverbunden nebeneinander; erst später werden die Charaktere der Handlung als Funktion untergeordnet.”, W. SÖFFING: *Deskriptive und normative Bestimmungen in der Poetik des Aristoteles* (Amsterdam 1981) 51. A similar, but not identical subordination can be observed in connection with choral songs and dances in a passage of *Laws*: Ἐπειδὴ μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστί τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας, ἐν πράξεσσι τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ ἥθεσι καὶ μιμήσεσι διεξιόντων ἐκάστων, 655 D.

²⁷ ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀποδεχόμεθα τῶν μελῶν ὡς διαιροῦσιν τινες τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἠθικά τὰ δὲ πρακτικά τὰ δ’ ἐνθουσιαστικά τιθέντες, *Pol.* 1341 b32–34.

others either by arousing emotions or by putting forth rational arguments, especially maxims. Aristotle, however, consistently maintains that action is paramount, and thus the answer to the above question above is a very emphatic "no". Still, there is another perspective to this issue. My suggestion – as can perhaps be surmised from the three points listed above – is that the very same categories which are subordinated in the analysis of tragedy can provide, or could have provided, the fundamental concepts for the analysis of lyric poems some of which (a) centre around a *pathos*, while others focus (b) on *ethos* or (c) on one's *dianoia*. We can thus claim that as far as the objects of imitation are concerned, some of the most important elements which could serve as a basis for a theory of ancient lyrics *do appear* in the *Poetics*, even if on a subordinated level, and thus Aristotle's work does contain an implicit theory of lyric genres. Obviously, a poem which is organized around only one of the elements of the six qualitative parts of tragedy cannot be as important as a tragedy. I am aware that we can, at best, only assume that Aristotle thought that most "shorter" poems – which we would classify as belonging to the lyric genre – could be compared to certain parts of tragedy, but even if he did, he most certainly regarded them as undeveloped and primitive antecedents because as objects they could only provide a significant imitation of life if set into a context which was broader than that of an individual situation, i.e. in a dramatic plot. So even if, as the case may be, Aristotle was insensitive to the lyric genres, I would like to draw attention to the fact that some tracts of archaic poetry could be appropriately described by the categories of πάθος, ἦθος and especially διανοία as defined by Aristotle in the *Poetics*.

3. The two possible ways of imitation are usually translated as "narrative" and "dramatic", a third type being a combination of the two. The Greek words, however, are far from being so unequivocal. In fact, Aristotle uses only one expression (ἀπαγγέλλοντα) which can be labeled as a terminus technicus; instead, he resorts to circumscriptions: ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαι ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα, ἢ ἑτερόν τι γιγνόμενον ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μεταβάλλοντα, ἢ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας τοὺς μιμουμένους†.²⁸ This raises three related problems, each of which concerns the problems in the classification of lyric poetry. First, Aristotle avoids the term δραματικός; should we attach any significance to this? He prefers ἀπαγγελία to διήγησις, the more common term used by both Plato and later literary criticism;²⁹ is there, in fact, any difference between these two words or not? These two questions are closely allied to a third-one: how are the two modes of imitation opposed to each other?

At first glance, the omission of the term δραματικός may be of no importance. It seems logical to assume that if a piece of poetry imitates "people in action and acting", it can, in accordance with the normal usage, be described as "dramatic". Moreover, it is Aristotle himself who brings up the question of the origins of drama

²⁸ "one can use the same media to represent the very same things, sometimes (a) by narrating (either (i) becoming another [person], as Homer does, or (ii) remaining the same person and not changing), or (b) by representing everyone as in action and activity", 1448 a20–3.

²⁹ See e.g. Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 37–38; Phot. *Bibl.* 319 a9.

and its Dorian etymology (1448 a28); and since he identifies the Attic πράττειν with Dorian δρᾶν,³⁰ it seems highly probable that he perhaps used the adjective form as a collective designation. He uses this form in the *Poetics* twice, and these passages can therefore offer a clue that as to why it was no accident that he did not use it *here*, at a point where he apparently tried to be as clear as possible.

In both cases δραματικός means slightly more and slightly less than what the English word “dramatic” conveys. In the first passage Aristotle praises Homer for being the only one who “composed not only good, but dramatic imitations as well”.³¹ In this case “dramatic” obviously refers to the direct speeches and the representation of the heroes from an inner perspective, so characteristic of the Homeric poems; what is unusual, however, is that it is not a neutral descriptive concept, but an evaluative one. In the other passage the meaning of “dramatic” is even more specific. Here Aristotle postulates that similarly to the plot of a tragedy, that of a narrative poem should also be “dramatic”, in other words, it should be “about a single whole action that is complete, with a beginning, middle [parts] and an end”.³² In this context “dramatic” is not simply one of the two modes of imitation, but an essential features of any plot, be it either of a (traditional) “dramatic” or “narrative” poem. In this sense, “dramatic” has an even stronger evaluative force and can be universally applied to any kind of poem with a plot. My point is that one of the reasons that Aristotle may have avoided the use of the word “dramatic” was that he associated it with these general requirements so closely that it became unsuitable for neutral description and value-free classification. These requirements can, quite naturally, be met most easily by dramas, but in his comprehensive division of the genres Aristotle perhaps also wanted to include those – from his perspective – rudimentary forms of dramatic poetry in which persons other than the poet also speak, but which do not contain a unified and organic plot. The most obvious candidates for this category are role-poetry³³ and choral songs³⁴ where the singers cannot be identified with the poet himself – these genres are today generally categorized as lyric poetry.

If Aristotle had wanted to follow Plato, he would have used the term “μιμητικός” to describe this mode of imitation. This word, however, would have been the source of another type of inconvenience, similarly as for Plato since one technique of imitation would have had to be called with its own adjective: “imitative”. As far as the other mode of imitation is concerned, Aristotle could choose between διήγησις (or ἀπλῇ διήγησις) and ἀπαγγελία. Actually, the choice was not as easy as it is generally assumed. Plato uses διήγησις seven times,³⁵ and ἀπλῇ διήγησις three times³⁶ to designate one kind of “narration” which is opposed to μίμησις, the

³⁰ 1448 b1.

³¹ μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εὖ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν, 1448 b35 (my translation differs slightly from JANKO'S).

³² δεῖ τοὺς μύθους καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις συνιστάναι δραματικοὺς καὶ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν ὅλην καὶ τελείαν ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος, 1459 a18–20.

³³ E.g. S. fr. 94 P. (= fr. adesp. P.); Alc. fr. 10 L–P); Anacr. fr. 385 P.; [S.] fr. 137 L–P.; Theogn. 579–82.

³⁴ E.g. S. fr. 114. L–P.; 140 (a) L–P; Bacch. 18.

³⁵ Resp. 393B 3; D 1; 396C 6; E 4; E 6; 397A 2 and B 2.

³⁶ 392D 5; 393D 7 and 394B 1.

other kind. The common concept of "narration" to which both types belong is either circumscribed³⁷ or is on three occasions referred to by the same διήγησις,³⁸ although διήγησις is once used to refer to the combined type of "narration"³⁹ and once to a speech by one of the characters.⁴⁰ To complicate matters even more, it is on one occasion ἀπαγγελία which is opposed to μίμησις (quite remarkably in connection with the dithyramb),⁴¹ and finally there is also one passage in which ἀπαγγελία denotes what a character says rather than the poet's opinion.⁴²

Since the generic meaning of διήγησις could hardly have been unknown to Aristotle (because in the *Poetics* it is already occupied by "mimesis"), we would expect him to opt for διήγησις.⁴³ Instead, he preferred ἀπαγγελία as the most general term – a term which occurs considerably more rarely not only in Plato's, but in others authors' vocabulary of literary criticism as well. His choice is even more striking considering that it is not a single and isolated occurrence, seeing that it appears in two more passages as one possible mode of imitation as opposed to the other, "impersonating" one.⁴⁴ Having said that, I do not claim that the basic meaning of διήγησις is different from that of ἀπαγγελία; rather, my point is that Aristotle tends to use it in a more specific sense to denote a developed and sophisticated type of narration which exploits the possibilities inherent in this mode of imitation. This term, therefore, occurs in connection with epic poetry which makes use of simultaneity in order to enhance its solemnity;⁴⁵ it is closely associated with the hexameter as the only suitable metre for narration⁴⁶ and with the extraordinary vocabulary that also characterizes the narrative mode of imitation.⁴⁷ Thus, similarly to the word "dramatic" which has specific connotations, διήγησις, too, is associated with particular forms of "reporting" poetry which meet the higher requirements for imitation. Ἀπαγγελία, on the other hand, tends to cover a wider range of genres and serves as a

³⁷ 392D 2 or 394C 1.

³⁸ 392D 3; and twice in a phrase διήγησιν ποιεῖσθαι (393C 9 and 394D 3).

³⁹ 393B 7.

⁴⁰ 396B 11.

⁴¹ τῆς ποιήσεώς τε καὶ μυθολογίας ... ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ-εὔροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις, 394B 8–C 2.

⁴² 396C 2.

⁴³ Similarly, for example, to Photios: τῆς ποιητικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ διηγηματικόν, τὸ δὲ μιμητικόν, *Bibl.* 239,319a

⁴⁴ 1449 b11 and 1449 b26.

⁴⁵ ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ διὰ τὸ διήγησιν εἶναι ἔστι πολλὰ μέρη ἅμα ποιεῖν περαινόμενα, ὅφ' ὧν οἰκείων ὄντων αὐξεται ὁ τοῦ ποιήματος ὄγκος. ("But in epic, because it is *exposition*, it is possible to put in many parts which are accomplished at the same time; with these – provided they are particular [to it] – the weight of the poem is increased."), 1459 b26–28.

⁴⁶ εἰ γὰρ τις ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ μέτρῳ διηγηματικὴν μίμησιν ποιοῖτο ἢ ἐν πολλοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἂν φαίνοιτο· τὸ γὰρ ἥρωικόν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων ἐστίν (διὸ καὶ γλώττας καὶ μεταφορὰς δέχεται μάλιστα· περιττὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ διηγηματικὴ μίμησις τῶν ἄλλων), ("If anyone produced an *expository* representation in some other verse-form, or in many, it would obviously be unsuitable. Heroic verse is the stateliest and weightiest of the verse-forms. For this reason, it most readily admits exotic names, metaphors and lengthenings – for *expository* representation exceeds the other [kinds] in this too."), 1459 b32–37; see also 1459a17 for the close relationship between (hexa)metre and διήγησις.

⁴⁷ It is also striking that in a very important passage, namely in the definition of the tragedy, Aristotle again avoids the use of "dramatic" as a term and uses ἀπαγγελία instead (1449 b26–2), see also n. 45 above.

generic, or at least a more generic, term.⁴⁸ I do not want to overstate my point: ἀπαγγελία and διήγησις are used as synonyms by Aristotle inasmuch as both denote one of the two manners of imitation; my point is that they are used in different contexts with different connotations, even if these differences are not explicitly stated.⁴⁹

But why did Aristotle regard ἀπαγγελία as being more suitable than διήγησις for a generic term? To answer this question, we can only rely on assumptions drawn from their etymology and usage outside the *Poetics*.⁵⁰ The meaning of ἀπαγγελία clearly depends on what an ἄγγελος is supposed to do and it is often used to denote the reports or tidings brought by a messenger or ambassador.⁵¹ It can, however, also be used in a much broader sense, with one person “reporting” something he personally saw or heard to another person; in this sense, even a historian’s report can be said to be ἀπαγγελία. “Reporting”, therefore, always assumes some kind of communication between a reporter and an audience whose personalities are clearly identifiable, and very often explicitly identified. The message can be a whole story or simply one event, but it is never a pure narration, irrespective of whether it is reported by one person or how it is reported. Although the focus occasionally shifts from the reporter’s personality or subjective point of view to the message itself, what he says is always regarded as a version of how *he* saw or heard the events. In contrast, διήγησις denotes a narration from a perspective that concentrates on the quality of the narration itself, irrespective of the narrator’s personality or his intention to inform others. This quality obviously comes from διά-: a focus on details, comprehensiveness and completeness from beginning to end. Though neither ἀπαγγελλεῖν, nor διηγείσθαι call for an obligatory case, the former is often linked to a dative denoting the speaker’s audience, while in the case of the latter the person(s) whom the narrator addresses are not mentioned.⁵²

It maybe important, too, that ἀπαγγελία can also mean the “style” or “diction” of what is narrated.⁵³ This meaning already appears in Theophrastus,⁵⁴ and finds its way into the vocabulary of literary criticism both within and beyond the Peripatetic tradition.⁵⁵ This change in the meaning can obviously be associated with the fact that

⁴⁸ Admittedly, there is one passage where it is contrasted with the “impersonating” mode in a more particular way, namely that miraculous elements can occur in “reporting” imitations, but not on stage: I will return to this later.

⁴⁹ In other words, I can imagine that Aristotle himself used them with different connotations without being entirely conscious of doing so; on this point I disagree with HALLIWELL who is very skeptical about it (n. 2) 281.

⁵⁰ There is one piece of evidence where ἀπαγγελία and διήγησις are distinguished from each other. It is not clear, however, on what basis Protagoras made the distinctions between the seven “modes of speech” (πυθμένες λόγων) to which they belong, see D.L. IX 50–4.

⁵¹ This is the first meaning LIDDLE–SCOTT gives for both ἀπαγγελία and ἀπαγγέλλω.

⁵² Taking 50–50 examples at random, I have found that διηγοῦμαι has a dative in 15 per cent of the cases, while ἀπαγγέλλω in 66 per cent of the cases.

⁵³ This is their second meaning in L–S.

⁵⁴ Ὁρίζεται τὸ ψυχρὸν Θ. οὕτω ψυχρὸν ἐστὶ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν, οἷον ἀπυνδίκωτος, Dem. *De eloc.* 94.1.1

⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 20; *Dem.* 25. Also in Philod. *Poem.* II 9; IV 8 and 12; Plut. *Dem.* 2. Used in this sense, the term also appears in later rhetors (e.g. RG VIII 13ff Walz).

a "report" is an account which reflects the speaker's personality, his perspective on events and the diction he considers to be apt for describing what he saw.

It is striking that the single passage in the *Poetics* where ἀπαγγελία is contrasted with "impersonation" is about the technique of narrating unbelievable and improbable events. It is used at a moment when the emphasis is on additions made by the *story-teller* straying from the actual facts in order to produce the desired *effect on his audience*: τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑκτορος δῖωξιν ... ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεσιν λανθάνει. τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν ἡδὺ· σημεῖον δέ, πάντες γὰρ προστιθέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς χαριζόμενοι.⁵⁶

In sum, both ἀπαγγελία and διήγησις denote a type of story-telling, but the two words evoke different associations and different contexts behind the stories. In the case of the former, one is reminded of a particular situation in which the speaker addresses an audience and it is always assumed that the speaker's particular personality can be felt throughout his report and can be contrasted with the voices of the characters he is speaking about. In the case of the latter, one is rarely tempted to ask about the person(s) the narrator speaks to, and it is not always clear who the narrator is since the emphasis is on the story itself. I cannot say that these differences are always clear-cut and of great concern since both share a common element, namely that the speaker is outside the story. It must in all fairness also be noted that Aristotle does not accentuate these differences and it is, after all, a mere assumption that he unconsciously attributed different nuances to them. It nonetheless seems to me that his usage of ἀπαγγελία at the most comprehensive level was not accidental; this expression can also be used to denote genres in which the narrator's voice can be distinguished from his characters, although he himself is characterized and put into a specific communicative situation with a specific audience. Apart from the dithyramb, this description could fit any song centering on a myth or story. Still, in his definition of the different modes of imitation, Aristotle does not name either dithyramb, or any other type. It is thus fairer to claim that the preference of ἀπαγγελία to διήγησις allowed for the inclusion of certain lyric genres and was even sufficient for incorporating them into the system in a slightly more definite way, but it did not accord them a special status. As a consequence, the dichotomy between the "reporting" and "impersonating" mode of imitation is meant to be wider than that of narrative and dramatic and is intended to cover lyric genres as well.

Other factors too may have contributed to this somewhat unclear classification in which lyric genres are there, lurking as it were in the background, but without a secure place of their own. It is quite clear that Aristotle intends to set up a dichotomy between the "reporting" and "impersonating" mode of imitation on the basis of authorial presence. We know that if the poet does not disappear behind the personae he imitates, except transiently, he imitates "by reporting"; if he does not appear at all, but identifies with his characters, he imitates "by impersonating". This "poetic presence" and "transformation" seem to be ambivalent notions. The "poet's presence"

⁵⁶ "the passage about the pursuit of Hector ... passes unnoticed in the epic verses. What is amazing is pleasant. An indication [of this is that] everyone narrates [stories] with additions, so as to please", 1450 a 15–8.

can simply imply a different *point of view* than that of his characters. But it can also involve a certain *voice* which can be superior, objective, authoritative, etc. (or not) compared to his characters – and the poet's voice involves a certain *way of speaking* or a *type of discourse* as well, corresponding to different authorial purposes.

Of the three aspects listed in this passage, by far the greatest emphasis is placed on the points of view. The two alternatives he defines at this point, namely representation from an independent authorial perspective or representation of each character from his own point of view, seem to be of equal rank. Later passages would suggest that Aristotle believed that the poet's perspective rarely has its own peculiar possibilities for imitation⁵⁷ and that he regarded it as a less sophisticated form of imitation with more limitations.

Since Aristotle uses striking and forceful expressions to stress the poet's shift from one point of view to another (as if this shift represented a complete withdrawal from his own personality and the penetration of another person), one is tempted to assume that he also meant the poet's voice and the type of discourse he adopted. Yet he does not offer a treatment of these aspects. More conspicuously, he simply disregards the various traditional means by which poets attempt to establish their trustworthiness and claim to derive their authority from divine inspiration.⁵⁸ Neither does he attribute any great significance how the speaker represents himself. (It would appear that the poet can represent only others; it is unclear whether cases when he speaks in his own person can be taken as representation or not.) Only the use of the term "reporting" raises the possibility that the poet's voice is considered, although this is only implied.

The third aspect is suggested by the characterization of the poet's activity as "reporting". But it should be borne in mind that similarly to "narrating", "reporting" denotes an "assertion", or rather an account of certain human actions. Admittedly, this reporting voice is not supposed to tell a true story since it is enough if his statements correspond to what is necessary and probable, although the audience is required to compare this fictional account with reality as they conceive of it. In lyric poetry, however, the speaker very often neither reports, nor narrates, but adopts a quite different type of discourse: he expresses a certain state of mind or a mood (congratulates, apologizes, condoles, deplores, thanks, welcomes, etc.), or tries to persuade the hearer to do something (orders, instructs, encourages, stimulates, etc.), or expresses his intention to engage in some action, or makes declarations, and sometimes he makes an assertion other than narration or report, such as presenting an argument in favour of or against something, instructs, advises, etc.⁵⁹ In connection with "the reporting genres", these classes of speech-acts are not mentioned by Aristotle; he assumes that the poet either makes assertions or does not speak at all. All of the above, however, are possible in the other mode of imitation where emphasis is

⁵⁷ Apart from two exceptions (the imitation of marvellous and simultaneous events, see n. 47 and 57), the poet's role is merely to prepare his characters' appearance.

⁵⁸ See HALLIWELL: *The Poetics of Aristotle* (London 1987) 71–6 and (n. 2) 284.

⁵⁹ Cf. HALLIWELL (n. 2) 281. For a comprehensive overview of speech-acts, see J. SEARLE: *A classification of illocutionary acts*, *Language in Society* 5 (1976) and H. HAVERKATE: *Speech-acts, speakers and hearers* (Amsterdam 1984) 1–42.

placed on the fact that the characters imitated *perform an action*,⁶⁰ in other words, they perform a speech-act embedded in the context of the plot.

Thus, the reporting mode of imitation is strongly associated with one type of discourse, namely the representation of how things usually/necessarily/presumably etc. happen/happened. It is possible that this was not a direct consequence of his theoretical approach; after all, it was Aristotle himself who stressed elsewhere that the analysis of non-assertive sentences is the task of the art of poetry and rhetoric.⁶¹ But why did he neglect to analyze those genres in which the poet himself utters sentences which are neither true nor false (neither probably, nor necessarily true or false)? The most obvious explanation is the traditional intertwining of the poet's real personality and his poetical alterego which were only distinguished in a later period of literary criticism. Thus, in Aristotle's mind, a poet who wrote invectives is not clearly discernible from a person who makes abuses without putting them into verse.⁶² As a result, utterances in the first person singular are imitation only in as much they represent others, but it remains doubtful whether self-representation can be viewed as imitation or not.

And this perhaps follows from one of his theoretical convictions: a poem can only have universal validity if all direct connections with real-life individuals are severed. In contrast, lyric poetry is based on a diametrically opposite belief, namely that the individual and the unique may have significance for others exactly because of their individuality and uniqueness. In this respect, Aristotle's insensitivity or indifference to lyric poetry can be paralleled by his distaste towards historiography. But by the same token, lyric poetry can be compared to the most basic form of imitation Aristotle refers to in his discussion of the two causes that gave rise to the art of poetry. Listening to a poem which focuses on particular individuals as its objects is a clear case of observing and inferring οὗτος ἐκεῖνος⁶³ where, in contrast with poems with fictional characters and general plots as their objects,⁶⁴ the problem of the identification of the represented with the visible original does not arise. Lyric poetry thus resembles the most fundamental and, at the same time, most primitive form of imitation; this, then, is why a theory of lyric poetry, although not entirely against the intention of the *Poetics*, nonetheless remains implicit.

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⁶⁰ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας, 1448a23.

⁶¹ ἀποφαντικὸς δὲ οὐ πᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι ὑπάρχει· οὐκ ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ ὑπάρχει, οἷον ἡ εὐχὴ λόγος μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε ψευδές. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἀφείσθωσαν, – ῥητορικῆς γάρ ἡ ποιητικῆς οἰκειότερα ἡ σκέψις, – ὁ δὲ ἀποφαντικὸς τῆς νῦν θεωρίας *Int.* 17a–7

⁶² Cf. 1449b8.

⁶³ "that this [particular person] is that" (this translation differs from that of JANKO), 1448 b17.

⁶⁴ Cf. 1449 b8.

ISTVÁN BORZSÁK

ZUM *MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM*INSCRIPTIONUM EXPLICANDARUM FACILE PRINCIPI
REGINAM INSCRIPTIONUM D. D. D.

Über Bestimmung und Zugehörigkeit zu einer „Kunstgattung“ des *Monumentum Ancyranum* wird seit anderthalb Jahrhunderten gestritten. Am billigsten, aber vielleicht zu bequem ist die Behauptung von Ed. Norden, mit welcher er seine bündige Charakterisierung im J. 1910 begann (Einl. I 512): „Abseits von der eigentlichen Literatur steht das *Monumentum Ancyranum*.“ Ähnlich hatte er (mit einem Hinweis auf Wilamowitz: Hermes 1887, 623 f.)¹ bereits in seiner Ant. Kunstprosa (I 268) formuliert: „So“ (d.h. dem Zeitgeist entsprechend, zwischen den ‘Alten’ und ‘Neuen’ vermittelnd), „hoheitsvoll, unnahbar, kühl spricht er (Augustus) zur Nachwelt in dem Monument, welches die πράξεις des gottgewordenen Menschen enthält.“

Selbst eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung dieser wenigen Wörter in der Neuzeit – die in jeder Periode und im Munde einer jeden Person wechselnde Qualifizierung von Augustus’ „eines *princeps* würdigen Eloquenz“ (Tac., Ann. XIII 3,2 *quae deceret principem*; vgl. Liv. XLV 40,9 über Aemilius Paullus’ *oratio: digna Romano principe*) – würde zu lehrreichen Beobachtungen Anlaß bieten. „Stil und Sprache des Herrn über den *orbis terrae* ist ... von schlichter Sachlichkeit und würdevoller Hoheit“ – hieß es ursprünglich bei Norden (Einl. I 513), was von den späteren Herausgebern taktvoll gemildert wurde: „der – sc. der schlichten Sachlichkeit – gelegentliche berechnende Färbung des Tatsächlichen keinen Abbruch tut.“ J. Gagé, Herausgeber des *Monumentum Ancyranum* war nicht weniger taktvoll in seiner Formulierung (ANRW II/30, 621): „il s’agit d’un récit exclusivement personnel et justificatif.“ Neuerdings war es L. Braccesi, der Augustus’ Behauptung über Germaniens „Pazifikation“ (Res g.d.A. 26 *Germaniam ... ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi... Classis mea per Oceanum ad solis orientis regionem navigavit*) zu wiederholten Malen (Alessandro e la Germania. Roma 1991, S. 56 und 65) als „bewußte Lüge“ apo-

¹ Später (in den Nachträgen zu seiner Kunstprosa, S.17) verwies er auf Wilamowitzens ergänzende Bemerkungen (Internat. Wochenschr. 1907, 110), sowie auf zwei Tac.-Stellen: Ann. II 60 und II 83; vgl. Einl. I 513. Dazu gehört auch Tac., Ann. XI 10,3 (über die vorübergehenden Erfolge des parthischen Usurpators Vardanes): *exstructis monimentis, quibus opes suas testabatur, nec cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parva* (laut E. KOESTERMANN, ad l.: „Ein Gegenstück zu der großen Dareios-Inschrift“).

strophiierte, – und das nicht nur betreffs der „Eroberungen“ in Germanien.² Übrigens hat J. Gagé – um „Auguste écrivain“ vorzustellen – die Beobachtung aufgefrischt, wonach der so oft zitierte erste Satz der *Res gestae divi Augusti* (*annos XIX natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam dominatione oppressam in libertatem vindicavi*) seine Leser unvermeidlich an Catos Mahnung des jüngeren Pompeius erinnert (Bell. Afr. 22): *tuus pater istuc aetatis cum ... animadvertisset rem p. ab nefariis civibus oppressam...*, *privatus atque adulescentulus ... paene oppressam Italiam urbemque Romanam in libertatem vindicavit*. Was den im Titel des Buches von Braccisi angezeigten Tatbestand („Alessandro e la Germania“), d.h. die „alexandrischen“ Antezedentien der Eroberungsansprüche des Princeps (und der *principes*) betrifft, so werden wir darauf noch unten zu sprechen kommen (vgl. Gymnasium 1994, 273 ff.).

Ed. Norden hatte zu seiner Zeit zur Bezeichnung der Taten des *divus Augustus* den griechischen Ausdruck πράξεις gebraucht, – der auch im griechischen Text des *Monumentum Ancyranum* zu lesen ist. Es handelt sich ja um die *Taten des Herrschers* (vgl. Cass. Dio LVI 33,1 τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔπραξε πάντα, ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκᾶς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώϊ αὐτοῦ σταθεῖσας ἀναγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε). Unbekümmert der Aufstellung der monumentalen Inschrift vor dem *Mausoleum Augusti*, sowie der Streitpunkte, wie man sich das ursprüngliche Schriftbild vorzustellen hat, laßt uns fürliebnehmen mit E. Kornemanns bis heute gültiger – resignierter – Formulierung (RE „Mon. Anc.“ 216): „Das Problem ist mit den zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln nicht eindeutig lösbar.“

Eine andere Frage, die des literarischen γένος der *Res gestae divi Augusti*, d.h. die der Zusammenhänge und Antezedentien des *Monumentum Ancyranum* kann vielleicht leichter beantwortet werden. Eine Aufzählung der zu mannigfaltigen Versuche einer Bestimmung seiner Kunstgattung (politisches Testament; Rechenschaftsbericht; Memoire; Selbstbiographie; Grabinschrift; ἱερὸς λόγος, *memoria vitae*...) würde sowieso die Fassungslosigkeit der Forscher zeigen, so daß wir lieber auch diesmal E. Kornemanns umsichtige Formulierung zitieren wollen (RE 225): „Diese Denkschrift ist in formaler Hinsicht ebenso einzig wie in ihrer geschichtlichen Wichtigkeit, wobei... auf die Tatenberichte orientalischer (Dareios I.) und hellenistischer Herrscher (Ptolemaios III. Euergetes und Antiochos von Kommagene) als *allein zu vergleichende Schriftstücke* hingewiesen wird.“ Der unpersönliche Hinweis gilt den beiden Größen Wilamowitz, bzw. Mommsen, die das Beispiel der ehemaligen orientalischen Herrscher im allgemeinen erwähnt hatten.³ Das vererbt sich – nicht ohne Grund – in den Handbüchern;⁴ es gibt aber solche, die (sich auf Dessaus Einwände⁵ berufend) irgendwelche Verwandtschaft mit den prahlerischen orientalischen Dokumenten abstreiten möchten.⁶

² Feiner F. R. D. GOODYEAR (*ad Tac., Ann. II 22,1*, über die „stolze Inschrift“ des Germanicus: *debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus*): „a proud, but untenable claim, like Aug.’ at R.g. 26,2.“

³ S. oben (Anm. 1).

⁴ Z. B. bei A. ROSENBERG: *Einl. und Quellenkunde zur röm. Gesch.* 1921, 98; SCHANZ–HOSIUS: *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* II⁴ 416 f.; vgl. auch E. BICKEL: *Lehrb. der Gesch. der röm. Lit.* 1937, 400.

⁵ *Klio* 22, 1928, 274.

⁶ Noch unlängst z. B. H. VOLKMANN: *Kl. Pauly* III 1420; vgl. *Burs. Jahresb.* 279 (1942) 76.

Nach P. Wendland⁷ wurde man aufmerksam darauf, daß es auch solche hellenistischen Dokumente gibt, die die Taten (πράξεις) von Göttern verkünden. (Z. B. Diodor I 27,3 über „Autobiographien“ von Isis und Osiris, als göttlichen Vorfahren der ägyptischen Könige; über die *ἐν τῇ ἀναγραφῇ* der goldenen Säulen des Euhemeros in Panchaia vgl. F. Jacoby, RE s.v. 963; Lact., Div. inst. I 11,33 *in qua columna Iuppiter gesta sua perscripsit, ut monumentum esset posteris rerum suarum*,⁸ sowie über andere inschriftlichen Aretalogien). Auch die hellenistischen Herrscher gedachten ihre Taten auf diese Weise zu verewigen. Auf alle Fälle wollte Kornemann (RE 228) einen gewissen Unterschied zwischen dem Orient und dem *Monumentum Ancyranum* wahrgenommen haben: in den hochtrabenden Rechenschaftsberichten der orientalischen Herrscher wollte er die Sprache der „vom hellenistischen Einfluß temperierten“ orientalischen Monarchie empfunden haben, während Augustus den Westen repräsentiert hätte.

„Gods do what kings do“ – bemerkte A. Momigliano⁹ zur Aufzählung der bekannten Angaben und hat einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Referat des Euhemeros über die „Wohltaten“ des Zeus Triphylaios, bzw. den im Text des *Monumentum Ancyranum* zu lesenden *res gestae* des Augustus konstatiert. Um die als Selbstbiographien verfaßten „Königsinschriften“ des hellenistischen Zeitalters zu veranschaulichen, beruft sich auch Momigliano auf die stolzen Berichte des Ptolemaios Euergetes (OGIS 54) und des Antiochos von Kommagene (OGIS 383), aber mit dem Vorbehalt, daß man denjenigen von Augustus nicht „one-sidedly“ auf etwaige hellenistische Vorbilder zurückführen dürfte; als römische Komponenten sollten auch die Triumphalinschriften in Evidenz gehalten werden. Er wies des weiteren auf die Ähnlichkeit von Hadrians athenischer Inschrift mit dem *Monumentum Ancyranum*

⁷ P. WENDLAND: Die hell.-röm. Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und Christentum. 1912, 313.

⁸ In Zusammenhang mit Euhemeros wollen wir der Begleitumstände der angeblichen Entdeckung jener gewissen Insel Panchaia nicht vergessen: die romanhafte Schifffahrt soll auf den Wassern des östlichen Weltmeeres stattgefunden haben, die zu erforschen nicht einmal Alexander dem Gr. beschieden war. Im nicht weniger romanhaften Geschichtswerk des Curtius Rufus (X 1, 10 f.) lesen wir über die Ozeanfahrt des Nearchos und Onesikritos: auf einer dicht mit Palmen bewachsenen Insel (vgl. Arr. VI 19,4) „rage aus der Mitte des Gebüsches eine Säule hervor, ein Denkmal des Königs Erythrus (von dem das erythräische Meer seinen Namen habe), mit einer Inschrift in der Schrift jenes Volkes“ (X 1,14 *columnam eminere, Erythri regis monumentum, litteris gentis eius scriptum*). Es würde kein Ende nehmen, wenn man alle *monumenta* ähnlicher Art aufzählen wollte, so sei nur der offen „verantworteten“ Lügen von Lukians „Wahren Geschichten“ (I 4; II 31) Erwähnung getan. Die „Fahrt“, die die phantastischen Reiseabenteuer des Antonius Diogenes („Wunderdinge jenseits von Thule“) parodiert, startet (I 5) von den Säulen des Herakles. Sogleich auf der ersten Insel erblickt man eine Bronzestele mit griechischen Schriftzeichen (I 7), die bekunden, daß „Herakles und Dionysos bis dorthin gelangt“ seien. (Vgl. R. Hennig: Eine arabische Umdeutung der hell. Sage von den Säulen des Herakles. Arch. für Kulturgesch. 26, 1936, 337 ff.; *Terrae incognitae*. Leiden 1944, 146 ff.) Eine „Entdeckung“ kommt nach der anderen, die „Reisenden“ setzen aber ihren Weg fort (I 11), vom πῶτος der Erkenntnis getrieben (I 5), wo sich denn die Grenze des Okeanos finden ließe, und wer noch darüber existieren mögen. Nach Phaethons Sonnenreich, nach der Nephelokokkygia des Aristophanes, dann den im Inneren des Ketos erlebten Abenteuern usw. begegnen sie überall weiteren Inschriften und auch sie selbst errichten Tropaia und Denkmäler mit Inschriften; sie erreichen sogar die Inseln der Seligen, wo das Andenken ihres Besuches selbst Homer auf einer Beryllstele verewigt (II 28).

⁹ A. MOMIGLIANO: The development of Greek biography. Harvard Lectures 68. Cambridge 1971, 92.

hin (wie bereits Wilamowitz).¹⁰ Indessen wollte er aus dem bei Pausanias (I 5,5) zu lesenden Auszug darauf schließen, daß Hadrian nicht so sehr irgendwelchen römischen, vielmehr gewissen hellenistischen Vorbildern (models) folgte. „More remote pre-Hellenistic (oriental) models need not concern us here.“

Wir sind einverstanden mit Momigliano: weitere orientalische Herrscherinschriften anzuhäufen würde kaum zweckdienlich sein. Lieber kommen wir noch einmal auf die oben erwähnte Annalenstelle des Tacitus (II 60) zu sprechen, die die Ägyptologen seit J. Fr. Champollion beschäftigt. Wie der alte Priester die Hieroglyphen der Rhamesses-Inschrift in Theben kommentierte, mag zwar die Wißbegierde des vornehmen Touristen Germanicus befriedigt haben, auf alle Fälle kann es mit den schriftlichen Dokumenten und den historischen Tatsachen keineswegs in Einklang gebracht werden: hat doch das Reich der Pharaonen *nie* Medien und das Perserreich, Baktrien und Skythien usw. in sich begriffen; Tacitus' Ausdruck (*imperio tenere*) dürfte höchstens auf Libyen, Aethiopien und gewisse Partien von Syrien bezogen stichhaltig sein. In Wirklichkeit haben wir da mit einer taciteischen Variante der Sesostis-Sage zu tun, laut welcher dieser Märchenprinz, der die Gestalten von mehreren ägyptischen Herrschern in sich vereinigt, nach Kleinasien Unterjochung im Norden und Osten nicht nur die Skythen, dann den Großteil Europas, sondern auch über Libyen hinaus weitere Länder des Westens erobert hätte. Die Gestalter der ägyptischen Reichsideologie haben nach der Eingliederung ihres Landes ins Reich der persischen Großkönige die auf derer Inschriften zu lesenden Listen von Ländern großzügig dazu gebraucht, um die Siegesberichte des märchenhaften ägyptischen Herrschers noch weiter zu bereichern. Für sie galt selbst Alexander d. Gr. als *νὸς Σεσόγῳσις κοσμοκράτωρ*, d. h. daß der Makedonenkönig nur ein Epigone ihres ruhmreichen alten Herrschers sein dürfte. Laut der Summierung von Sesostis' Heldentaten bei Diodor (I 55,2) soll der betreffende Pharao ganz Asien unter seine Gewalt gezwungen haben; er habe ja nicht nur von Alexanders d. Gr. Eroberungen Besitz ergriffen (*terminus post quem!*), sondern auch ganz Indien (jenseits des Ganges) bis zu den Ufern des Okeanos okkupiert, dann *auf dem Rückweg*¹¹ in Thrakien seinen Eroberungen Schranken gesetzt. In den eroberten Ländern ließ er vielerorts Gedenksäulen (στήλας) errichten, mit den heiligen Schriftzeichen der Ägypter versehen: „Auch dieses Land hat der König der Könige und Herrscher der Herrscher mit der Waffe erobert.“ (Vgl. Strab. XVII 1,5 c. 790 über die Siegessäulen und -inschriften des Sesosis.) Das heißt, daß die Verfasser, bzw. Interpreten von derartigen Dokumenten zur Erweiterung der Listen der legendenhaften „sesostrischen“ Eroberungen

¹⁰ In diesem Zusammenhang weist auch E. KORNEMANN (RE 226) u.a. auf die in die Mauern der Pyramiden eingemeißelte Verewigung von Corn. Gallus' Taten (Cass. Dio LIII 23,5 τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποίηκε) und auf die bekannte Inschrift des Ti. Plautius Silvanus in Tibur (CIL XIV 3608 = ILS I 986) hin. „wo es von großen Zahlen und unbekannten Königen und Völkern am Ende der Welt schwirrt“ – mit den in den Elogien gewohnten Perf. log.: *transduxit, compressit; ignotos ante reges... perduxit; captos remisit; pacem provinciae et confirmavit et protulit; annonam p.R. adlevavit.*

¹¹ Auch jener Kriegszug des Alexanderromans, der als lauter Unsinn die Forscher so sehr verwirrt, ja verblüfft, mag die blühende Phantasie des ägyptischen Verfassers loben: Alexander als Sohn Re-Ammons sollte auch durch die Eroberungen der *von Issos gegen Griechenland* ziehenden Achämeniden *den Ruhm der Pharaonen* vermehrt haben; vgl. I. B.: A Nagy Sándor-hagyomány Magyarországon (Die Alexander-Überlieferung in Ungarn). Budapest 1984, 10 f. (ung.)

mit voller Gewissensruhe auch die größten politischen Formationen des Orients in Anspruch genommen haben.

D. G. Weingärtner, der den rätselhaften Passus bei Tacitus – u.E. überzeugend – in diesem Sinne erklärt hat,¹² zählt die mit den „sesostrischen“ Eroberungen zusammenhängenden Textstellen nur in einer versteckten Anmerkung (S.169, 208) auf, u.a. diejenige Partie aus Lucans *Pharsalia* (X 276 ff.) deren Erhellung neue Perspektiven für die Forschung eröffnen sollte:

*Venit ad occasus mundique extrema Sesostris
et Pharios currus regum cervicibus egit,
ante tamen vestros amnes, Rhodanumque Padumque,
quam Nilum de fonte bibit...*

Caesar erkundet sich in Kleopatras Hof nach Ägyptens Altertümern (X 179 f. *quodcumque vetustis insculptum est adytis...*), in erster Linie aber nach den Nilquellen (190 f. *fluvii causas... ignotumque caput*). Der alte Oberpriester erachtet den Wunsch (268 *noscendi Nilum cupido*) des unersättlichen Eroberers für ähnlich, wie der der früheren „Tyrannen“ war: weder die Versuche des *summus Alexander rerum* (272), noch diejenigen des „verrückten“ (*vesanus*) Kambyses wären von Erfolg begleitet gewesen, ja sogar der legendenhafte Sesostris wäre nur im Westen bis zur Grenze der Welt gelangt, doch hätte auch er „früher aus dem Wasser der Rhône und des Po getrunken, als aus den Quellen des Nils.“ Diese Lucanstelle dürfte auf unsere ausgezeichnete Aufmerksamkeit Anspruch erheben, indem sie zeigt, wie zähe sich Ideologen einer verschollenen Großmacht nie eroberte Provinzen, ja Weltteile sich aneignen konnten: nicht nur das nächstliegende Libyen, sondern auch den äußersten Westen (*occasus mundique extrema*), ja sogar die Ergebnisse der karthagischen Expansion in Südgallien und Italien.

Damit sind wir bei der Hellenisierung des westlichen Mediterraneums, bei Karthagos Einschaltung in die Welt des aus Alexandria ausstrahlenden Hellenismus angelangt. Dieser Prozess läßt sich seit dem IV. Jahrhundert v. Chr. beobachten; ein Hinweis auf die Bücher von G. Charles-Picard¹³ und auf St. Hahns ausgezeichnete „Hellenisierung Karthagos und die punisch-griechischen Beziehungen im IV. Jahrh.“¹⁴ wird dabei genügen. In unserem Vortrag „*Perfidus Hannibal?*“¹⁵ haben wir – ausgehend aus J. Seiberts Hannibal-Büchern – die Hinweise auf Hannibals „Alexander-Imitationen“ (die griechischen Lektionen des Sosylos und Silenos; eventuelle Wirkung des Mythos des Eroberers Herakles-Melqart; Interesse des jungen Barkiden für Alexanders Kriegszüge; vermutliches Studieren des historischen Werkes Ptolemaios' I., sowie die von den reellen Ereignissen untrennbaren „Legenden“)

¹² D. G. WEINGÄRTNER: Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus. Bonn 1969, 164 ff.

¹³ G. CHARLES-PICARD: Les religions de l'Afrique Antique, 1954; Le monde de Carthage, 1956; Carthage au temps d'Hannibal. Studi Annib., Cortona 1964. – Die Monographie von W. HUSS (Geschichte der Karthager, München 1985) wird – trotz ihres Umfanges – kaum jeden Leser richtig belehren; vgl. noch S. LANCEL: Carthage. Cambridge (Mass.) 1995.

¹⁴ I. HAHN: Die Hellenisierung Karthagos und die punisch-griechischen Beziehungen im 4.Jh. Im Sammelband: Hellenische Poleis (hg. von E. Ch. Welskopf, Berlin 1974) 841 ff.

¹⁵ I. B.: *Perfidus Hannibal?* Acad.Latinitati fov., Comm. V–VI (Roma 1995) 51 ff.

überblickt; dann interpretierten wir ausführlich einige lehrreichen, bisher mißverstandenen Momente der dritten Decas des Livius als unerwartet auftauchende Requisiten der Alexander-Überlieferung in der römischen Annalistik.

Hier interessiert uns ein Traumbild, worüber Cicero (De div. I 24,48) mit einem Hinweis auf die Annalen des Coelius Antipater (bzw. auf die *Graeca historia* des Silenos) berichtet: Als Hannibal aus Junos lakinischem Heiligtum (in Süditalien) eine goldene Säule (*columnam auream*; vgl. Liv. XXIV 3,3–6) wegführen wollte, zuvörderst ließ er sie anbohren, um sich darüber Gewißheit zu verschaffen, ob sie massiv und voll sei (*cum dubitaret, utrum ea solida esset... , perterebravisse*). Die ihm im Traum erscheinende Göttin habe ihn bedroht, er würde sein einziges Auge verlieren, worauf der gescheite Punier seinen Vorsatz aufgegeben, ja sogar aus dem herausgebohrten Gold für die „kuhägige“ Göttin eine *bucula* habe verfertigen lassen, Votivgabe *in summa columna conlocanda*. Laut Seibert (I 416,20) soll den Feldherrn „akuter Geldmangel veranlaßt haben, bei den Tempelschätzen der Hera Lakinia eine ‘Zwangsanleihe’ vorzunehmen.“ Der verdiente Forscher befaßt sich *in merito* – ganz kurz (II 245) – nur mit der bilinguen (griechisch-punischen) Stele, „auf der er seine Taten für die Nachwelt verewigte“ (Liv. XXVIII 46,16, vgl. Polyb. III 33,18; 56,4). Wegen Kargheit unseres Quellenmaterials kann man sich nicht verewissern darüber, ob jener *ingens titulus* identisch mit der bei Cicero erwähnten *columna aurea* gewesen sei.

In der romanhaften Alexander-Überlieferung – und bereits früher – begegnet man des öfteren Denkmälern oder Grenzsteinen, die der „Welteroberer“ (z.B. Daireios: Herod. IV 87: „am westlichen Ufer des Bosporos ließ er zwei Säulen aus Marmor errichten und ließ Namen und Zahl aller Volksstämme, aus denen sein Heer bestand, einmeißeln, auf der einen Säule in assyrischer Schrift, auf der anderen in hellenischer Schrift“, vgl. IV 91; II 102 usw.; die Taten der Semiramis: Polyain., Strat. VIII 26) aufstellen ließ und die verkünden sollten, daß der Betreffende im Laufe seiner glorreichen Siegeszüge weit über die Früheren hinweggekommen sei¹⁶ (so z.B. Curt. Ruf. III 10,5 *emensos... Herculis et Liberi patris terminos*; VII 9,15 *transierant iam Liberi patris terminos* usw.).¹⁷ Anderswo liest man von den äußersten Grenzpunkten der Welt (z.B. Tac., Germ. 45,2 *illuc usque tantum natura*; Arr.

¹⁶ Ein Thema für sich wäre die Historiographie des legendenhaften ägyptischen Königs Thules (oder Thulis), der eine fernwestliche Insel des Okeanos nach sich selbst genannt habe (*ultima Thule*). Laut der späten Überlieferung (Suda, s.v.; vgl. I. B.: Das Bild der Antike in XVI. Jh. Budapest 1960, 328 ff., ung.) habe auch dieser „Eroberer“ zwei Säulen am Endziel seiner Fahrt errichten lassen. Noch später geschah, daß die Hofleute, die Amerikas Entdeckung Karl V. – „dem Ulixes der Neuzeit“ – zueignen wollten, im kaiserlichen Wappen auf den beiden „Herakles-Säulen“, die aus den Wellen des Ozeans herausragen, die Bandverzierung anbringen ließen: *Plus ultra*. (Vgl. E. ROSENTHAL: *Plus ultra, non plus ultra*, and the columnar device of Charles V. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst. 34, 1971, 204 ff.) In letzter Linie wird man dahinter das trübe historiographische Nachleben von Pytheas' verwegener Entdeckungsfahrt suchen: die Beobachtungen der massiliotischen Expedition dürften auf diese Weise in die „Siegesliste“ des ägyptischen Pharaos durchsickert sein, so wie Hannibals ephemere Kriegserfolge. – Über die Konkurrenz von Massilia und Karthago in den VI–V. Jh. (Paus. X 8,6) vgl. R. HENNIG: *Terrae incognitae*. 161 f.; über die Verdienste des Entdeckers Pytheas *ibid.* 155 ff.

¹⁷ Dessen Widerhall hört man selbst aus Agricolas Feldherrnrede (Tac., Agr. 33,3) heraus: *egressi priores exercituum terminos...*

V 26,2). Eine Behandlung der diesbezüglichen Altäre (Siegesdenkmäler, Tropaia...) würde die Rahmen unseres Themas sprengen.¹⁸

Die in der Fachliteratur unsystematisch aufgezählten Stellen dürfen wir hier um eine vermehren, u.zw. um die Siegesliste eines plautinischen *miles gloriosus* (Curc. 424 ff.), der soeben aus Indien nach Karien zurückkehrt: *ibi nunc statuam volt dare auream solidam faciundam..., quae siet... factis monimentum suis* (439 ff.), *quia enim ... dimidiam partem nationum omnium* (von den Persern bis auf Libyen!) *subegit solus intra viginti dies* (442 ff.). Die einschlägigen Bemerkungen von Wilamowitz (Isyllos von Epidauros. Berlin 1886, 37) zu Sikyons Belagerung im J. 303 wollen wir ergänzen mit der unmißverständlichen Anspielung auf die *de Coculitum prosapia* (392) stammenden 'Einäugigen' (*unoculi*), die die römischen Zuschauer nicht auf Antigonos Monophthalmos, vielmehr auf einen anderen, in Rom des II. Punierkrieges befürchteten Einäugigen dürften bezogen haben. P. Grimal in diesem Zusammenhange gewagten Aperçus und Identifikationsversuche¹⁹ sind geistreich, aber nur teilweise beweisbar.

In unserem Vortrag über den *perfidus Hannibal*²⁰ haben wir die Frage aufgeworfen, ob wir annehmen dürfen, daß wenn der in Hannibals Gefolge tätige Silenos seine literarische Tätigkeit – laut Norden²¹ – „ganz im Fahrwasser der hellenistischen Historiographie“ entfaltete, so auch sein Brotherr und Gebieter in der Konstituierung des Textes der lakonischen πράξεις-Inschrift der Praxis seiner hellenistischen Vorbilder folgte? W. Hoffmann hat (in seiner Hannibal-Monographie, Göttingen 1962, 100) nur geschrieben, daß der karthagische Feldherr in seinem 42. Lebensjahr getan hat, was Andere „nach einem erfüllten Leben“ zu tun pflegen. Diese Anspielung gilt unmißverständlich für die *res gestae* des Augustus.

Neulich kam G. Brizzi „noch einmal“ auf die Frage „Hannibal und der Hellenismus“ zu sprechen.²² Hauptsächlich der Hannibal-Vita des Cornelius Nepos und der Epitome des Iustinus folgend versuchte er verständnisvoll, ja begeistert die „figura straordinariamente più complessa e matura“ des großen Feldherrn darzustellen (245). Hannibal soll von dem Geschichtsschreiber Sosylos nicht nur gelernt haben, da auch er selbst *es* war,²³ nicht nur ein Zögling der hellenistischen Condottieri, sondern auch ein Anhänger der Kultur des Hellenismus, in seinem Exil in Orient „der Fesseln der drückenden ethnischen, historischen, politischen Realität enthoben“

¹⁸ Vgl. den Komm. von G. PERL zu Tacitus' Germania (Berlin 1990, 220) zu den dort (34,2) erwähnten Hercules-Säulen, oder S. 140 („zur Sitte der Altäre oder Säulen als Markierung des äußersten Punktes der Reise, bzw. des Feldzuges, etwa des Hercules oder Alexanders“, mit einem Hinweis auf Strab. III 5,5–6 p. 170). S. noch Iust. XII 10,5 f. (über Alexander d.Gr.): *positis imperii terminis... in monumenta a se rerum gestarum... aras statuit*.

¹⁹ P. GRIMAL: Échos plautiniens d'histoire hellénistique. Mélanges A. Piganiol, III. (Paris 1966) 1731 ff.; *id.*, Le siècle des Scipions. Paris 1975, 98 (über den in der griechischen Kriegskunst bewanderten Hannibal). S. noch E. DOBLHOFFER: Zur Geschichte eines antiken Motivs. Ziva Antika 44 (1994) 127 ff. (über die antiken Antezedentien von Leporellos Registerarie, u.a. über die soeben zit. Curculio-Stelle).

²⁰ I. B.: Hannibal und die Alexander-Überlieferung. Stud. Ant. 37, 1996, 67 ff. (ung.)

²¹ Ed. NORDEN: Ennius und Vergilius. Leipzig-Berlin 1915, 118.

²² G. BRIZZI: Ancora su Annibale e l'ellenismo: La fondazione di Artaxata e l'iscrizione di Era Lacinia. Atti del I. Congr. internaz. di studi Fenici e Punici (Roma 1979). Roma 1983, 243.

²³ Vgl. S. MAZZARINO: Il pensiero storico classico, II/1. Bari 1966, 155.

(la matrice culturale...poteva svincolarlo dalla continente realtà etnica, storica, politica). Diesen Aspekt von Hannibals Persönlichkeit dürften eher die seltener erforschten Episoden seines Lebens beleuchten, „quando ormai si è esaurita la sua fortuna.“ Aus Brizzis Worten wird man den Widerhall des resignierten Hannibal *nach* Metaurus vernehmen: *occidit, occidit spes omnis et fortuna nostri nominis Hasdrubale interempto* (vgl. Liv. XXVII 51,12 *Hannibal agnoscere se fortunam Karthaginis fertur dixisse*). Ja, wir befinden uns im Jahre 205, als Hannibal „den Sommer in der Nähe des lakonischen Heratempels verbrachte“ (Liv. XXVIII 46,16) und dort jenen zweisprachigen *ingens titulus* aufstellen ließ (vgl. Polyb. III 33,18; App., Annib. 57).

Der hellenistisch gebildete Hannibal wird aber auch *einheimische* Vorbilder gehabt haben. Bekanntlich wurde der ursprüngliche Text von Hannos berühmtem afrikanischem Periplus im karthagischen Kronostempel zur Schau gestellt.²⁴ Es ist eine Tatsache, daß Hannibal seine repräsentative bilingue Inschrift nicht in der Mutterstadt, sondern in Süditalien, im griechischen Milieu aufstellen ließ, d.h. daß er nicht bloß an die Verkündigung seiner Taten, oder an eine gewöhnliche rituelle Ehrenbezeugung dachte, vielmehr hat er sein Sendschreiben – in propagandistischer Absicht – für die *griechische* Welt bestimmt. Im Sommer des Jahres 205 in Defensive gezwungen wollte er die Erinnerung an seine Taten *und die Hoffnung* unter den von Rom noch nicht unterjochten Völkern wachhalten.

Brizzis weitere Ausführungen über den eventuellen Zusammenhang zwischen der von Cicero erwähnten *columna aurea* und der goldenen Säule in Panchaia sind zu weit hergeholte Vermutungen. So viel dürfen wir auf alle Fälle beherzigen, daß „gewisse Elemente des Euhemerismus durch Alexanders d. Gr. Eroberungen eine vollgültige Form gewonnen haben“ (247).²⁵ So gelangt der verdiente italienische Forscher – in Zusammenhang mit der politisch motivierten Verewigung von Hannibals Taten – zum hellenistischen Kult der ἡρώδης ἐπί της Εὐήμερος, zu den Inschriften des Ptolemaios *Euergetes* und Antiochos' von Kommagene, sowie zur Bestätigung von Momigliano's Erkenntnis der oben behandelten Zusammenhänge.

Was nun die Einwurzelung des Hellenismus in Karthago und die *Umkehrung* der Sesostris-Ideologie betrifft (d.h. daß nicht nur die ägyptischen Priester es waren, die den Gedanken einer bis zum äußersten Westen reichenden ägyptischen Grossmacht warm hielten, sondern auch diejenigen Kreise in Karthago, deren Vertreter gern an eine Karthago-zentrische „Melqart-Ideologie“ glaubten),²⁶ so möchten wir zuerst auf eine Bemerkung des „vermehrten“ Serviuskommentars (zu Aen. IV 37 f.) hinweisen: *et quidam dicunt Afros numquam triumphasse*), bzw. auf die Entkräftigung desselben Kommentars (*ibid.*): Plinius d. Ä. beschäftigte sich ja mit der legendenhaften Gestalt des ägyptischen Sesostris (Nat. hist. XXXIII 3,52), der anstatt von

²⁴ Vgl. H. DAEBRITZ: RE s.v. „Hanno“ 2362 (mit einem Hinweis auf Hannibals lakonische Inschrift und die ähnlichen Tatenberichte der orientalischen Herrscher); F. JACOBY: RE s.v. „Euemeros“ 963: „eine Sitte, die von hellenistischen und barbarischen Königen nachgeahmt das Wesen der *Res gestae divi Augusti* erklärt.“

²⁵ Vgl. T. S. BROWN: Euhemerism and the Historians. Harv. Theol. Rev. 39, 1946, 263 f.; L. TROIANI: L'opera storiogr. di Filone da Byblos. Pisa 1974, 43.

²⁶ Vgl. Giulia PICCALUGA: Minutal. Saggi di storia delle religioni. Roma 1974, 119 ff. (Hannibal im Melqart-Heiligtum zu Gades).

Pferden die besiegten Könige vorgespannt hätte (vgl. Herod. II 103; Diod. I 55,4 und 58,2; Val. Flacc. V 418), und im Auszug des Pompeius Trogus (Iust. XIX 1,7) wird der Triumphzüge des *karthagischen* Hasdrubal Erwähnung getan.

Des weiteren weisen wir auf die ganz besondere Einteilung der Weltmonarchien bei Orosius hin: operiert doch der Mitarbeiter und in gewissem Sinn Fortsetzer des Augustinus – Numidiens von Geburt – in seinem Geschichtswerk – abweichend von der traditionellen Reihenfolge – nicht mit zwei oder drei, sondern mit *vier* Weltreichen.²⁷ Laut der gewöhnlichen Erklärung habe Orosius als überzeugter Anhänger der Zahlenmystik die „Monarchien“ nach der Zahl der Himmelsrichtungen gerichtet (Hist. adv. pag. II 1,4): *a principio Babylonium* (= Osten) *et deinde Macedonicum* (= Norden) *luit, post etiam Africanum* (= Süden) *atque in fine Romanum* (= Westen). Andere dachten einfach an Nachlässigkeit oder Willkür. Ob es zu kühn wäre anzunehmen, daß der *conpresbyter* Augustins (Ep. 166,2 p. 547,5 G.) in Karthago eventuell von der *dortigen* Tradition dürfte Kenntnis genommen haben, laut welcher er den *regnum principatus* nach Makedoniens Führerrolle nicht sogleich an Rom, sondern an das unleugbar Großmachtambitionen hegende Barkidenreich zugeteilt habe? Um den zu erwartenden Einwänden vorzubeugen, wollen wir nur zwei Momente erwähnen: Der Sieger, der ja Karthago um jeden Preis vernichten wollte (*Karthaginem esse delendam...*), kümmerte sich spektakulär *nicht*²⁸ um die Erhaltung der historischen Überlieferung des Landes; trotzdem ist es eine Tatsache, daß C. Iulius Iuba (Gemahl von Kleopatra Selene), der – dank Augustus – in Mauretanien regieren durfte, nicht nur Anhänger und Verbreiter der hellenistischen Kultur war, sondern auch die Erinnerung an Hannibal eifrig pflegte.²⁹

Allem Anschein nach wird auch Tertullian manches aus der historischen Tradition seiner Geburtsstadt bewahrt haben. In seinen Schriften kommt er wiederholtermaßen auf das Lob von Karthagos Gründerin (Apol. 50 *aliqua Karthaginis conditrix*) zu sprechen. So erscheint Dido (z.B. De monog. 17) als positives Gegenpart des Bibelwortes (I Kor. 7,9) *melius est nubere, quam uri* – *maluit e contrario uri, quam nubere* (s. noch Ad mart. 4). Eine andere karthagische *matrona* ist für ihn Hasdrubals Gattin, die als sie die Feigheit ihres Gemahls (vergleichbar mit derjenigen des Aeneas!) wahrnimmt, sich mitsamt ihren Kindern in die Flammen wirft (Ad nat. 2,9). Überhaupt kann der berühmte Kirchenschriftsteller die Verunglimpfung des „*pius Aeneas*“ nicht satt bekommen.³⁰

Nach alldem wollen wir zum *Monumentum Ancyranum* zurückkehren: Mit der Aufzählung von vielen und mannigfaltigen Antezedentien hatten wir nicht etwa vor,

²⁷ Vgl. SCHANZ–HOSIUS–KRÜGER: Gesch. der röm. Lit. IV/2 (München 1920) 488; neulich H. KALETSCH: Zur Babilonischen Chronologie bei Orosius. Festschrift A. Lippold (Würzburg 1993), 447 ff.

²⁸ Laut Plinius (Nat. hist. XVIII 22) gelangte der Bestand der karthagischen Bibliotheken in Besitz der *reguli Africae* (Micispa, Gulussa, Mastanabal); vgl. V. J. MATTHEWS: *The libri Punici* (Sall., Iug. 17,7) of King Hiempsal. AJPh 93, 1972, 331 (über das Fortleben der karthagischen Traditionen); W. HUSS: a.O. 504 ff.

²⁹ Vgl. G. CHARLES-PICARD: Hannibal. Paris 1967, 105; 243.

³⁰ Darüber neuerdings J. B. RIVES: *Religion and authority in Roman Carthago*. Oxford 1995, 153 ff. (Punic past in Carthago); über Tertullian: 273 ff.

das *Monumentum* des Augustus von irgendeinem früheren abzuleiten oder es gerade mit der für uns sowieso unfaßbaren lakinischen Bilingue in nähere Verwandtschaft zu bringen, vielmehr seinen *königlichen* Rang unter den vielen Parallelen – wegen seiner Einmaligkeit – auch weiterhin in Ehren zu halten. Und wenn wir zum Schluß – eingedenk der oben zitierten Formulierung von E. Kornemann – die Frage aufwerfen: worin sich das „Abendländische“ des *Monumentum Ancyranum* im Verhältnis zu den orientalischen Parallelen offenbaren sollte? – darin, daß der römische *princeps* nicht – wie der in den Spuren des Herakles (und der altorientalischen Herrscher) wandelnde Hannibal – mit seiner Axt Felsen zerspaltet; auch nicht *flectit amnes* (Hor., C. II 19,17) und das „barbarische Meer“ (*ibid.*) nicht zum Rückzug zwingt, wie der Welteroberer Dionysos und seine „Nachahmer“, *nur* die kriegsmüde Oikumene hat er – als Friedensbringer (εἰρηνοποιός) – versöhnt (*depacavit*), ja sogar – als σωτήρ – *erlöst*. Zu *dessen* ewiger Erinnerung hat er seine *Taten* (πράξεις) auf bronzene Tafeln einmeißeln lassen, wie zu seiner Zeit Alexander d.Gr. riesige Altäre am Ende seiner Eroberungszüge errichtet hat, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς ... καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων (Arr. V 29,1).

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VISIO, RATIO, AND DOUBT IN ST. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY

With the rise of scholasticism in theology, both the concept of Beauty and the sensory-aesthetic approach to the idea of God was gradually eclipsed by a new ontological and epistemological frame of mind. The change can be linked to the process by which Platonism and Neo-platonism, together with their philosophically-based aesthetic, were succeeded by Aristotelianism, which treats aesthetic quality only as reflected in the work of art, or as a characteristic of moral action.¹ Not that any difference can be seen in the definition of beauty itself. Both the Platonizing-Augustinian and the Aristotelian-Thomistic viewpoints identify the beauty of God and all His works, from creation to redemption, with the Good, with Form, Meaning, Order, and the One, and hence with Being. It is an ontic, objective characteristic of the object: it defies further analysis. Beauty is given, a part of the object, which is beautiful not because it pleases us, but, in Thomas' words, *pulchra dicuntur quae visa placent*² – that is beautiful which, upon our seeing it, pleases; and pleases both by reason of, and to, the degree that the subject is able to grasp it. This faculty of intuition is dependent on the harmony of the subject with the object of perception; on the extent to which the subject attains beauty. Hence, the realization of this harmony

¹ I cite Anselm's writings according to the SCHMITT-edition (book/chapter, followed by line and page numbers in brackets); I also made use of M. CORBIN's edition: *L'Oeuvre de Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry*. Paris, from 1986; and of the edition edited by I. BIFFI and C. MARABELLI: *Anselmo, Opere*. Milano, from 1988.

Abbreviations: M=Monologion, P=Proslogion, CDH=Cur Deus homo?, DG=De grammatico, DCD=De casu diaboli, DCV=De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato, DIV=Epistola de incarnatione Verbi, PS=De processu Spiritus Sancti, Az=Epistola de azimo et fermentato, W=Epistola Waleramni ad Anselmum, Or=Orationes.

The basic works about medieval aesthetics mostly address the aesthetics of works of art: E. DE BRUYNE, *Études d'esthétique médiévale* I–III. Brugge 1946, and by the same author, *L'esthétique du Moyen Age*. Louvain 1947; W. TATARKIEWICZ, *History of Aesthetics*, Vol. II. *Medieval Aesthetics*. Mouton, Hague 1970; R. ASSUNTO, *Die Theorie des Schönen im Mittelalter*. Köln 1963; ed. KÁROLY REDL, *Az égi és a földi szépről. Források a későantik és középkori esztétika történetéhez* (On Heavenly and Earthly Beauty. Sources on the history of aesthetics from late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, introductory study and texts). Budapest 1988.

² STh I 5,4.

does not belong so much to analytical reason as to *visio*, vision of the totality of a thing. God's beauty is grasped in *visio*; subject and object reach perfect correspondence and oneness in the *visio beatifica*; this itself is the endpoint of the mystical path of purification, not a simple rational exertion, *sola ratio*. Separation does not mean total detachment: the search, the striving, the thirst after *visio* affects the rational mind in mysterious ways, but this influence is itself irrational, impossible to trace, and defies all reasoned analysis. The Prooemium of Anselm's *Proslogion* is an authentic account of an experience of this kind. Certainly, as a consequence of the change in outlook, reflection on the Divine nature begins to develop, by degrees, along two quite separate paths: *pulchritudo divina*, less and less the object of philosophical inquiry, is pushed back into the territory of mystical meditation and religious piety. The great, later challenges facing theology, that of the Enlightenment in particular, hardly favoured the aesthetic approach. Ethics took the foreground. If we can speak at all – and we clearly can – of the re-emergence of aestheticizing theology in the second half of our century, this can be linked to the activity of the non-Thomistic schools, to the *theologie nouvelle* (resourcement, Personalism, certain initiatives of the theological Postmodern).³

The experience of beauty, the path of *delectatio*, was, in Patristic times and in the pre-Aristotelian Middle Ages, clearly an adequate – in fact, the preeminent approach to knowledge of God. The question of beauty's essence, of the possibilities defining our awareness of it, keenly engaged the Fathers; among them Anselm's ideal and model, Augustine, for whom the striving for beauty was a ruling passion throughout his life and a vital part and primary aim of his theology.⁴ In Anselm's case, the situation is rather different. It is certain that the change of outlook under discussion – which cannot, of course, be linked with any precision to a concrete period or personality – defined his life and thought: he suffered this change, in which the experience of beauty slowly vanished from the horizon of philosophical reflection, with extreme sensitivity, as a feeling of loss, accompanied by a vague, lifelong sense of his personal responsibility and guilt.

As far as the essence of beauty is concerned, Anselm's teaching is identical to Augustine's: beauty is identified with order, with well-orderedness (*ordo, ordinatum*), with the intelligible internal structure, the rationality, of the objects of our knowledge. All the same, he says far less about this than his master, and if we consider only the absolute number of words he writes on the subject, we might be justified in concluding that the theme, as compared with its place in the works of Augustine, is less important for Anselm. Accordingly, the forest of scholarly com-

³ The most important synthesis is H. U. VON BALTHASAR's *Herrlichkeit: Eine theologische Aesthetik* I–III. Einsiedeln 1961–1969; see also, by the same author: *Theodramatik: I–V*. Einsiedeln 1973–1983.

⁴ On Augustine's concept of beauty, see F. PLÓTKIN, *Augustinian Aesthetics Revisited*. In: *American Benedictine Review* 1969, 342–351. – Augustine's texts on beauty can be found together in: *Agostino: Ordine, musica, bellezza* (tr., ed., and commentary by M. BETTETINI, Milano 1992) a longer bibliography can be found in: *ibid.* 275, Note 1.

mentary on Anselm rarely gives any attention to this whole range of problems.⁵ The fact that this question is of fundamental importance is betrayed not so much by the mass of the texts, as by Anselm's own voice.⁶ He never addresses the beautiful with analytic detachment; only, rather, in his extreme states of mind, in prayer, in meditation, or in connection with those themes lying closest to his heart (redemption: CDH 1,1; 3–4); in the agitated crises of his striving for God; in a tone of resignation, hopelessness and despondence (P chapters 1 and 17); as something beyond his reach, a reality to be hoped for, at the most, in the next life (P 26), and in full consciousness of his loss, since what has been lost is the indispensable condition of human wholeness. At other times, he addresses it in a burst of exuberant joy; this duality of tragic pain and joy originates from his deep awareness of God's immanence and transcendence, and of the other Divine paradoxes which spring from this source. This is the very milieu, the context or atmosphere in which Anselm's philosophy, his theology, and all his important texts can be understood. Consequently, it is clear how tight the ties are that bind Anselm, the rationalist, the "father of scholasticism", to the aesthetic way of seeing; it could hardly be otherwise, accepting as given that the same reality is at once *ordinatum* from the side of *ratio*, and *pulchrum* from the side of *delectatio*. It is clear how indispensable the element of experience is on the path leading to the intellectual knowledge of God, and how incomprehensible Anselm's key concept of *ratio* really is, if we separate it from the ancillary concept of intentionality, of seeking, of desire; how fundamental the *emotional* element expressed in the ontic unity of knowing subject and object of knowledge, and so on. In short: the very thing that makes him the "father of scholasticism" is inseparable from sense and the aesthetic mode of vision.

Several questions must be faced. There is need for clarifying the nature of Anselm's relation to the tradition he inherited from Augustine, together with his assessment of the possibilities inherent in the rational and aesthetic approaches to theological themes, of the differences between them, of their place in the philosopher's investigations. A further step, and a logical consequence of the first, would be an examination of Anselm's use of language. Here, and not as part of the traditional linguistic-stylistic disciplines, since Anselm's idiom, that individual language, was, it

⁵ In spite of BALTHASAR'S work; see his chapter on Anselm in *Herrlichkeit* Vol. II. (Faecher der Stile: Klerikale Stile. Einsiedeln 1962), 219–269; on the results of more recent research, see B. WARD, *Inward Feeling and Deep Thinking: The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm Revisited*. In: *Anselm Studies* 1, 1983, 177–188; A. J. VANDERJAGT, *The Performative Heart of Anselm's Proslogion*. In: *Anselm. Aosta, Bec, and Canterbury. Papers in Commemoration of the 900th Anniversary of Anselm's Enthronement as Archbishop, 25th Sept. 1093*. Ed. D. E. LUSCOMBE, G. R. EVANS; Scheffield Ac.Pr. 1996 (hereafter cited as AABC), 229–237; M. B. PRANGER, *The Mirror of Dialectics: Naked Images in Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux*. In: AABC, 136–147; Y. CATTIN: *La preuve de Dieu. Introduction à la lecture du Proslogion de Anselme de Canterbury*. Paris 1986, 1–59; see also, by the same author: *S. Anselm et la tradition philosophique de l'immédiateté de Dieu*. In: *L'attualità filosofica di Anselmo d'Aosta*. Ed. M. HOEGEN, Roma 1990, 83–142, esp. 132–136.

⁶ Since, as BALTHASAR writes (*ibid.* II., 6–10.) the point is not how much an author writes about this, but rather the extent to which he *actually follows* organically the course of the theology of aesthetic seeing.

would seem, created to replace the lost *visio*.⁷ The question that engages us here, as a prelude to all of these, and to the further questions that might be raised, is this: how did Anselm experience this new and, for him, strange situation: the experience of the loss of *visio*?

We must give an account of the following dichotomy: in his conception of the essence of beauty, Anselm adds nothing to the inherited Platonic-Augustinian tradition (a); on the other hand, his views on the possibility of grasping *pulchritudo divina* is strongly skeptical, differing, whatever the reason, from that of his master and the tradition; this feeling of loss exercises a decisive influence on his thinking (b).

a) First, a short survey of the relevant texts. Beauty, according to Anselm, is an ontic, objective quality of things, identical with their well-orderedness, their intelligible internal structure. In his writings *ordo*, *ratio*, *pulchritudo* express the same state, the only difference being that *ordo* denotes the nature of a thing, *ratio* the intelligibility of this nature, *pulchritudo* the sensory experience attached to the inward or outward intuition of the thing. All order is by nature beautiful, and all beauty is "the beauty of order", *ordinis pulchritudo*: to elucidate the genitivus explicativus' terseness, "beauty as revealed in well-orderedness".⁸ At other times, he expresses the same thing with the phrase *rationis pulchritudo*, because our experience of beauty (*delectatio*) is itself caused by our comprehension of the thing's intelligible internal structure, its *ratio*. When the subject, turning his own subjective *ratio* on the objective *ratio* of a thing, actually comprehends the potentially comprehensible beauty of the object, the knowledge that arises in the subject is really an experience of beauty; knowledge that incites an echo in the knower: the affirmation, desire, love of the reality he has come to know.⁹

It is typical of this outlook that, in chapter 1.15 of the CDH, about the *world*, the order and beauty in things, the expressions *universitatis ordo*, *universitatis pulchritudo* (5), combined, in fact, with an explicative *et*, – *universitatis ordo et pulchritudo* (8 and 18–19) – or the noun and the possessive attribute of the phrase *ordinis pulchritudo* (22 and 24), are completely interchangeable.¹⁰ In the human being, beauty is at once an attribute of being – man is beautiful if he occupies his proper place in the order and beauty of the world – and an active attribute: the faculty of knowing, affirming, and remembering the beauty of the world: these two sides are

⁷ On the epistemological foundation of this phenomenon in Anselm, see H. KOHLENBERG, Anselm spricht zu (Post)modernen Denkern. In: AABC, 376–391, esp. 389–391; A. J. VANDERJAGT, *ibid.* In the case of Anselm, the question of language is closely allied to the question of "philosophical prayer", see W. BEIERWALTES, Sulla storia della problematica della preghiera filosofica. In: Proclo. I problemi della sua metafisica. Milano 1988, 422–425. B. WARD makes use of observations regarding Anselm's language in his translations of meditations, prayers, and P (London 1979).

⁸ In CDH 1, 15, where these expressions occur five times.

⁹ Redemption is *amabilis*, not just "*propter utilitatem*", but, thanks as well to the beauty of its own internal order, "*propter rationis pulchritudinem*". CDH 1,1 (9, 48).

¹⁰ In M 7 the synonyms of *ordo* are *forma*, *numerus*, *diversus*, *variatus*, *conveniens* (7–10, 22), several parallels of which can be found in Augustine, see Agostino, Ordine.... *ibid.* 273 and following, the possible common source is Sap 11, 21: *sed omnia inmensura et numero et pondere disposuisti*; see Agostino, Ordine..., *ibid.* 281, note 23.

inseparable (CDH 1,15). The human being's ontic beauty is not a quality independent of him and outside his influence (like beauty taken in the cosmetic sense), but can be actively realized in the human activity of knowing and remembering: the human being, in one and the same act, inwardly knows and realizes his own self's, and outwardly, the world's beauty; and when he does the one, he by necessity accomplishes the other. Beauty, as an attribute of God's being, naturally does not differ from the other attributes: goodness, wisdom, justice, etc. (M 16 /3–8,31/), nor does it differ from, those other "qualities" that Anselm describes as "sensory" (*harmonia, odor, sapor, lenitas*; P 17). As an active attribute, all of God's action in the world, its creation, and governorship, and the removal of sin, has one and only one goal: the preservation of the world's beauty and order (CDH *ibid.*). Redemption, God's supreme act – since with it He restored the order of things on the highest level – is at once the most beautiful; its inner order is a "splendid order", *speciosa ratio; speciosa* (1,1 /18–49/) as a whole and in its single elements, and in its effects in the world.¹¹

In consequence, the only force opposed to beauty is evil, and its outward face, sin. Sin is *foedum, foeditas* (Or 14 /112–120, 58–59/), translateable only inadequately as "ugliness"; but, since sin, for Anselm, as for the entire Plotinian-Augustinian tradition, is a privation, nothingness, this *foedum* in fact expresses the privation of beauty: that which in the ethical sphere is *in-iustitia*, the privation of justice, or ontically speaking, *in-ordinatum*, the privation of order, is expressed – for want of a better word, there being no privative form of *pulchrum, pulchritudo* – with the words *foedum, foeditas*. Sin, not only taken in itself, but also in a causative sense, is the privation of beauty; it takes beauty from the world (*decolorat*: Or 7 /69,20/),¹² and the removal of sin, either as freely willed restitution, or as punishment, or – in the highest sense – redemption, seen as the remission of sin, is directed toward the cancellation of this lack, the restoration (*restitutio*) of the beauty and order of the world. The peculiar logic of this ontic and ethical concept of beauty forces Anselm to the position that suffering and death, taken as punishment or as the elimination of sin, "is not ugly (*foedum*) in itself", or rather, to paraphrase, "is not a privation of beauty in itself", because it aims toward the *restitutio* of the world's beauty and order; if the sinner submits, he acts "according to some beautiful order" (*ordine pulcherrimo*: Or 14 /119,59/).¹³ Following this logic further, sin "coerces" God, who punishes in the interest of the order and beauty of things, and if He were not to do so, in some sense "He would appear to be deficient in His management" (CDH 1,15 /22–25,73/).¹⁴ Finally, so that the original beauty and order of the world be restored, God finds

¹¹ See, here, *rationis pulchritudo* (9,48), *decora materia* (21,49). Redemption is, in its parts (= its mode) beautiful because of its *convenientia*, since it is formally *conveniens* with the sin it erases (1,3 /3–12,51/), in its effects, since it returns the world, scarred by sin, to its original state of beauty, Or 7 (64–71,20).

¹² Why does the loss of beauty in the world caused by sin directly involve a loss of *colour*? It is certain that Augustine's definition, which was universally known in the Middle Ages, is the philological precedent (Ep 3,4): physical beauty is *congruentia partium cum quadam coloris suavitate*; but he gives no concrete answer to our question. Is the case in point only another instance of Anselm's well-known delight in punning (*decolorabantur – decorabantur*) (69 and 71), or is it something more?

¹³ On the "ugliness" of sin, see the entire passage, 109–120.

¹⁴ Citations from the CDH translated by F. N. DEANE, Basic Writings, 2nd ed.

himself in some sense “forced” into the act of redemption. It is no surprise that this notion of the necessity of redemption (*necessitas*) became, from the time of Thomas, the scandal of Anselm’s doctrine of salvation, however great an effort the author of the CDH expended on the attempt to take the edge off his conclusion by a stricter clarification of this concept of *necessitas sequens* (CDH 2,17).¹⁵

This beauty, given in the simple existence of the thing itself, does not differ in any real sense from the *ordo* and *ratio* of things. Since it is present, in principle, in all things *suo proprio modo*, beauty forms an interdependent system originating, both in its entirety and its parts, in God its source; damage to the beauty of any single element affects the beauty of the whole, and, in some sense “*quantum ad nos*” of God’s own self; the restoration of the beauty of a single thing through restitution, punishment, or redemption is at once the restoration of the beauty of the whole.¹⁶ Apart from his teaching on this ontic and ethical concept of beauty, Anselm is not interested in aesthetic beauty. The one area of aesthetics that engages him is that of language: the demand for *convenientia* revealed, in part, through his striving to find a beautiful mode of discourse to fit his beautiful subject; in part, especially in the prayers, through his striving to create aesthetic qualities mirroring, in words, the beauty of his theme – the magnificence of the divine paradoxes and tautologies.

b) According to this outlook, God is the source of all beauty. But *visio*, the contemplative perception of God’s beauty, is no longer possible; and all those divine qualities described by Anselm as sensory (*harmonia, odor, sapor, lenitas*) are in fact beyond the grasp of our inner senses (*sensus animae*). The “*non te sentio*” in Chapter 17 of the *Proslogion* is the key expression of this constantly-recurring state of being; *Confessiones* 10,8,6 is usually cited as a parallel text.¹⁷ Both texts begin with the statements 1) that such sensory qualities can be meaningfully attributed to God and 2) that He is the source of all such qualities in created things. The two texts agree in this: if we leave the natural stylistic differences out of consideration, what Anselm has to say in his terse enumeration is in exact agreement with Augustine’s more lyrical, effusive words. But these are, in truth, little more than insignificant similarities, based on motifs irrelevant to the deeper content, and hiding far weightier asymmetries. The attitude of the two texts diverges widely on the following lines. According to Augustine’s understanding, the world’s beauties and their bodily intuition through the senses lead us towards God, and, in the word’s truest meaning, we proceed from the senses along a straight road from the beauty of things to the beauty of God, from musical harmonies to the Divine harmony. In Anselm the development of this train of thought is itself the height of despair. He knows that the attributes of created things signify the attributes of God: he wants to perceive these

¹⁵F. CORVINO, Necessità e libertà di Dio in Pier Damiani e in Anselmo d’Aosta. In: Studi di Filosofia Medievale. Bari 1974, 97–122; W. J. COURTENAY, Necessity and Freedom in Anselm’s Conception of God. In: Analecta Anselmiana 4/2. Frankfurt 1975, 39–64; G. GRAY, Freedom and Necessity in Anselm’s “Cur Deus homo?”. Franciscan Studies 36, 1976, 177–191.

¹⁶Further occurrences: see the Anselm concordance’s relevant index-entries: A Concordance to the Works of St. Anselm I–IV, ed. G.R. EVANS. Millwood, New York 1984.

¹⁷Quoted in SCHMITT’s edition, 113, and *passim* from then on.

attributes, and he finds himself unable to; he is powerless to make the leap that, for Augustine, was still natural; his external organs of sense are not continued or supplemented by internal senses (*sensus animae*); if these exist at all they have fallen numb (*obriguerunt*), become dulled (*obstupuerunt*), become blocked (*obstructi sunt*) by the helpless torpor which is a consequence of sin (*vetusto languore peccati*). The privation of energy and activity, the weakness that he tries to describe with these strange verbs is a fundamental motif of Anselm's entire life, and we can only just sense, on the basis of certain biographical facts, the depths to which it affected him.¹⁸

The situation is not quite the same when we turn to investigate Anselm's attitude toward the other, rational path of the search for God, that of the faculty of *intellectus*. I. Sciuto, author of one of the more recent *Proslogion* commentaries, believes that Anselm does not ascribe the partial insufficiency of the mind in its intellection of the Divine nature to sin, but, quite simply, to the ontological distance between the Creator and His creation, man, which existed before sin, "in Adam".¹⁹ The argument seems persuasive, despite the fact that in a number of texts that might be cited to buttress it – with the exception of P 16, with which Sciuto is directly concerned – it is not always possible to determine when Anselm is discussing the senses, and when the intellectual faculties. It must be added that the insufficiency of *intellectus* is nowhere near as tragic as the total collapse of the senses, since the knowledge we attain through sense is always knowledge of the *whole*, and always *perfect* – in the sense that it is always adequate to the subject's faculties of perception – and, hence, in principle, it *excludes all graduatedness*; it does not develop, and, if we have *lost* it, it has been lost in its entirety. Intellectual knowledge is, by contrast, *partial, imperfect, and graduated*, but these qualities themselves ensure that it develops historically, and – thanks to the intellectual effort of the subject – can be developed and passed along in many ways; intellectual knowledge is, therefore, a kind of knowledge which *cannot be lost*.²⁰ Therefore this path remains open to us, as it always was; *intellectus* is the only remaining path to God; it must work now in the service of *delectatio*, and take over the function of vision. The aim has not changed, it is still the "sight", the "seeing" of God, *delectatio*, delight in Him and His works. In the CDH, even as he sets out, with the catchwords *sine Scriptura* and *remoto Christo*, his principle of *intellectu* and *sola ratione*, Anselm hurries to emphasize that the primary and fundamental aim of his writings is still *delectatio*, that his readers "*eorum quae credunt intellectu et contemplatione delectentur*" (1,1). The sequence here is crucial:

¹⁸ See Anselm's mystic dream in Eadmer, Vita I, II (4–5) and II, XXX (107); analysis: B. WARD, Le "Orazioni e meditazioni" di Sant' Anselmo. In: Anselmo, figura europea. Convegno di studi. Aosta 1988. (Ed. I. BIFFI and C. MARABELLI) Milano 1989, 93–101.

¹⁹ Anselmo, Proslogion. Introduzione, traduzione, note e apparati di I. SCIUTO. Milano 1996, Notes 106 and 118 (220 and 223). see P 14 as well; H. DE LUBAC, "seigneur, je cherche ton visage" Sur le chapitre XIV du Proslogion de Saint Anselme. In: Recherches dans la foi. Trois études sur Origène, saint Anselme et la philosophie chrétienne. Paris 1979, 81–105.

²⁰ See, for example: DG 21 (8–11, 168), DCV (11–15, 139), CDH I, 2 (10–12, 50) and 2, 22 (12–15, 133) etc.

fides → intellectus → contemplatio → delectatio
 faith → understanding/insight → contemplation/sight → delight

The principle of *delectatio* remains: *intellectus* brings us closer not only to the *contemplatio* we can attain in this life, but to seeing “face to face”: this is its purpose in the CDH’s *Commendatio* (10–12, 40).

At this point, however, we must remark on a fine, telltale distinction. Anselm “understands” (*intelligo*) that intellection “stands in an intermediate position between faith and seeing face to face”; but on the real value of *intellectu* and *ratione* knowledge, when he states nothing less than that our knowledge grows commensurately with the degree of intellection, until we reach the face to face vision, he only “conjectures” (*existimo*).²¹ There is ambiguity here: we are witnesses of the philosopher’s uncertainty. At this point in the CDH, Anselm appears to believe that the insight attainable *intellectu* and *sola ratione*, and the object of the now unattainable intuitive vision, to be glimpsed again in the *visio beatifica*, are one and the same Divine reality; and it is, quite naturally, only armed with this epistemological optimism that he can begin his theoretical work or set to writing, especially if he is writing in dialogue form. His conviction at such times is completely honest – but the situation is more complicated than it would appear at first sight in such situations of rational inquiry, of teaching. For on many other occasions, face to face with God, in moments of prayer and meditation, it is this very identity, the basic identity of the object of his inquiry and the object of his faith, which becomes problematic for him (P 14).²² The *tuus longinquus exul* of P 1, these three words, are perhaps the most dramatic expression Anselm was able to give this state of being. He is *exiled* from God’s immediate presence – still, he is God’s, *tuus exul*: this is paradox. Moreover, *longinquus exul*. The use of *longinquus* as a personal attribute is rare: it most often qualifies space, time; here the distance is not spatial, and not simply objective-ontic distance. For *man himself* is the distance: it is in him, not in God; God is not the source of the distance, but he, Anselm, the human being.²³

To all intents and purposes, *intellectus*, *ratio* is a tool in the service of contemplative delight, an enforced detour, since the direct, straight road of *visio* is blocked. Its beauty, *rationis pueritudo*, is of an entirely different nature than the beauty of *visio*. In the latter, Grace is the defining element; in the former, intellectual effort plays a far greater part; *visio* gives us a kind of totality of the Divine beauty, while intellection gives us only partial knowledge, and so on – hence Anselm feels

²¹ The opposition *intelligo* – *existimo* is entirely intentional; this is clear, in my opinion, from their position in the sentence. Both stand in an identical position, within a similarly structured sentence of obvious rhythmic construction, and form uniform *clausulae*.

²² P 14: Anselm found God’s “names”, the concepts attributed to him, but he did not find God, the personal God, “his God” (*non invenisti Deum tuum*, 12, 111); compare with Y. CATTIN, S. Anselme et...., *ibid.*, 132 and following.

²³ In P 16, on the other hand, Anselm turns the tables: he feels that God is far from him (*quam longe es a me, qui tam prope tibi sum*, 27, 112–1, 113). In Ch. 1 the two are quite mixed, the distance is at one moment in man, at another in God. See F. ULRICH, “Cur non video praesentem?” Zur Implication der “griechischen” und “lateinischen” Denkform bei Anselm und Scotus Eriugena. *Freiburger Zeitschr. für Philosophie und Theologie* 22, 1975, 701 and following.

the never-ending absence of *visio*, without ever resting content in the beauties of the rational approach. He is eternally dissatisfied.

Ratio is *visio*'s side-track, its surrogate.²⁴

What is the meaning of this? – Anselm experienced the loss of the primary path of Divine knowledge, of vision grasping the totality of His nature, not merely as the common bankrupt and fallen state of humanity, within which, as a naturally-given milieu, he would easily have been able to find his own place, but rather as something tragic happening to him, here and now, in full consciousness of his own personal pain and guilt. All of this must have been clear to him at the time he wrote the *Proslogion*, since the "*maius quam*" formula of Chapter 15 expresses just this situation. God, "greater than anything we can conceive" is *par excellence* "inconceivable" and cannot be reached through argumentation. His existence cannot be proven, since according to the opening sentence of the following chapter, He "dwells truly in inaccessible light", beyond the reach of all sense-perception (P 17). In the "*maius quam*", Anselm, on the one hand, retracts his earlier "*id quo maius*" argument: what that argument proves is not the existence of God, but the self-contradictory nature of the statement "There is no God";²⁵ on the other hand, the megalogical argument, the principle of greatness, this inaccessibility is itself proof that the object of discussion is God. And not only *one* argument, his own, is questioned here. From this point on, it is completely clear that any proof of God's existence valid also *extra fide*m is impossible and inconceivable. After the "*maius quam*", in fact, any possibility of discourse about God as totality is categorically excluded, and a proof of God's existence addresses just this totality of His fullness and perfection. That Anselm's work after the *Proslogion* shows a change of direction can hardly be a matter of chance. The dialogues he wrote at this time (DG, DV, LA, DCD), one after another, are all rather more philosophical than theological in intent; their only aim is to work out the course the new path must follow, the details of the rational method. These are not beautiful, spectacular works, in the sense that the *Proslogion* is beautiful, or the CDH, which its author wanted so much to please, became spectacular in its scandalousness. The dialogues were not written, like the *Monologion* or the CDH, to meet the demands of Anselm's enthusiastic students: the dialogue form is largely a fiction maintained in the service of comprehension. Anselm wrote them for himself,

²⁴ This is shown clearly by Y. CATTIN's diagram, S. Anselme et..., *ibid.* 138. – All the same, as I. SCIUTO strongly states (*ibid.* 46), Anselm's evaluation of *ratio* is entirely positive. The connection between sight and knowledge naturally remains, and the epistemological identification of the two, of biblical origin, is stressed by BALTHASAR (*ibid.* II. pp. 199 f., according to the numbering of the Italian translation [Gloria. II. Stili ecclesiastici. Milano 1978]).

²⁵ See I. SCIUTO, *ibid.* 32–39. The long debate on the meaning of P, already from the time of K. BRATH and A. STOLZ, dealt first and foremost not with the question of whether Anselm actually proves God's existence, but whether, in fact, he even *wants* to prove God's existence, and whether this was his aim at all, in writing the *Proslogion*. (For a summary of the views, see S. VANNI RAVIGHI, S. Anselmo e la filosofia del XI. secolo. Milano 1949, 49 f.; on newer research see I. SCIUTO, *ibid.* Bibliography, 259–276, esp. 272–280). If it was, we face, as always, a paradox: in so far as we regard the *maius quam* argument as a proof, so God's being is justified by the very uncertainty expressed in the *maius quam*, and Anselm's aim could not have been other than the formulation of this paradox.

so that – after the *Proslogion*, the final outcome of which, however valuable, is still utter ambiguity – he could begin to move forward on a new road, no longer inquiring into totality, but only into the details. The period of Anselm's change of direction falls directly between the *Proslogion* and the great Christological work. The CDH then makes use of the partial results of the four dialogues, though, as far as its fundamental content is concerned, it represents a return to the *Proslogion* whose resigned and ambiguous "*maius quam*" now rises to an unequivocal triumph, and forms the cornerstone of the argument. If God is greater than anything that can (possibly) be conceived, the surrender of His person in Christ is also *maius quam cogitari possit*: in this lies the power of the act of salvation to surpass and erase all sin.²⁶ The very factor which was still negative in the *Proslogion* becomes positive in the CDH.²⁷

We thus conclude that Anselm's rationalism – which is, from the point of view of our philosophical scholarship, almost his only merit as a thinker, and the one which secures for him a place in both the history of philosophy and of theology as "the father of scholasticism" (and only as the "father of scholasticism") – was not the product merely of sober, unsentimental methodological reflection in tune with "the spirit of the times"; this rationalism was born out of a painful struggle provoked by a very real consciousness of the crisis and collapse of contemplative-total knowledge of God. We may add that the painful loss of *visio*, and the finding of its surrogate, *ratio*, was a completely interdependent process in Anselm's intellectual development, and that the first was the direct cause of the second. The CDH's relation to the *Proslogion* leaves no room for doubt.²⁸

Where can we locate Anselm's feeling of want, of the insufficiency of reason? Two things come to mind. The first, mentioned already, is that the knowledge gained through *ratio* is ephemeral, historically-defined, and can be excelled at any time. The violent resistance Anselm shows at times to his students' requests that he write down

²⁶ The text in agreement with the *id quo maius* argument is to be found at CDH 2.20 (28–29, 131): *Misericordiam (Dei) ... tam magnam tamque concordem iustitiae invenimus, ut nec maior nec iustior cogitari possit*; of course, the backbone of my case is the *congruentia* of the two works. If we fail to take the P into account, we can only misunderstand the CDH, without P, the *satisfactio* theory can only arouse suspicion; see M. CORBIN's confession: "Fidens quaerens intellectum" ovvero l'avventura de un' edizione. In: Anselmo d' Aosta..., *ibid.*, 169–181; by the same author: "Nul n'a plus grand amour que de donner sa vie pour ses amis" (Jn 15, 13). La signification de l'unum argumentum du *Proslogion*. In: Anselm Studies II, New York – London 1988, 59–83.

²⁷ I. SCIUTO emphasizes the positive, constructive aspect of the *maius quam* argument: its paradoxical nature proves God's existence, defines and unifies the other divine attributes (*ibid.*, 39 f.). This could be true, but this is no reason to deny the *ambivalence* of the argument, since the "principle of greatness" is a proof precisely so, and because, it can formulate the impossibility of a proof of God's existence. The bivalent character of the argument would seem to be justified by the chapters after Ch. 15 (the "*God is not...*" chapters).

²⁸ On the ambivalent situation in which the Anselmian method, the principle of *sola ratione*, was conceived, see M. RUGGENINI, "Qualcosa che è Dio". L' intelligenza della fede e l'origine teologica della "*sola ratione*". In: Archivio di Filosofia 1–3, 1990, 114–131; A. CANTIN, Saint Anselme au départ de l'aventure européenne de la raison. In: Spicilegium Beccense II (Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI–XII. siècles: Actes du Colloque international du CNRS (ed. R. FOREVILLE) Paris 1984, 611–621. On the traditional notions concerning Anselm's rationalism and their critique, see C.E. VIOLA, Authority and Reason in St. Anselm's Life and Thought. In: AABC, 172–208.

his thoughts is quite out of the ordinary and demands explanation.²⁹ He gives us strange warnings, on occasion, that his results are only relative truths. The currently accepted standard explanation, that these warnings are only the marks of scholarly-monkish modesty, is unsatisfying. These texts show us Anselm was painfully aware of the degree to which the results of even intellectually honest thinking are subject to error;³⁰ he knew that he was living in the thick of dispute and debate;³¹ that in every question one must take the plurality of opinion into account;³² that his knowledge of today could be surpassed at any time by the development of thought or by "someone wiser";³³ that all his knowledge is only valid "*interim*", "*aliquatenus*", "*adhuc*";³⁴ that at most he can only add to an existing body of knowledge.³⁵ This manifold uncertainty contrasts sharply with the subjective certainty and perfection of *visio*. Anselm is inherently unable to rest content in this knowledge, but he expresses his dissatisfaction not so much in his theoretical writings, as in prayer; the two genres here, too, fit tightly together.

Still, his discontent is directed first and foremost against the partial nature of rational knowledge. Anselm's keen thirst for completeness, for totality, finds, all the same, some satisfaction in *ratio*. A new, a different totality, this; different from the perfect totality of vision, since the principle of *sola* and *necessaria ratione* does not lead to total *knowledge*, but – and for this very reason! – it is perfectly suited to the *search* for knowledge, to safeguarding the complete freedom of questioning and critique. The way in which Boso, toward the end of the CDH's opening chapters, defines his role in the dialogue is revealing (1.3 /16–22, 50/). He is able, he says, to play at once the part of attorney for the *infideles*' every possible question or critique of the doctrine of salvation, and, from time to time, to play the custodian of the religious tradition, the bastion of the entire *depositum fidei*, the defender of orthodoxy, if necessary, even against Anselm himself (!); he is equally able to undertake fellowship with those near him and with those far away because he is the starting point of all doubt, and every answer makes its return to him. In the DIV we find just the same understanding of the nature of *ratio*: *ratio* "*et princeps et iudex debet omnium esse quae sunt in homine*" (1/1–2, 10/). This is exactly Boso's position. He is *princeps*, source of all questions, and *iudex*, to whom all answers return for judgement; like reason itself, which is now our first and last, our only means to knowledge, *sola ratio* – and who can fail to hear the sublime ambiguity of this word, *sola*! Boso, with his program of totality founded on questioning and the critical attitude is really Anselm's second self, his questioning and critical alter ego – *Ratio* personified.

²⁹ M Prologus, CDH, 1, 1–2; PS 16 (23, 219; *aliis cogentibus*).

³⁰ CDH 2,22: *si quid diximus quod corrigendum sit, non renuo correctionem* (12, 133); similar statements to be found in other places: PS 16 (28–28, 219); DCV (11–12, 139); DG 21 (10–11, 168).

³¹ DG 21: *dialectici certent* (8–9, 168).

³² DCV (14–15, 139).

³³ *sapientior me*: CDH 1,2 (11,50); *melius quam ego*: PS 16 (27, 219); *validioribus argumentis*: DG 21 (10–11,68), see the entire closing passage (8–12, 168).

³⁴ See, among others, CDH 1,2 (9–10,50), P *passim*.

³⁵ *aliquid addere praesumpsi*: PS 16 (23–26, 219).

The new realm of totality – the total freedom of questioning and critique – opened by *ratio* allows Anselm to assume his characteristic position of incomparable intellectual solidarity with those of other faiths, of different opinions, which – *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo* – marks all of his polemical writings. We can only really appreciate his mentality in comparison with the general polemical style of the time: if we compare Anselm's attestations of trusting affection grounded on the essential unity of the Greek and Latin faiths in the Filioque-controversy with Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans' hateful and deprecating impatience, his blind mouthing of pagan commonplaces – "base Greek cunning", "Greek lies" – already over 1200 years old (Ep 239, 240, 241); or if we compare Anselm's liberality with the anti-intellectual fussiness of Waleramus, Bishop of Nuremberg (Az and W).³⁶ The difference speaks for itself: Anselm's behaviour is not at all characteristic of his time, and demands explanation. The explanation, in our opinion, not denying the possible influence of other factors, is that Anselm could permit himself the luxury of his absolute openness because he, in the hard-fought struggle provoked by the loss of *visio*, at the cost of considerable suffering, had arrived at the realization which was to make him the father of scholasticism: *ratio* is that realm of totality in which one can assume fellowship with any *infidelis*, Jew, Muslim, atheist, Greek, heretic; in short, with anybody willing to keep to the rules of correct reasoning.

And this fellowship is not, for Anselm, external or superficial, for two reasons. For one thing, the questions are provoked by faith itself, *fides quaerens intellectum*. This is the case already in the *Proslogion*. "If Thou art everywhere present, why do I not see Thee face to face?" The question originates directly in the article of faith – the *omnipraesentia* of God – that immediately precedes it (P1 /3.98/).³⁷ For this reason, on the other hand, the questions asked by believers of other faiths are, in some sense, at least potentially, Anselm's own. The *Proslogion's insipiens*, that imaginary "atheist in principle", could never have existed in the reality of the 11th century; his position, in its rough directness, is really only an extreme radicalization of the intellectual despair to which Anselm gives voice in the prayer of Chapter 1.³⁸ "There is no God", says the one; the other: "Allow me to understand that Thou art." The difference, we must acknowledge, underscores a profound similarity. This one of the *insipiens'* several roles could conceivably have been designed, in essence, to model the freedom of questioning to be attained in the fullness of *ratio*, where even the being or lack of faith itself can, with integrity, be pushed back into a concessive clause, and the

³⁶ See the CORBIN edition's notes to these letters: Les oeuvres de saint Anselme IV. Paris 1994. 342 f.

³⁷ See I. SCIUTO, *ibid.* p. 201, note 35, and F. ULRICH, *ibid.*, 701 f.

³⁸ On the figure of the *insipiens*, see TH. O'LOUGHLIN, Who is Anselm's Fool? The New Scholasticism 3, 1989, 313–325; G. D'ONOFRIO, Chi è l'insipiens? L'argomento di Anselmo e la Dialettica dell' Alto Medioevo. Archivio di Filosofia 1–3, 1990, 95–109; I. SCIUTO, *ibid.* 32–39. – The *insipiens*, in my opinion, precisely because he is a fictional figure, is able to play several roles. He can be the Fool who says the "*quo maius cogitari possit*" without reflecting on, or understanding what he said (so SCIUTO, *ibid.*, 32–39, and the majority of commentators); at the same time, he can reject the presupposition according to which this concept can actually be thought at all, since it is "*maius quam cogitari possit*", and as such does not belong within the limits of reason, being illegitimate. I see no real contradiction between these two roles.

principal place given over to the questioning attitude and the fellowship it brings. “For although they appeal to reason because they do not believe, but we ... because we do believe, *nevertheless, the thing sought is one and the same*” (CDH 1,3 /18–20,50/).³⁹

So the faculty of seeing God was lost, but not without a trace. It left in man “its own beautiful traces”, *pulchra vestigia sui*, as we find in DCD 16 (1, 260), in connection with the disappearance of *iustitia*. To speak of “beautiful traces” is almost to speak of a beautiful privation, of *beautiful nothing*; now, this is far beyond what we would be entitled to find natural in an 11th-century thinker. A trace, a footprint: information. Negative information, which signifies that something is not to be found where we now seek it. Positive information, in that it shows us that this something was once there. What’s more, it shows what the lost thing was like. The trace of the lost *visio*, its impression, resembles that of which it is a trace – the *visio*; and it is beautiful because its pattern, the *visio*, was beautiful: this we somehow still know, long after its loss.

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³⁹ Whether Boso, in fact, represents the true questions and critical opinions of contemporary *infideles* is another question entirely. See G. HAGAN, Saint Anselme, les Juifs, le Judaïsme. In: *Spicilegium Beccense II. Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XI–XII. siècles: Actes du Colloque International du CNRS.* (ed. R. FOREVILLE). Paris 1984, 521–532; G. FIORAVANTI, Anselmo, Gilbert Crispin e l’uso della “ratio” nella polemica contro gli Ebrei. In: *Anselmo d’Aosta: Logica e dottrina. Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* 3, 1993, 625–635.

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POEMS AND VERSIFICATION IN PANNONIA

INTRODUCTION

Thousands of Latin inscriptions and over a hundred Greek ones are known from the provinces of Pannonia. Some of these, although unfortunately a very small group, were written in verse, and thus every new inscriptions written in verse is of great interest and often the subject of philological debates. Yet we lack a detailed study on the metrical features, schools and periods of Pannonian verse, and the identity of most Pannonian poets remain unknown, save for the well-known Lupus of Aquincum, though the solution of such questions would beneficially influence the research on parlance, dialects and literary culture of Pannonia. Certainly, these questions can hardly be resolved in one study, but I will nonetheless attempt to define the metrical features and versifying schools (even more so, since Pannonian versification was, for the greater part, practiced by craftsmen and not amateurs).

I. EARLY POETRY IN THE CARNUNTUM AREA

1. The first inscription¹ was erected by C. Farrax Iucundus, most likely an indigenous person, to his slave Dasius. It is a very early monument. The poem itself is mutilated:

*Hoc posita in tumulo pueri sunt ossa, viator,
Quem super in titulo [...ovapa??] peto. (?)*

Its original siting is uncertain (Scarbantia?); it was discovered at Hédervár.²

The very fact that a poem was inscribed on a stele of this kind is remarkable. C. Farrax Iucundus evidently wished to create an enduring monument to *Dasius*

¹ RIU 239 = CIL III 10947.

² CIL designates Scarbantia as the original site of the stone, which was secondarily brought to Hédervár (Győr-Sopron-Moson county), on the testimony of the inscription III 4257 (RIU 186) placed by the same person. According to RIU Arrabona is another possible site, even though I do not know of any compelling argument for this; theoretically the whole territory of Scarbantia is possible.

puer,³ and he went as far as to use the Latin poetry which was most probably quite meaningless to him, being, as he was, part of the native population. The poem itself is not only metrically perfect, but is written in an elegant language (*quem super* etc.). We can thus assume that it was a ready-made product, in other words, epitaphs were made to order in the environs of Carnuntum–Scarbantia at the time, in the later 1st century.

2. Another early epitaph is known from Scarbantia⁴ (placed by a veteran of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, suggesting that it cannot be later than the early 2nd century), which ends in a verse. Unfortunately, the stone is extremely worn and thus only a fragment of the poem survives:

*eruntqu meliora i..mse[]ros vixi /⁵servat me
Securus quoque / nunc contegor hic tumulo.*

About two verses perished although at the beginning of the 20th century, LAJOS BELLA was still able to make out some letters:⁶ *[cr]* or *[or]* (line 13 of the inscription), and line 14: *...erunt quae meliora...*, line 15: *servate me*. This would suggest that the original poem contained 3 or 4 verses. Only the last pentameter can now be read: it is written in regular language. It seems unlikely that the verse before it was intelligible, and it seems that there was a misspelling at the end.

3. The epitaph of C. Valerius, another early inscription, which can be dated to the first half of the 1st century A.D., was found at Carnuntum.⁷ Its poem reads as follows:

*Vivite felices, quibus est data longior ora,
Vixi ego, dum licuit, dulciter. Ad superos
Dicite, si merui, 'Sit tibi terra levis'.*

This poem does not have a particularly high artistic level as far as its theme is concerned, seeing that it is compiled from well-known, traditional panels. The metrics are regular, but two remarkable features can be noted in its language: 1. the *hora* > *ora* change (not infrequent in Pannonia,⁸ yet better known from later periods), 2. the verb *mereor* > *mereo* 2 *merui*. Some examples of this form are known from Pannonia,⁹ from different places and periods, and it can therefore be regarded as a general feature of Pannonian Latin. There are some parallels with no. 2 (*vixi*); one

³ The same C. Farrax placed an epitaph in prose to one of his *liberti* (RIU 186). This suggests a rather unusual person, so we must not generalize his predilection for poetry!

⁴ RIU 185.

⁵ The end of lines 14 and 15 of the whole inscription is marked by *.*

⁶ BELLA 1911. 366.

⁷ VORBECK 1980. No. 151 = CIL III 4483.

⁸ Examples include *abeo* (= *habeo*) CIL III 3945, 5695 (poem!), RIU 633; *emes(enus)* RIU 1180; *eres* sixteen occurrences, as well as *aeres* RIU 720, CIL III 10500; *ic* RIU 633, CSIR 35, TLPS 22; *igia* (= *Hygia*) Sz. PÓCZY 1959.; *ortus/fortulus* RIU 80 (poem!), etc.

⁹ CIL III 10545, Aquincum: *meruit*, 3241, Sirmium (poem!); *meruistis*.

unusual feature is the irregularity of form (one hexameter and two pentameters). The structure of no. 2 suggests that it may originally have had three verses too.¹⁰

4. The epitaph of Primigenia, slave of C. Petronius from the first century A.D.¹¹

*Quisquis ades nomenque meum tibi perlegis hospes,
Aspice, quam mortis sim miseranda meae.
Bis denos aetas mihi iam compleverat annos,
Quom rapuit miseram mors et iniqua dea.
Felices illae, quibus est data longior ora,
Nam tulerunt vitae damna minora suae.
Non ego luxuriis avolsa fui maledictis,
Aetatis carpsi munditiasque meas.
Per longum vivas et me felicius, opto,
Et levis humatae sit mihi terra, roges.*

Here we can see the same accuracy of language and a traditional, but nonetheless elegant wording, as in the previous poems. Even the thematic reference to no. 3 is close: verse 5 is almost identical to verse 3,1. The structure of no. 3 also resembles verses 4,5–8, both containing three parts: *Felices... – Non ego ... fui / Vixi ego... – Roges / Dicite ... sit tibi terra levis*. Even though we cannot identify the authors, it is nonetheless clear that they drew from the same literary tradition that can be identified during the 1st century in Carnuntum; another possibility is that the authors knew each other. No. 1 can be linked to this tradition, but gives a shorter form 'made for country'. It only contains two parts: a) who is buried in the grave, b) an evident request (*peto!*), with a play on word order like 4,2: *quam mortis sim miseranda meae*.

5. The epitaph of Vibia Citheris, a *liberta*, also from the early period of Carnuntum.¹² The letters PP suggest the reading *patronus posuit* rather than *pater*. The circumstances of erection are similar to nos 1 and 4, yet the text is essentially different:

*((an XI hse virgo hic sepulta))
Fida puella iacet, ante quidem tempus
((fata rapuerunt mala))
Scripsi ego per lacrimas miserabilis morte puellae.*

The metre of two verses can be felt only, one being a pentameter, the other a hexameter (although not quite classical since there is no *positio* at the end of *miserabilis*). It is not entirely clear how the poet intended to begin his poem (*Virgo hic sepulta* seems to be part of the poem, allowing the reconstruction of a fairly bad hexameter), and the words *Fata rapuerunt mala* hardly contain any metrics – even if

¹⁰ In this case we can assume only the end of the hexameter in no. 2, and the first pentameter is also mutilated. The hexameter can be reconstructed in several ways:

A) *Jerunt quondam? quoniam? meliora*

B) *Ifuerunt quae meliora*

¹¹ VORBECK 1986. No. 135 = CSIR 349.

¹² VORBECK 1986. No. 186 = CIL III 11281.

we assume that the words *Ante quidem* were the beginning of verse 2, it is still rather crude.¹³ One possible explanation, suggested by the last line, is that unlike Farrax or C. Petronius, the *patronus* (or father?) did not engage a professional, but wrote the poem himself. Elegant epitaphs such as nos 3 and 4, and barbaric fabrications such as this one can easily be contemporaneous if professionals and dilettantes worked side-by-side.

6. The burial of C. Pedusius from the first half of 1st century in Carnuntum yielded an epitaph containing three distichs.¹⁴

*Invida mors rapuit fato crudelis iniquo
Nec licuit pretium [su]mere militiae,
Non tantum [carae curam a]equam ut reddere pos[sem]
Liberta[e] et dignae plurima [quam] foveat]
Huic praecor in [longum] extendan[]t sua fila so[ro]res
[eat]*

Since this poem is quite classical grammatically and metrically, and the completion of the publishers seems acceptable, there is no need for further explanation. There are some links with the former poems (e.g. the expressions 4,4 *iniqua dea* – 6,1 *fato iniquo*; 4,9 *per longum vivas ... opto* – 6,5 *huic, praecor, in [longum]*, reflecting the same epitaph style and, perhaps, the hand of the same poet.

7. Epitaph from Carnuntum, from the end of the 1st century. The last two distichs of the epigramma have survived, and although they are mutilated, they can be completed.¹⁵

*[Qui decem et q[uatuor] vitae cum viv[eret] annos,
Est raptu[s] subitis] flebilis exseq[uiis].]
En hoc mat[erno] te terra t[egit] tegumento?]
Ossibus a pa[rvis] – ∪ [ut apste[neat].]*

The poem is the work of a professional, as shown by its sound grammar and metrics,¹⁶ and the sophisticated word order has much in common with the above poems.¹⁷ The expressions and the structure, however, are different, suggesting that it was written by another author. The structure essentially follows the same pattern as was common in northwestern Pannonia during the 1st century, and reflects the style used only for epitaphs, as far as we know.

¹³ Possible solutions:

A) *Annorum undecim ' hic sita est virgo ' hīc sepulta,*

Fata rapuere mala. (half a line)

B) *Virgo sepulta (est) hic, fida puella iacet* (pentameter!)

Ante quidem tempus fata rapuere mala.

B1) *...Ante quidem tempus rapuerunt quem mala fata.*

Variant B implies that the text was arbitrarily modified by the stone-cutter.

¹⁴ VORBECK 1980. No. 232 = CIL III 11229, with VORBECK'S completion, except for the last line which appears to be too mutilated to be suitable for any completion.

¹⁵ VORBECK 1986. No. 257. Completion taken from the same publication, except for the form *quatuor* (for metrical reasons).

¹⁶ With the astonishing exception of the verb **apsteneo*.

¹⁷ Verse 1: *vita[e] cum viv[eret] annos*, verse 4, *ossibus ... ut apste[neat]*.

II. LATER POEMS AND POEMS OF AN UNCERTAIN DATE OF THE EARLY NORTHWESTERN PANNONIAN TYPE

Some inscriptions have been recovered from Carnuntum and from the western regions of the province which were made in later periods (2nd–3rd centuries) or whose date is uncertain. Some are definitely related to the above ones.

8. *Vivite felices, quirur¹⁸ est fortuna beata.*

This line is a variant of no. 3,1 (and 4,8). It was inscribed at the end of a long, less than elegant prose epitaph in Brigetio.¹⁹ It was erected to soldiers of the *Legio I Adiutrix* and their families, suggesting that it must be later than nos 1–7, dating most probably from the *Severus*-era. Little is known about how the verse reached Brigetio, but since two versions of the original verse are known, it can be reasonably assumed that it was a common type and that the one from Brigetio was perhaps copied from an earlier monument.

9. *Felix terra, precor, leviter super ossa residat
Matris et et fratris, comprecor ecce soror.
Pars iacet ipsa mei maior geminatquae dolorem
Filia matri simul fratre iacent filio
Comprecor, ut vobis sit pia terra levis.*

This is a 3rd century inscription from Carnuntum.²⁰ Its theme and expression differ from the earlier ones. It does not contain the triple division of the theme: blessed are the living – my fate – supplicate for me. On the contrary, the emphasis is on the description of the family relations – a recurring theme in later poems.²¹ Some features of the 1st century can still be noted, such as the formula *sit terra levis* at the end and the distinctive word order (*matris et*). Even a few identical words occur: *leviter, felix*. The last and superfluous pentameter is also of some interest; this feature also occurs in the 1st century,²² suggesting an imitation of older traditions.

The greatest difference is one of language. There is some divergence from the classical order in nos 1–7 too, but these are not phonetical (except for *hora>ora*); morphological innovations occur alongside archaisms (*quom* 4,4; *tulērunt* 4,6). Although this poem is morphologically quite classical, it shows some orthographic innovation (*geminatquae*), a fairly common practice in Pannonia during this period;²³ we can also note a rather contradictory phonetical variation: at the beginning of the same line *filia* is to be read, at the end *filio*. It is hard to imagine that both forms were used at the same time, and the origin of the pronunciation **filius* is dubious too, implying that it is a simple hypercorrection or a case of *poetica licentia*; yet both possibilities reflect the author's uncertain handling of metrics. If they could

¹⁸ An apparent misspelling, read: *quibus*.

¹⁹ RIU 600 = CIL III 11036,10–12.

²⁰ VORBECK 1986. 295 = CIL III 11095.

²¹ Cp. nos 16, 18, 29, 36: there are obscure references in nos 15, 17, 19.

²² Cp. no. 3, and perhaps no. 2.

²³ Other examples include *aelagabalus, aemona, aei-us, equaest(ris)*; cp. note 8. Even *-quae* occurs: VORBECK 1980. 12.

not feel the essential difference between the pronunciations of *leviter*, *geminat* and *filius*, or they found it neglectable for poetical reasons, the proparoxytone syllables must have generally been long.²⁴ Because of this difference we cannot speak of the simple survival of the Carnuntum tradition.

10. We know one other inscription from Carnuntum,²⁵ which seems to be a poem, but it is so fragmentary that we can hardly say anything about it, except that it was written in dactylic verse:

 ○ ○ — ○
.../ r *animumque*...

 — — — ○ ○ — ○
...urt (?) *sit mihi vit[a]*...

 ○ ○ — ○ ○
...ta *parentibus*...

 — ○ ○ — — — ○ ○ —
...tunc *fui at(=ad?) su[peros(?)]*...²⁶

 ○ ○ — — ?
...sup]eravi *toru*...

 — — —
...m *me fat*...

In spite of the fragmentary text, it is fairly clear that some expressions are not unprecedented.²⁷ It can thus be fitted into the local tradition, similarly to no. 9.

11. A fragmentary sepulchral poem is known from Poetovio.²⁸ Six fragments were preserved, which can be divided into two coherent parts, the first one being the beginning of the poem, the second one a mutilated line, presumably from the end (followed by personal data). The smallest fragment cannot be assigned to either category since it contains only the word *cred* which may have been particle of the metrical part. The inscription cannot be directly dated.

The first two verses have an intelligible and metrically correct text, which can hardly be connected with either group of Pannonian poems:

Ne grave sit, quicum[que] legis, cognoscere casus
Quintinae, est in]]ii tegitur
Fato rapta malo ' et iniquo numi[ne]...

²⁴ Metrical irregularities can be assumed in the completion of no. 5 (and maybe 2), but – aside from the dubious value of an argument based on hypothetical verses – it would be evident from the not accentuated syllables (in a form known already from preclassic literature).

²⁵ VORBECK 1986. 344.

²⁶ For the *ad>at* change cp. CIL III 4085. 15196,1. RIU 174. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1975, cp. *sed>set*, *apud>aput* etc. Parallel texts: no. 3.2. *Vixi ... ad superos*; 25,1.

²⁷ E.g.: *fui, fatum, ut sit mihi*...

²⁸ AIJ 401.

In contrast, the expressions in line 3 are characteristics of the early epitaphs: *fata mala* 5,3, *iniqua dea* 4,4, *fato iniquo* 6,1, *quisquis ... perlegis* 4,1. This corresponds to the beginning of a type quite common in the Carnuntum region, although it is here skillfully individualized with the first words: *ne grave sit...* Judging from the correct classical Latinity, this could be a very early poem, although there are some features that need to be considered.

A) Several words, absent from the northwestern tradition, are not unusual in poems from the Aquincum area, and from later periods (*tegitur*: 14,1, *casus*: 16,6, 13–14,3, *credo*: 25,2).

B) The fragment from the closing part (...*requiem ex more vetusto perpetuam*...) is difficult to solve for classical metrics, but quite possible in view of the phonetical changes of the late period.

C) The closest parallel in terms of structure and expressions is no. 16. The end fragment has no known parallels.

Taken separately, none of these arguments poses a serious challenge. (The poems from the Aquincum area may have drawn from the same sources as the ones from Poetovio, although in a different period, or they may have been influenced by the Poetovio tradition; the end of fragment can be an arbitrary completion of the plater; the relations of one single inscription are rather uncertain.) Taken together, these arguments offer sufficient grounds for rejecting the possibility that no. 11 is an early poem of the northwestern epigram type.

III. POEMS FROM THE AQUINCUM AREA

The best-known Pannonian poems and the most thoroughly investigated ones come from Aquincum and its environs, and they have thus been analyzed and interpreted in different ways, ranging from interpretations that these poems were the work of a single local author, whom we can perhaps name,²⁹ to the idea that they were "ready-made imports" and are independent from each other.³⁰ All scholars agree on one point, namely that the most artistic and, formally, most classical poem from Pannonia has survived in two copies, and that they date to the same period even though their findspots differ.³¹

12–13. The full copy is preserved at Aquincum (12), a fragmentary copy came to light at Ulcisia Castra (13). Both copies record the name of the author (being acrostichs): LVPVS FECIT.

The Aquincum text is here given in full; the two texts are not identical. The different verses of the Ulcisian one are coordinated.

²⁹ NAGY 1939. 122.

³⁰ SZILÁGYI 1963. 191–192.

³¹ More recent publications include NÉMETH 1971. 183, and RIU 910.

Lubrica quassa levis fragilis mala vel bona fallax
Vita data est homini non certo limite cretae,
Per varios casus tenuato stamine pendes.
Vivito mortalis, dum[dum] dant tibi tempora Parcae, 13.4. *Vivito mortalis dunc[*
Seu te rura tenent, urbes seu castra vel aequor, 13.5. *Seu et? (te?) rura colens urbe[*
Flores ama Veneris, Cereris bona munera carp(e),
Et Nysii largae et pinguia dona Minervae, 13.7. *Et Nysyi largae et ping[*
Candida vita cole iustissima mente serenus,
Iam puer et iuvenis, iam vir et fessus ab annis:
Talis eris tumulo superumque oblitus honores.

The only mistake of the Aquincum inscription is in verse 12,4 (duplicating *dum* is superfluous). It was perhaps corrected by the Ulcisian stone-cutter, or by someone else, but we have in this version the metrically correct, but, in terms of the provincial usage, a unique form of *dunc*. It is quite clear that the Ulcisian stone-cutter made two mistakes in line 13.7 (contradicting several far-fetched and speculative hypotheses³²). In my opinion there is no controversy in line 5 concerning the metrically and grammatically modified variant of the Ulcisian placer.³³ The stone-cutter's mistake can probably be attributed to the word *cole* in line 8, although the text remains intelligible even so (reading the ligature not as TE, but ET³⁴). The emphasis is on intelligibility, not on correctness, since this *et* is superfluous. The reason for the changes was perhaps the stone-cutter's incorrect reading of the ligature, and that in this form the verse had no meaning for him. However, even if the Aquincum copy is not an original, it is certainly earlier. The original of the variant *dum/dunc* cannot be identified because even if there existed a copy of the poem in another village, there were probably several copies in Aquincum too.

Lupus incorporated plenty of classical quotations – i.e. from the *Aeneid*³⁵ – in this sepulchral poem. This does not imply an exceptional erudition since the *Aeneid* was part of the Pannonian curriculum (cp. nos 44–46).

Another much-debated issue is the identity and localisation of Lupus. The general consensus is that he was a native of Aquincum, a consensus based largely on RÉVAY's onomastical research.³⁶ This argument has one weak point, i.e. the probation of the presumed Lupus of Ulcisia, though the first of the two text variants comes from Aquincum. We cannot outright reject the possibility that the poet was the *centurio* Lupus of Aquincum, or the possibility that the Lupus in question is not mentioned in the epigraphical sources. So, we have to consider the argument whether he

³² SZILÁGYI 1963. 190, interprets the line in the following manner: *Nysii et largae Minervae pinguia dona* (referring to Verg. Aen VI. 840). However, this is only a remote link, and the syntagm *largae dona* seems to be more plausible.

³³ Ibid. 191.

³⁴ The *et* reading of RIU is based on SZILÁGYI 1963. SOPRONI 1962. originally read *te*, in view of the other copy.

³⁵ *per varios casus* cp. Aen. I 204.; *tempora Parcae* cp. Aen. IX 107.; *superum ... honores* cp. Aen. VI 780.

³⁶ RÉVAY 1943. 144–146. He mentions a Lupus from Sirmium, Savaria, Aquincum and Ulcisia, based on CIL VI 32627,7, 32627,8, III 8203, ArchÉrt 1936. 106, and a note by RÓMER.

Should we assume that this was Lupus' only work?

Owing to the lack of conclusive evidence, SÁNDOR SOPRONI stated that inscription 16 can be associated with the copy from Ulcisia in view of the similarities in letter type.³⁸ The text of no. 16 is closely related to no. 15 and no. 14.³⁹

Ter undenos a{n}nos, non plus adoleverat aetas,

Florent[]matura vita perempta,
 Vos testor/r...

³⁷ RÉVAY 1943. 146. *Pinguia dona Minervae* comes from an expression meaning its opposite, but it fits well and meaningfully with *larga dona Nysii*.

³⁸ SOPRONI 1962, 51–55.

³⁹ RIU 1166 = CIL III 3337.

The language of the two groups of poems does not differ much. The acrostich is a conscious work, reflecting an adherence to classical forms, although the author could hardly avoid some lapses that are characteristic of the spoken tongue.

A) *Vivitō, iustissimā*: the second syllable after the accentuated one is shortened.

B) *Florēs, undenōs*: the first syllable after the accentuated one can also be shortened.

C) *Candida vita cole*: the case ending of the S/Acc. is blurred in the spoken tongue.

D) *Aurelja*: the vowel *i* has become a consonant before another vowel. In classical literature this is regarded as *poetica licentia*, but here it occurs frequently (cp. nos 15–18), suggesting that it was a distinctive feature of the Latin spoken in Pannonia. Still, it here stands after a *hiatus*, i.e. on the least classical point.

The apparently 'regular' forms (*amā, tumulō*) can be artificial spellings, suggested by the hypercorrection *colē*, but we must exercise caution because Lupus evidently had a predilection for such lengthened forms before a *caesura* (the most interesting is *vīr*), and it can therefore be seen as a poetic, rather than a grammatical formula.

The incomplete line of this poem probably contains a faded case ending, as well as a lengthening before the *caesura* (*lapidē*), and thus the author's taste for classizing resembles Lupus'. It is more vulgar, containing two peculiar shortenings: *Nīcīa* (<*Nicaea*) and *annos>ānos*. The word *anus* (= *annus*) was commonly used in Pannonia – we know of about thirty-six occurrences,⁴⁰ over ten of them from sites around Aquincum. As for Nicia, the author was apparently uncertain on how to spell this faraway city which he perhaps had never heard of.

15. The sepulchral poem from Szabadbattyán evidently comes from the same circle:⁴¹

*Hic iacet in tumulo Aur(elia) Sabina pi(ent)issima coniux,
 ((annor XXV))
 Quem lapis ist[e] tegit rapta[m d]e luce serena,
 Q[ue]m magis debuerat fe[ss]os sepelire pare[n]tes,
 O dolor o pietas, o funera tristia coniugis!*

This is more corrupt than no. 14. The *cognomen* is incorporated into verse 1 which was thus lengthened into a *heptameter* – maybe they were less concerned with metrics and simply thought it would do in this verse. I am quite sure it was not the author's idea. The number of years breaks the flow of the poem. But the most unusual feature is the last verse which seems to lack a proper ending.

Except for the *hiatus* and the *i* consonant in verse 1 (the *s* at the end of *magis* makes no position, but it can be seen as a 'normal' feature), this poem follows classi-

⁴⁰ Without any pretension of completeness: RIU 280, 556, 756, 769, 923, 909, 946, 990, 995, 1030, 1036, CIL III 3381, 4570, 6477, 10795 etc.

⁴¹ CIL III 3351. It is mostly quoted as an "inscription from Csákvár", although the first publication (RÓMER 1863. 158) definitely names Szabadbattyán–Csikvár (Fejér county) as the findspot.

cal patterns in its language and also in its metrics. It is therefore most unlikely that the last line did not follow a classical rhythm.⁴² It seems more plausible to assume that the originally longer verse (heptameter?) was not inscribed precisely onto the stone, and the same may be the case with corrupted *pietissima* in verse 1. The poem probably originates from the same workshop as nos 12–14, although the stone itself seems to be the work of a native stone-cutter (active in the Szabadbattyán area) who considered himself wiser than the craftsmen in the capital.

This assumption is slightly challenged by the fact that no. 16 – which features letters of the Ulcisia type⁴³ – is also full of corruptions. It may originate from the same workshop, although the one from Ulcisia is definitely a second copy, made not in the original workshop, but by an imitator or a later craftsman.

16. The corruption of verse 1 in this poem⁴⁴ resembles 15,1: *pietissima*, and the arbitrary use of the cognomen practically ruined the poem:

Hoc iacet in lapide Aure(lia) ((Marcellina)) pi(ē)t(iss)ima coniux,

Lines 2–4 follow the classical pattern:

*Quem lapis ipse tegit raptam de luce serena,
Huic aetas prim(is?) cum florebat in annis,⁴⁵
Invida fatorum genesis mihi sustulit illam,*

Lines 5–7 are very corrupted:

*((superante genetrice sua)) quae se cupiebat ob illam
ante mortis dari, quam sibi flebil(is) casus
((acciderit, filiu[s]que permansit innocentius))⁴⁶*

Lines 8–9 are again regular:

*Et quicumque legis, nostros tu nosti dolores,
Sic at et Elysias senior descendis ad auras.*

Although the conjunctions at the end are rather supererminent, the poem is quite impressive.

These poems can be dated indirectly. According to the textual analyses, nos 13, 15, 16 are later than no. 12, while the date of no. 14 is uncertain. No. 15 was erected by *M. Aurelius Attianus decurio alae I Thracum*. Following a brief stay in Intercisa, this *ala* was stationed in Campona until the late 3rd century.⁴⁷ This inscrip-

⁴² E.g. *coniugi' tristja, tristja cōiūgis*, cp. 18.9. *Aelja, pja*.

⁴³ SOPRONI 1962. 52–54.

⁴⁴ RÓMER-DESJARDINS 373.

⁴⁵ An additional syllable is also missing, although it is unclear from where. It was definitely a mistake made by the stone-cutter.

⁴⁶ Possible emendation:

*Se (sua?) superante genetrice, quae cupiebat ob illam
Antē mortis dari (or Ante dari mortis), quam sibi flebili' casus (cp. 22,1. tibi)
Acciderit, filiusque innocentius' mansit?? (5 feet)*

This suggestion must be rejected if the dropping of *s* in no. 15. is not a general tendency.

⁴⁷ Cp. CIL III 3388, RÓMER-DESJARDINS 358, 364.

tion was found in Campona and it can probably be associated with this *ala*. Inscriptions 13, 14 and 16 can thus be assigned to the mid-3rd century at the latest, while inscription 12 is earlier, coming from the first quarter of the 3rd century at the latest.

Although the first line of these poems is identical, they are not corruptions of the same poem. They were tailored to individual events, and the later inscriptions are more detailed and individualized. It would appear that the first line was composed at the same time as the Lupus-acrostich and that it became a stereotype used on tombstones of the *gens Aurelia*. The recurrence of the same names made the work of versifiers and stone-cutters easier as copying of Lupus' poem was an uncomplicated task too. This assumption can only be confirmed by the discovery of another series of a *gentilicium*. The following sepulchral poem from Aquincum⁴⁸ too begins with the mention of the *gentilicium*.

17. It cannot be directly dated: the placer, T. Iulius Valerianus, was a *centurio* of the *Legio II Adiutrix*, which in itself is of little help in defining under what circumstances the inscription was made. Certain features link it to the above poems and therefore its inclusion in this group is not arbitrary.

*Hic sita sum matrona genus nomenque Veturia,
Fortunati co{n}iux de patre Veturio nata,
Ter novenos misera ' et nupta bis octo per annos,
Unicuba, uniuga ((quae post sex partus uno superstitute obii))*

Similarly to nos 12–16, we can note the use of the *i* consonant (*Veturja*, perhaps *Veturjo*, though this poem could be rhythmized differently⁴⁹), shortened syllables after the accentuated ones (*Fortunati*, *octō*) and *hiatus*. Difference can be noted in the use of *coniux* > *cōiux*, although this is not unusual since it has forty-one (!) known occurrences in Pannonia, and in the form *novēnos*, which reflects an individual and rather illogical usage (in contrast to the *undēnōs* in 14.3). The form *novēnos* can hardly be a corruption of the spoken tongue – it seems more likely that the author was at loss at how to use the classical metrical rhythm. Unfamiliarity with the classical length of the syllables led to hypercorrection or a neglect of the mistakes of the verse. This is apparently confirmed by the sudden disappearance of rhythm in line 4 (although this could reflect the hand of an amateur working with original).

The similarities in construction are quite interesting. We can note a higher number of identical expressions (*ter denos–ter novenos*) and artistical classicism than in the other poems (*Acc. resp.*), reaching a peak with the words *unicuba*, *uniuga* (after which the meter abruptly disappears). Its structure is simple: 1) *hic sita...* + name, 2) family relations, 3) age, 4) virtues. The same structure can be seen in nos 14–16: *hic iacet...* + name, 2) age, 3) family relations, 4) cause and depth of grief.

Its author cannot be identical with the composer of nos 14–16 (irrespective of whether these were written by Lupus or not): this poet was less skilled, although he did attempt a bold beginning. They may have been contemporaries.

⁴⁸ RÓMER–DESJARDINS 132.

⁴⁹ A) *Fortunati cōiux de patre Veturjo nata*

B) *Fortunati cōiux de patre Veturjo nata*

18. The poem, perhaps the most renowned in Pannonia, is the epitaph of Aelia Sabina:⁵⁰

*Clausa iacet lapidi coniunx pia cara Sabina,
artibus edocta superabat sola maritum,
vox ei grata fuit, pulsabat pollice cordas,
sed cito rapta silet. Ter denos duxerat annos,
heu male quinque minus, set plus tres meses habebat,
bis septemque dies vixit. Hec ipsa superstes
spectata in populo hydraula grata regebat.
Sis felix, quicumque leges, te numina servant,
et pia voce cane: Aelia Sabina vale!*

There is no need to analyze its text as a literary work; I shall concentrate on the grammatical and metrical peculiarities which link it to the above text.

- a) the shortening of the syllable after the accentuated one,
- b) the *i* consonant,
- c) the metrical or hypercorrected lengthening of the ending vocal.

Since the pentametric ending line is known from the Carnuntum epigrams,⁵¹ as well as from south Pannonia, we can assume that it was fairly common in the later era.

Frequent changes in Pannonia are *sed>set*,⁵² *mensis>mesis* (thirteen known occurrences!) and the shortened (or diphthongized) pronunciation of *ei*. The use of the accusative instead of the *Ablativus comparationis* is unparalleled and thus not instructive.

These features suggest that Aelia's epitaph can be linked to the Aquincum series (nos 12–17, ending in the mid-3rd century), although it seems a little far-fetched to assume that its author was Lupus.⁵³ Its structure too confirms its relation to the Aquincum type: 1) *Iacet* + name, 2) comparison with the husband (family relations figure prominently, which act as the second element in no. 17, and the third element in the others; an individual feature here is that the family relations are listed among the deceased's virtues), 3) age, 4) further virtues, 5) the *quicumque legis...* element is usually absent in Aquincum, although it is frequent elsewhere. Since this is the only difference, the poem can be assigned to the same period and type, although it is more elaborate.

19. This poetical fragment⁵⁴ comes from Aquincum. Its text is rather corrupted:

*((cui vita parva, mors valde citata fuit))
Quem flentes doleunt miserieque parentes.*

⁵⁰ Later publication: NÉMETH 1971. 182.

⁵¹ VORBECK 1980. 151, 255.

⁵² CIL III 5695, RÓMER-DESJARDINS 195, VAMK 182.4.; *aput*, *ad>at* are frequent too.

⁵³ NAGY 1939.

⁵⁴ CIL III 3362.

Judging from its tone, the first line seems to be part of the poem (anyhow it is illogical to begin with the words *Quem...*), but the original cannot be restored. The remaining verse has 5 feet and is not classical in language. The 3rd coniugation form of the verb *doleo* is unique in Pannonia.

Its structure is hard to define: roughly it contains the traditional elements (the short [sad] life-span, this time without mentioning the *Parca*, mourning relatives).

Its importance lies in the fact that the name of the deceased is known: *P. Aelius Fronto, decurio coloniae Aquinci*. This dates the inscription to the 3rd century since Aquincum became a *colonia* in 194. This poem is thus probably coeval with the typical Aquincum poems, although a formal connection cannot be demonstrated.

20. A much-fragmented inscription,⁵⁵ earlier than the previous ones; its metrical nature is only suspectable by its fragmentedness:

[p]ia quae super[
re]vocata fa[

It was placed to a soldier of the *Legio III Augusta*. We do not know exactly when the *legio* was stationed here: the single comparable inscription is dated to 211.⁵⁶ suggesting that this one comes from the same period. It was originally quite long, even though only a small part is preserved; the second preserved line was definitely dactylic.⁵⁷ The reading *revocata* in the third line was interpreted as the name of the placer, but this does not contradict that it might be the end of a (hexametric) verse. The letters after it can be completed as *fa[c. cur.]*.

The whole metrical text could be one or two verses, but its length remains unknown since we have no idea of how long the missing part is.

21. Several other metrical inscriptions are known from Aquincum: two can be assigned to a later period, while the date of a third⁵⁸ cannot be directly established:

[Par]vus et exigua[m] lucem frunitus iniquae
[P]arcae iudiciis hic, miserande, iaces
[..I]n tum(ulo), miseris ut causa parentibus esses
[Fle]tus et luctus editus ex utero.

⁵⁵ BORZSÁK 1963.

⁵⁶ The single dated piece of evidence that the *Legio III Augusta* was stationed here is CIL III 10419, an inscription dated by *Gentiano et Basso consulibus*. The placer is a veteran and it is thus quite possible that the *legio* was stationed here some years earlier. But generally (including the publisher's opinion) it is connected with the Marcomannic wars. According to the age (25 years) the deceased was not a veteran, but an active soldier, suggesting that the inscription should be dated to an earlier, rather than a later period.

⁵⁷ The completion suggested by BORZSÁK 1963. – *super[vixit]* – is no more convincing than *super[avit]*, *super[abat]*, *super[ante]* etc. The scarcely legible [p]ia can perhaps be completed as *Ulpia* (?). In any case, it is unlikely that this marks the end of a verse; it seems more likely that it is near the beginning of the assumed poem.

⁵⁸ SZILÁGYI 1951. I (Fig. 2). The completion of verses 3 and 5 is uncertain since the number of missing letters seems to be different from the form given here. However, at the moment I can think of no better solution. It is possible to apply a formula such as *Et ta]ntum miseris ut...* to verse 3, but even if it fits better in length, it does not fit well in terms of meaning.

[Att]amen ut fertur, f[a]tum v[el] casus [i]ni[quus]
[ho]c ita decrev[it], non deus iste fuit.

The grammar and the metrics follow the classical pattern; it is the single Pannonian poem which does not contain non-classical elements. Structure: it starts with the element *iacet*, no name, in the S/3 person, followed by family relations (very roughly). In this sense it is a condensed variant of the Aquincum type, but it is then followed by a unique element: a description of the conflict between Fate and Deity, ending with an accusation of Fate (*fatum iniquum*). The elements of 'mourning' and 'age' are woven into the first part.

The poem seems to be a variant of the Aquincum type. The text itself is concerned with the fate of the deceased, a feature relating it to the Carnuntum type, with a great similarity in the use of various expressions.⁵⁹ (The number of *hapax legomena* is conspicuously high: *fruniscor*, *uterus*, *fletus*, *exiguus*.) It has two close parallels, nos 4 (Carnuntum, 1st century) and 16 (Campona, 3rd century), further complicating the issue. This poem definitely reflects a connection between the two types, although this connection cannot yet be dated (such a connection is also suggested by no. 11). The short text of no. 19 seems to be influenced by this (cp. *miseri parentes*), suggesting that this poem is slightly earlier than no. 19 (which cannot be dated earlier than to the 3rd century).

What are the common features of 2nd/3rd century Aquincum poems, distinguishing them from other types? The greater part of the group (nos 12–18) shares phonetical (the *i* consonant, the shortening of syllables after accentuated ones, the fading of the Accusative, modest classicization) and metrical features (frequent *hiatus*) which are characteristic for this period only, although isolated occurrences from other periods are also known. The type can be better identified from its structure: it begins with the element *Hic sita/iacet*, followed by age, family relations, a list of virtues (loosely varied), and sometimes the element *Quicumque legis...* at the end. The most important exception is the Lupus-acrostich, describing the delights of life, making it unique in Pannonia, and such description can be noted among the 'mourning' elements on the inscriptions (mostly in the western region).⁶⁰

This group is more coherent than the Carnuntum one which is less specified in grammar, and shows more variation in structure – the triplicate structure of nos 3–4 being the purest ones, with the others adopting only certain elements. The frequent elements are *felices* and *in tumulo*, with the occasional *Quicumque legis...* and *STTL*-elements.

⁵⁹ *Fatum iniquum*: cp. nos 4, 6 (Carnuntum), 11 (Poetovio). *Miserande* has a perfect parallel in no. 4. *Parentes miseri* is known from Aquincum, but a close parallel can be quoted from no. 5 (Carnuntum). *Casus* (11, 12–13, 16) was used in both regions, *luctus* is also known from the south (33, Sirmium). Only the word *lux* (15, 16) suggests the environs of Aquincum.

⁶⁰ Cp. no. 3. A request for the happiness of living can be noted in nos 4 and 8 and in Aquincum 18.

IV. LATE POEMS

None of the late poems can be assigned to either of the above types, the most likely reason being many of them originate from other regions than the above types. The specimens from Aquincum suggest that the traditional types began to disintegrate in the early 4th century, disappearing by the end of the century. Therefore the order of in which they are listed here is inevitably arbitrary.

22. *Hec, Seuso, tibi durent per saecula multa,
Posteris ut prosint vascula digna tuis.*

This distich is preserved in the legend of a dish from the so-called *Seuso hoard*. There can be little doubt about the Pannonian origins of this hoard.⁶¹ Its cardinal position in the interpretation of late poetry can in part be attributed to the scanty epigraphic material from this period, and in part to the information it provides about the poetical culture of province's élite. The grammatic innovations can be seen as a reflection of the common 4th century Pannonian parlance. The forms *tibi*, *Seusō*, *posteris* indicate that

A) the lengthening of the accentuated syllable is common (the counter-example *tūis* can be explained by its special semantical value⁶²),

B) the long vowels of the syllable after the accentuated one survived,

C) the syllables farthest from the accentuated one are shortened.

Bearing in mind shortening after the accentuated one in some of the above verses,⁶³ we can make three assumptions:

a) the shortening after accent was used perpetually, but not generally,⁶⁴

b) it was used only by the lower social layers, while the upper layers regarded it as a form of Barbarism, although they adopted the shortening in farther syllables,

c) the tendency towards shortening was in progress earlier (in the 3rd century), but this tendency ceased, or was even reversed in the 4th century, at least 'high speech' again became closer to 'classical' Latinity.⁶⁵

Since the poem is very short, it only reveals so much about morphology that the dative and conjunctive were used in the classical form and function.

23. The following inscription from Siscia⁶⁶ is definitely metric, but difficult to interpret: it is fragmentary, and offers few clues as to its date. It was carved carelessly (and is now very worn, making it difficult to read). A late date is possible. It is a sepulchral poem, with fragmentary personal data before it, stating that it was placed for Maximilla by her husband. The simplest division of the text is as follows:

⁶¹ NAGY-TÓTH 1990.

⁶² FEHÉR 1995. 140.

⁶³ Cp. nos 17.3, 14.3, 18.3-4, 12-13.6. 8, 25.4.

⁶⁴ The examples in the above note come from the Aquincum area, while nos 22-23 definitely do not originate from there.

⁶⁵ If this assumption proves to be the case, the date of this general change would be in the period after no. 25 (beginning of 4th century) owing to the occurrence of the form *saxō*.

⁶⁶ KSHNM 345.

*Nom[i]na tue superos laudesq(ue) manebun,
 Adque utinam su[p]erstes am[i]c[o]
 Reciperes tua merita magna.
 Coniugio ereptam FIRMA requir[i]s ibidem.*

The result is an irregular dactylic polymeter, with line 3 being more like prose. Verse 1, as already noted by BRUNŠMID,⁶⁷ recalls *Verg. Aen. I 609*.

The inscription itself is corrupted. The beginning of the first verse would be intelligible as *nomina tua ad superos*, while FIRMA in the fourth line is unorganic. It is possible that a letter is missing from the end of *manebun*, though the disappearance of the *-nt* endig is known in the province.⁶⁸ It would appear that the poem lost its poetic features once the (perhaps illiterate) stone-cutter started to his fatal work on it. The following emendations can be proposed.

Verse 1. A) (5-footed) *Nom[i]na tua ad superos laudesq(ue) manebun(t)*. *Nomina* read: *nomna*.⁶⁹

A1) *Nom[i]na tui ad superos laudesq(ue) manebun(t)*. Possessive genitive of personal pronouns is known from Pannonia.⁷⁰

B) A 6-footed variation closer to Vergilius:

Nomina, honor tuus ad superos laudesq(ue) manebun(t) – and likewise.

Verse 2. A) In the present form it is 4-footed with a slight mistake of length (*sūperstes*). *Adque* is regular in Pannonia.⁷¹

B) 6-footed version:

— ◡ ◡ | — × | — × | — ◡ ◡ | — ◡ ◡ | — —

Adque utinam [remaneres ipsa?] superstes amico

Verse 3. 4-footed: *Rēciperes tua mērita magna*. This verse offers a good parallel to the lengthening by accent read as seen in the Seuso-inscription (*tībī*); it also suggests that the inscription is a late one, at least from the 4th century. The question is whether the other verses allow for such an accentual-metric rhythm; *Tūi* in verse 1 is not contradictory,⁷² but *superos* would become *sūperos* in this system. The Vergilian influence could keep this verse in the classical rhythm, even *utinam* is not lengthened into *ūtinam* in verse 2. The poet was perhaps influenced by his fondness for Vergilius when he created the form *rēciperes*, betraying the influence of Vergilian *rēliquia*, *rēligio*, and then unconsciously followed the former classicizing meter with the lengths of spoken Latin.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ E.g. KSHNM 339: *posuerum*, CIL III 11301: *posierun*, RIU 326: *pusurum*?

⁶⁹ Cp. no. 36: *domnica*; *domna* (VORBECK 1986. 72), *domnus* (KSHNM 394, CIL 3236, ILJ 1069, CSIR 163).

⁷⁰ FEHÉR 1995. 138–139.

⁷¹ There are thirteen known occurrences, including some from southern Pannonia: KSHNM 222, 345, ILJ 1168, CIL III 3983. (?)

⁷² FEHÉR 1995. 140.

Verse 4 is difficult to interpret. Its first half is a pentametric half-line, but the second half is *not* suited to the pentameter. Yet an interpretation along accentual-metric lines gives the ‘first half’ the missing feet of verse 3.:

*Rēciperes tua mērita magna. Cōiūgio ēreptam*⁷³

Thus only verse 4 remains enigmatic, and even if we interpret it with various speculative readings, the second half of line will still be missing. E.g.: *Firme* (name of the placer?), *requiras ibidem...* – *Firme, requiris ibidem...*

Accepting that the coherent part of the poem is only three verses long, we cannot claim that our hypothesis can be proven, but it is coherent to our knowledge of late Pannonian versification. In this case, we must regard the poet to be far better than the average versifier since he handled the local parlance with a surprising versatility and he appears to have been quite familiar with the classics.

24. One of the remaining inscriptions of Aquincum⁷⁴ contains two lines, both of which are hexametric:

*Francus ego cives Romanus miles in armis
Egreia virtute tuli bello mea dextera semper.* (VII)

There can be no doubt that this is a late inscription, although RÓMER’S claim – based on the type-face – that it was made in the early 5th century,⁷⁵ seems a bit exaggerated. It differs from traditional sepulchral poems in its wording, as well as in its perspective since its emphasis on military virtues is unique in Pannonia, and it is totally unrelated to any other provincial poem. Neither the poem, nor the stone onto which it was inscribed suggests a visible decline in the province or a lapse into Barbarism. The poet appears to have worked with a precise stone-cutter who made no mistakes – we might even go as far as to say that they did their best to show their erudition in the declining country.

The same hold true as for grammatics: there is no trace of the later phonetic changes,⁷⁶ the values of vocals are surprisingly precise (*ēgreiā, tuli*), and even a hypercorrection was made in the word *egō* – and yet, the author does not seem to feel the lack of accusative-ending.

25. The following epitaph from Aquincum dates to the early 4th century.⁷⁷

*Hic iacet, ecce, vides, pupa sine fine decoris,
Que mihi tam subito rapta est neque adhuc credere possi. (VII)
Non eco tam modica potui maculare parentem,
Cassia sum vocita, iace{t} (=iaceo) sub saxo reclusa,*

⁷³ There are many examples for the forms *coniux*>*coiūx*>*coiux* (38 to *coiux*, 2 to *coiunx*, 2 to *coiūx*). CSIR 280 can even be read as *cougi*. The closest parallel is RIU 530: *coiūgio*.

⁷⁴ RÓMER–DESJARDINS 175.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *Cives* is a common form in Pannonia, cp. RIU 110,2, 523, 737, 1165, 1166. (line 14), CIL III 3293, 4391, VORBECK 1986. 193. There are only two sure counter-examples: VORBECK 1980. 285, and CSIR 33.

⁷⁷ NÉMETH 1989, NÉMETH–TOPÁL 1991. The burial was accurately dated to around 302–3 on the ground of an almost unworn *foliis* of Diocletianus.

*III an(nos) vixi et menses V. Tu quidem
quem recitas, ablatus... pietate parentis. (V–VI)
((Quisquis es, vale.))*

The structure is fairly traditional: 1. *Hic iacet...*, 2. mourning, 3. catalogue of virtues (in the S/I person), 4. name and age, 5. a curious form of the *Quicumque legis...* element, although it is far from classical in speech. Aside from the perfect participle *vocitus* from *voco*, the conjugation is rather ragged (*possi*: the only parallel is the curse-plate from Siscia⁷⁸). The cutting is not too precise, but the stone-cutter's mistakes did not make the reading dubious (*neqe* and *iacet* can be immediately corrected). The main problem is the interpretation of the last verse. The proposal of the publishers

*Tu quidem, quem (=qui) recitas ablatus (=privatus) pietate parentis,
quisquis es, vale*⁷⁹

has some difficulties. Firstly, there is no parallel to the *qui/quem* mistake, and the only appearance of *aufero*⁸⁰ is connected with *death*, and secondly, the line makes no sense: why would anybody call the reader *ablatus pietate parentis*? Also, the concluding formula would thus become an organic part of the poem turning it into metrical nonsense.

There is some lack of continuity after the word *ablatus* (whose last letter is maimed) leaving enough room for one letter, which probably disappeared since the stone is broken at this very point. (The letter in question was probably T, but we can also assume a ligature.) We can restore the text as **ablatus* or **ablatus est*, allowing the following solution:

*...tu quidem
Quem recitas (sc. lapidem), *allatus (es)t pietate parentis.*

We can assume a 5-footed verse, reading **allatus* 'st> **ālātust* with a hypercorrection **ālātust*, or else a 6-footed one, reading *allātūs est*, whereas the long *u* would be produced analogously to the after-accent length. The only snag is that we must assume a new mistake by the stone-cutter: **allatus>ablatus*, if it was not the author's hypercorrection.

There are classicizing vocal values (*iācet*, *vīdes*, *sīne*, etc.), as well as some that show the changes made by the effect of accents:

- a) *ādhuc*, *quīdem* – lengthening of the accentuated syllable,
- b) as for the after-accent syllable, *saxō* proves shortening, *pupā* lengthening (one of them being a hypercorrection, but only external arguments can detect which),
- c) the forms *modicā*, *vocitā* are strange and contradict the general tendency, as does the conservation of forms like *potuī*, *recitās*, *iaceō*. They are probably classicizing corrections comparable to *mīhī*,⁸¹ or the presumed form **alatust*. Should this be

⁷⁸ AIJ 557.A,9–10. *Ne possi contra sse faceri.*

⁷⁹ NÉMETH–TOPÁL 1991. 78.

⁸⁰ VORBECK 1980. 84.6.

⁸¹ Cp. 22.1. *tibī*, or even earlier 16.6.

the case, the poem reflects the same phonetic phase as the Seuso distich, but dates from an earlier period: the beginning of the 4th century.

It must here be noted that neither *eco* nor *tu* are classical readings, but the short quantity of *tū* is debatable since if reading the last verse with 5 feet we can transpose these words to the beginning. I would still say that this is unlikely since the poem is fairly regular, even though it betrays little genuine poetic feeling.

26. One of the best-known poems from Pannonia is the following sepulchral poem from Savaria, inscribed onto the tombstone of Flavius Dalmatius *protector* and his wife.

*Quisquis he (heris? hic es?) post me dm (dominus) Laris huius et orti,
Vicinas mihi carp(e) rosas, mihi lilia pone
Candeda{s}, q(uae) viridis dabit ortulus. Ista beatum.*⁸²

It definitely comes from the 4th century, as shown by its style of letters, although it is visibly pagan, perhaps the last pagan poem in Pannonia. In spite of the high social rank of the deceased, it does not represent the poetry of the élite, seeing that it was erected by two *liberti*. This did not influence its metrics: the hexameter is regular, but it is a far cry from good quality in grammatics and subject-matter; and in spite of the author's literary reminiscences, he still has some trouble with H (*ortus*, *ortulus*, and HE, whose simplest solution would be {*h*}*eris*), and even the stone-cutting is inaccurate. There are several misspellings, such as the senseless S at the end of **candeda* (= *candida*), between the ungrateful abbreviations (HE, DM, CARP). These three elements make the last two words (*ista beatum*) difficult to understand: it appears to be a quote, although it is not accurate grammatically, and the stone-cutter even managed to create an illegible word: ISTA. The most likely interpretation remains *ista (sunt) beatum* (= *beatorum*).⁸³

We cannot assign this poem to the northwestern type in spite of the *Quisquis...* element, and the perception of the deceased as '*beati*' since these are not distinctive enough for assigning the text to a particular group. Similarly to the other late poems, this one too remains uncategorized.

27. A fragmentary brick inscription comes from Brigetio, whose reading is uncertain and thus eluded interpretation for a long time:

*Hoc die felic/
]sunt per secul/
]vt es quorum/
]non es illic/
]longius N*⁸⁴

EDIT B. THOMAS completed the inscription (with a slightly changed reading) as an early Christian text.⁸⁵

⁸² RIU 80.

⁸³ PAULOVICS 1944. 35.

⁸⁴ The reading proposed by FLÓRIS RÓMER, in: RÓMER-DESJARDINS 429.

⁸⁵ B. THOMAS 1974. Figs 1–2.

Hoc die felice[s fratres] sunt persecut(i) [morie]ntes quorum [anima] non est / vic[ta et in Deo] longius iu[bilabit].

According to her interpretation, the text was written at the time of the 304 persecutions. Her arguments are fairly convincing, and the text does appear to be a Christian inscription, but her reading is inaccurate on some points. Her reading of line 2 seems unlikely: one can make out the lower part of the letter L (as a matter of fact the lower lines of the letters can hardly be seen on the whole inscription). Neither are the letters which would confirm her completions clearly visible. The reading *vic[ta]* in line 4 is unlikely: the argument that a space of one letter was left void because of the stamp is unconvincing since the stamp was always overwritten, and the letters in question appear to be FIC.

Retaining the words *per secula*, the dactylic rhythm of the text can be felt. It could be completed as a hexameter, but any new completion must be at least as coherent as B. THOMAS's.

I shall here propose a new reading for lines 1–3, which will be somewhat longer (24–21 letters per line instead of the 20–15 suggested by B. THOMAS), but the lines will be more equal length, and the result is two verses (though not of the same length, cp. no. 33).

*Hoc die felice[s qui mortui] sunt, per secula [vivent (VII)]
Gaude[ntes, quorum [anima mortua] non est. (V)]*

The letters /FIC perhaps allude to the place of writing down or the downtaker: *fig[ulina]* or *fig[ulus]*. The reading of the last two lines nonetheless remains uncertain.

The rhythm of the first verse has more in common with the phonetics of the Aquincum style than with late poetry: *die* contains either two short syllables (shortening after accent; the accentuated syllable remains short under classical influence or on the strength of analogy with *meus*, *tuus* etc. – or maybe simply the vowels of words with structure CVV, CVVC were not lengthened in northern Pannonia), or can be read as *djē* with an *i* consonant. Two extraordinary metrical features stand out in the above completion: the dactylic pronunciation of *mortuī* and the lengthening of *ānima*. These could be fitted into the general usage of this period, but then, hypothetical words are rarely suitable for metrical analysis. Grammatically the text is regular enough.

The Christian nature of the text also allows a link with the persecution in this reading too. Phonetically, the text is paralleled by poems from the 3rd century, and it points to the very beginning of 4th century.

V. POEMS OF UNCERTAIN DATE

Various metrical texts were found on sites lying beyond the centres discussed in the above. These are generally ill-preserved, and offer few direct clues for dating or who their author was.

28. The original site of this inscription is uncertain; at present it can be found at Pannonhalma,⁸⁶ and it is in a very bad condition. The names are unidentifiable, although one can perhaps be read as the *Ala III Augusta Thracum*.⁸⁷ This is not too helpful for dating the text since this *ala* was permanently stationed at Odiavum during the 2nd–3rd centuries.⁸⁸

The 6th–9th lines of the text are probably metric, but it is almost impossible to divide them into verses and to interpret them. We have no idea of how long a part is missing. The dactylic rhythm admits that it was perhaps a distich. Here follows an attempt at arrangement:

— — — — —
 ...amator ei (et?) .orum (?)
 — — — — — | — — — — —
 eris gratus inci[/ ???

Iec pecuniaeat

— — — — — | — — — — —
 .era (vera?) si dixi me (?)|

The presumed verse 3 makes even less sense than the others, and it cannot really be fitted into a verse. Except for *gratus*, the words are not documented in any other poems, and here even it has another meaning.⁸⁹ This poem, then, cannot be assigned to any one type and remains an individual one.

29. A well-preserved longer epitaph is known from Brigetio,⁹⁰ which deserves more attention than what it has been accorded. Its manner of writing suggests that it may be a relatively late inscription, but there is no direct evidence for its date. The text is essentially classical in language, with an accurate orthography:

*Heu, simul hic nata et genetrix functaeq(ue) sitaeq(ue),
 Ac tris pro multis orbant matremq(ue) virumq(ue)
 Et soceros et avos patresq(ue) duos patruumq(ue).
 Germanis quoniam materq(ue) et filia nuptae,
 Verum filia cum parva praerepta puella,
 Functae die, quo nupta, sed annis nupta duobus.*

This poem begins with a detailed description of family relations, although it seems reasonable to suspect the germ or wreck of a triplicate structure: (*hic*) *sitae* – family (=cause and depth of grief) – date of death. This is fairly close to the four-membered Aquincum type, although it does not contain the name and the list of virtues. The expressions and words used in the text are fairly common ones (except for

⁸⁶ RIU 277.

⁸⁷ Line 1: *Ia Secun[?*, line 2: *I Aug Th[*. Line 5 perhaps contains the name *Lupianus*.

⁸⁸ RIU 560, 646. CIL III 4270, 4625, 11327, 11332–34.

⁸⁹ *Grata* S.N.f cp. 18,3.7. Pl.Acc.n cp. 38,2.

⁹⁰ RIU 622.

praeripio, which is a Pannonian *hapax legomenon*) and are thus unsuitable for drawing conclusions on possible links. There is no trace of the linguistic peculiarities of the 2nd–3rd centuries or the 4th century; the Pl/N *tris* is unparalleled, and the expression *pro multis orbo*, although redundant, is more ‘regular’ than many other Pannonian constructions.⁹¹ We cannot thus claim that it is a lateral variation of the Aquincum type, even though this possibility cannot be rejected.

30. A regrettably short poem-like fragment is known from Vindobona:⁹²

((*Marcio con san l te o.orv.*)) *n[on] digna mori s[i p]ossunt fata mov[e]ri.*⁹³

The first words, *Marcio (S/N?) coniugi sanct(issim)ae* were no doubt part of a prose intitulation. The unintelligible word⁹⁴ may mark the beginning of the verse, but in this case it is longer than hexameter (a heptameter?). The intelligible part may be a fragmentary hexameter, in a regular language, which can equally reflect the Carnuntum or Aquincum style. Only one word is required before it (e.g. *qui/quae*), and we would expect a continuation after it. Little more can be said about this mutilated poem.

31. One other poem is known from Intercisa;⁹⁵ it is sadly very mutilated, with only seven fragments, each containing a few words, preserved from different verses. Its metre is doubtless the hexameter. Although little survives, the old description of its text is reliable:

*Ha]ec quoq(ue) nomine Kara[
]i post lustra perempta m[
]est tradita morti [
]pompa comitante beata[
]giunguntq(ue) favil[
 m]emorabitur hu[
]t.inus ol[⁹⁶*

Although Intercisa belonged to the metrical sphere of Aquincum,⁹⁷ this poem is wholly unrelated to the epitaphs of Aquincum. The first element (name) is identical, but the deceased is named not by the *gentilicium*, but by the *cognomen*. Consequently, it is not a serial poem, and neither does the pronoun *hic* occur elsewhere in this element. The (unfortunately maimed) age is also a traditional element, but age is here given in *lustrum*, not decades. This is followed by some words about the funeral (a unique feature!), the sixth line refers to the poem itself, while the seventh eludes interpretation. This is an unparalleled poetical work: its classical

⁹¹ Another interpretation is that *pro* could be here an interjection (cp. *heu*), in which case the text is quite regular.

⁹² Publication (including a drawing): NEUMANN 1967. XXX–XXXII. EGGER 1963. 226, regards it as a Christian inscription, in which case it is a late specimen, although this cannot be proven.

⁹³ I have omitted line 1, an intitulation which is difficult to read.

⁹⁴ The publishers suggest the reading *hora*.

⁹⁵ RIU 1237.

⁹⁶ I shall treat the fragments as verses for the sake of convenience.

⁹⁷ No. 14; 15 (Szabadbattyán), 16 (Campona).

language⁹⁸ (containing rare phenomena such as the synchronical *abl. abs.*) suggests that it was written by an excellent poet, although this poet probably had no connection with Lupus. The poem is replete with Pannonian *hapax legomena* (*comito, pompa, favilla*; *memoro* has one more late mention⁹⁹), and since the word *peremo* is characteristic of the province it is unlikely that the poem was 'imported'.

32. Only a few poems are known south of the *Dravus*. This seems to contradict the general view that this region was the most developed part of the province in terms of culture, urbanisation, traditions and economy. The basic reason for this contradiction is that this region has been less intensively investigated and far fewer inscriptions have been published. The five poems from this region – although in part fragmentary – must therefore be studied carefully. This poem, found in two fragments at Bassianae,¹⁰⁰ eludes all interpretation:

|perd|ere?
|superest in i| u|tru|m]que vaco.

The end of the poem is preserved (the next line contains the placing data: *hic her(edes) ab i|* – incidentally, the placers in poetic epitaphs do not call themselves *heredes* anywhere else in Pannonia). The last verse is definitely a pentameter; the poem was most likely a regular distich. Nevertheless only a short fragment survives from the first verse.

The meaning of these verses is uncertain in spite of the excellent parallel quoted by DUŠANIĆ.¹⁰¹ The preserved words seem to be metrically regular, but little can be said about their grammar, and thus its position in the context of Pannonian poetry is uncertain. It cannot be fitted into the northwestern, or into the Aquincum style, although admittedly we know nothing about the beginning or its position within the whole text.

33. In contrast, the longer of the two texts from Sirmium,¹⁰² a dactylic poem with virtually no permanent rhythm offers ample material:

- 1 *Hunc titulum posui miserabile munus, non satis ut meruistis* (VIII)
- 2 *Quattuor amissis te quintum, Salvi, flere necesse est* (VII)
- 3 *Adsidu{a}e* (??) (IS)
- Dum mea fata resistant.* (III)
- 4 *Te nunc amisso domus inclinata recumbit*, (VI)
- 5 *Depon(am) luctús, cum te sequar, cáre, per umbr(as)*, (VI)
- 6 *Dulce meum Salvium liceat mihi dicr (=dicere) semper*, (VI?)
- 7 *Optaver (=optaveram!), tumult(um) tu mihi ut facer(es)*, (Pentameter)
- 8 *Tot bona tum carui, mert (merito?) te, care, requiro.* (VI)

⁹⁸ Line 6: *igtungunt* is rather strange, but in the lack of other evidence, it must be regarded as a misspelling (other proposals seem too far-fetched). **K** in line 1 is a widespread orthographic anomaly in the province.

⁹⁹ RIU 81.

¹⁰⁰ ILJ 1036.

¹⁰¹ DUŠANIĆ. *Živa antika* 17, 1967, 195–215.

¹⁰² CIL III 3241.

Verse 3 obviously needs unifying. A word was most probably lost in cutting, which can be easily supplemented. Although there are several alternative solutions, I would recommend the shortest one:

3. *Adsidue, dum me mea fata resistant.* (V)

This text offers a variegated picture, with the alternation of longer and shorter verses, and a pentameter (although *not* at the end) which is phonetically unusual: *optāveram*? It would appear that the author used a classical contracted form that was unfamiliar to the stone-cutter who arbitrarily 'corrected' it:

7. *Optaram, tumultum tu mihi ' ut faceres.*

The *hiatus* is not strange: it is present in nos 14–17. The beginning *hic titulus* recalls the Aquincum group, even though it is not followed by a name, but by personal notes. In this it resembles nos 5 and 21, but they cannot be related to each other. The unusual features of the theme can perhaps be associated with the circumstances under which it was written: similarly to no. 5, which was probably written by the less than intellectual *patronus* himself. This would also explain the metrical irregularity, even though this text is superior to no. 5. The stone-cutter was hardly an expert at his job as shown by the meaningless abbreviations (*dicr. mert*), the form *adsiduae* (which, however, could equally well be the author's orthographic mistake) and the mutilation of verse 3. It is quite possible that the *octometer* of verse 1 is the product of the confused stone-cutter, but I personally reject this possibility, until we cannot reconstruct a better original.

Grammatically the inscription probably reflects the author's instructions because it gives a classical rhythm, and (as the maimed verse shows) the stone-cutter was unable to introduce his own corrections. The author apparently tried to dispel any misunderstanding in the case of two words whose pronunciation was doubtful depending on their meaning by marking the long vowel with an *accent acute*. (A most unique practice in Pannonia!) One of these is justified (*luctūs*), but I am at loss to understand why this was necessary for the word *cāre*. Maybe the author feared a hypercorrection: perhaps he thought that the readers would be inclined to interpret the long *a* (near the verb *careo*) as a lengthening made by accent. The weak point of this explanation is that the words *inclinata*, *deponam*, *requiro* would also require such proof.

It is also possible that the author used the *accent acute* as his own stay and did not intend it to be cut into the stone. This explanation is justified by the two strange divergences from the classical rhythm: in the words *sequār* and *Sālvium*, *r* and *l* do not form positions. Although one single text will hardly elucidate this problem, we can feel the author's predilection for unreasonable short syllables. We can also note the fading of the accusative (*dulce meum Salvium*, verse 6).

The poem has virtually no structure, the verses follow each other without any logical order. We must not require classical reminiscences of the author who was burying his fifth relative. The rarer expressions have several parallels in the prov-

ince.¹⁰³ This would imply that the sepulchral panels were widely known, and it is entirely incidental that some of them have only a single parallel. The author's rhymes are quite ingenious, suggesting that he was not entirely unskilled and was by all means an educated person.

We have little to go by for dating the poem. There is nothing to suggest that it is a late one; the fading of the accusative is not specific to any one period. Judging from the metrical accuracy it appears to be comparatively early, not later than the earlier 3rd century.

34. The following one verse comes from Sirmium, although its original site is uncertain:¹⁰⁴

Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis, atque animam aer.

This inscription offers little in the way of information, seeing that it is short and classical in language. The name (*Ammerus Qu(f)*) offers few clues: we do not even know whether he was a late citizen, a slave (*Ammerus Quinti?*), or a native. This text simply increases the number of uninterpretable poems.

35. The most curious poem of the province comes from Siscia.¹⁰⁵ The long epitaph begins with the intitulation, followed by 'poetic' words; it has a definite rhythm which, however, disappears after two and a half verses. Can such a text be called a poem?

Verse 1 is an Asclepiadean:

Ascendens animam deposui meam.

Verse 2 is Asclepiadean-like, or, better said, it appears as if the two halves of the Asclepiadean have been exchanged:

Vos itaq(ue), inferi, ad quos me praecipitem

Verse 3: a similar half-verse, after which the rhythm simply disappears, never to return. The ensuing prose is nonetheless instructive:

Di superi coe((gerunt minimo cum tormento admittite ossaq(ue) mea in hac arca bene composita condidit Fl. Ursinus maritus dulcissimus et Fl. Maximianus filius meus et post haec omnia valete. Fl. Ursinus Maximianae Aemiliae coniug(i) kariss(imae) et castiss(imae) posui vivusq(ue) feci cum qua vixi ann(is) XVIII, mensib(us) VIII. Poniq(ue) me post mort(em) meam ab herede meo in hac arc[a ...] qui et lul. [Ma]ximiana, homo fuit, mortua est.))

The text is structured into barely coherent parts: an intitulation in prose, two and a half Asclepiadean verses, followed by an organic, but rhythmically rather jumbled sentence, plainer names, salutation (elegant, but in prose), another piece of

¹⁰³ *Depono* in no. 3,5, *luctus* in 21, *mereo* in 3.

¹⁰⁴ CIL III 3247. The CIL also notes its location in Karánsebes (in the Barbaricum); however, this question can no longer be resolved. Still, a Pannonian origin is not entirely impossible: Roman inscriptions could have been transported to Karánsebes from Pannonia (and especially from Sirmium), Dacia and Moesia.

¹⁰⁵ CIL III 3989.

information on the placers, an elegant testament and a final, highly impressive sentence: *Homo fuit, mortua est*. This sentence is not connected to the preceding words. This 'incoherence' can be attributed to the diverse origins of the texts: in their striving for elegance, the placers incorporated the poem – which they perhaps recalled – together with final sentence into the text; the end of the poem was either lost and/or confused. Maybe they did not quote the poem from a written example, but from memory. Be as it may, there were no doubt quite a few commonly known sepulchral poems in Siscia, and the inventory of epithaphs contained not only hexameters and distichs, but also lyric metres. This was probably also the situation in the other major south Pannonian cities.

The original poem cannot be wholly reconstructed since the first lines are probably lost. Smaller metric parts can be reconstructed from what remains in verse 3.¹⁰⁶

The highly classical language of the inscription makes dating and classification quite difficult. Its structure is barely definable owing to its 'incoherence'; in its present form it does not resemble either the Carnuntum or the Aquincum structure.

36. With the exception of no. 11 from Poetovio, this is the single poetical fragment from the southwest. It cannot be directly dated since the first part – containing the beginning of the poem – is mutilated, as shown by the fact that the placer's name is at the end. The known verses (1–5) have only been reconstructed in part by the publishers:¹⁰⁷

[iuss[]pat[]u.. non for[et i]ll[.]
Nunc matris pietaten abet per domnica r[ura],
[e]t licuit matri corpus sepe(li)re dolendu[m],
Que nunc abet titul(um) non terre inimice la[– –.
sed potius donis sollemnibus esse colend[um].

Verses 2–3 are quite intelligible. Verse 1 apparently contained a contradiction to verse 2 (and was *not* the first line of the poem), and we can attempt its completion:

Ex [iuss[u] pat[ris titulus q]u[ia? od?] non for[et i]ll[i],

The reconstruction of the last syllables of verse 4 is problematic: there are several possibilities, the most reliable being as follows:

Que nun[c] abet titulum non terre inimice latebris,

This is hardly a correct classical construction, which would run something like *cui nunc habemus titulum ... colendum*, "whose monument we should cultivate not by hiding in the hostile earth, but with solemn gifts".

¹⁰⁶ Some variations:

A) *Di superi coegere* ∪ – ∪ –
Tormento minimo – ∪ ∪ mittite.
Ossaue in hac arca composita bene...
 B) *Di superi coegerunt, cum minimo*
Tormento ∪ ∪ – l – ∪ ∪ mittite etc.

¹⁰⁷ CIL III 5695.

The grammar of this poem offers some clues for resolving these controversial issues: it is mostly classicizing, using the *Acc. c. inf.*, the subordinate clause (both largely unnecessary, although unreasonably complicated structures are a hallmark of provincial classicization), and the *que* S/N.f (*qui* is more frequent in Pannonia).¹⁰⁸ The accentuated syllable is not lengthened (*fōret, līcuit, pōtius*), although this does not rule out a late date (cp. no. 24). Other features too reflect a link with the later group (*domnica*, cp. no. 23,1 **nomna, abet*, cp. 26,1 *orti*, 26,3 *ortulus*). The word *pietas* is also attested at Aquincum in the 4th century (no. 25). There is no direct connection with the 2nd–3rd century poems, except perhaps for the **nun* reading of *nunc*, a counter-example to *dum/dunc* in Lupus' epigram. The *ae > e* change is timeless, the strange *pietaten* S/Acc is unparalleled.¹⁰⁹ The most important grammatical change can be noted at the end, where the placer names himself with excellent Latin: *Surilla ego so*. The fading of the coniugation is rather rare, and practically unparalleled.

This may be a late derivative of the northwestern type (from the 3rd, or rather the 4th century: cp. the innovations in nos 9–10; in the case of no. 11 we already suggested the use of the northwestern type in Poetovio), or an example of the good classicizing late style which was widespread throughout province.

Even though there is no trace of the triplicate system characterizing the northwestern type (it must be borne in mind that the first part is missing), the following schema can be suggested: ? – family relations – *titulus/donum*. Family relations were also mentioned in the Carnuntum poetry of the 3rd century, implying not a break with that region, but rather the total disintegration of the early type.

Can the southern inscriptions be grouped? They certainly can in terms of grammar, and the late linguistic phenomena can be well observed in the texts from other sites. No grouping is possible in terms of their structure. There might be a link between Poetovio and Carnuntum, but this is mostly speculation. Family descriptions are common from the 3th century and can hardly be regarded as a distinctive feature. Most of these texts contain a description of grief and mourning, but there are no recurrent expression. The southern poems differ from the northern types by their individualism in wording, as well as by the wide variation in metrics. This picture may change once there is a greater abundance of inscriptions available for study.

37. A curious graffiti poem is known from Savaria:¹¹⁰

*Creder[e v]ix d[u]bito set amicum amittere n[ol]im.
Si tibi credidero, non te tam sepe vid[e]bo.*

The exact meaning of the poem will elude us without a better knowledge of its context: the text is deeply personal, speaking about the fear of losing a friend (lover?), although the cause of this fear remains unknown. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is not a sepulchral poem, or one written with commercial purposes, but a poem written to influence a living person. This called for the vernacular, a hallmark of graffiti in general. In fact, this text is practically classical, except for the ortho-

¹⁰⁸ There are ten examples of *qui* S/N.f from Pannonia, including the intitulation of no. 35.

¹⁰⁹ If not falsely read instead of *pietate habet* (faded accusative).

¹¹⁰ CIL III 11411.

graphic development *ae* > *e* and the form *set*, both of which were quite common.¹¹¹ There is no ready explanation for this contradiction. It may be assumed that this fragment was part of a greater work, perhaps intended for a larger public. This, in turn, suggests the activity of an otherwise unknown, but nonetheless more important poet in Savaria.

38. This text is not an epitaph, but an everyday product – a trade commodity so to say – since it was inscribed onto a honey-cake mould.¹¹²

*Vitula, dulcis amor, [se]mper suspiria nostri,
Quod peto, si dederis, munera grata dabo.*

It remains unknown to what extent this poem was read, or rather, consumed. The author was evidently a professional, as shown by the perfect classicizing work (with the exception of the possessive genitive form *nostri* which appears to be a Pannonism¹¹³). The poem type, the very idea of the confectionery poetry and even the mould type does not have a Pannonian ancestry,¹¹⁴ even if the actual verses could be local products. Little more can be said in the lack of Pannonian parallels; the mould itself must be one of a series since there were probably several *pancrestarii* who needed inscribed moulds in the region.

Altogether four poems are known from Brigetio (nos 8, 27, 29, 38), but they are not of the same genre. It is thus difficult to say whether there existed a distinctively Brigetian tradition/style. No. 8 is definitely related to the Carnuntum type, suggesting that in the early period Brigetian poetry shared common features with the northwestern one. No. 29, a later text, is slightly related to Aquincum, while nos 27 and 39 are uncertain. It would appear that Brigetio did not have an independent tradition, but adopted the types used in nearby towns; still, the origins of the poems in question remain unclear since they have no direct parallels.

VI. 'LOST' POEMS

One cannot always recognize a verse for what it is, as shown by the example of no. 35: after two and a half verses the metre is abruptly lost. The poetical expressions, however, survived in many cases and they offer good clues for discovering these 'lost verses': whenever we encounter a characteristically poetic expressions or the Pannonian 'high style', we can perhaps suspect a dissected or 'semi-finished' poem. Naturally, this mostly holds true for epitaphs, because other genres are rarer and thus less well known. In the following I shall quote two inscriptions in which we can suspect 'lost' poems.

39. These words follow the intitulation of a longer 3rd century Carnuntum epitaph:

¹¹¹ Cp. note 52.

¹¹² ALFÖLDI 1945.

¹¹³ Cp. note 70.

¹¹⁴ ALFÖLDI 1945, quotes a number of Gallian parallels.

quaequ(a)e dum explesset fati sui laborem meliora sibi sperans vitam functa est,

followed again by the intitulation and the following text:

cui dii nefandi parvulo contra vot(um) genitor(um? is?) vita privaverunt.

What are the clues? Pannonian *hapax legomena* (*expleo*, *nefandus*, *spero*, *privo*), and the epithets *meliora* and *parvulus*, which are known mostly from poems.¹¹⁵ *Fatum* suggest a regional poetic structure, and the mention of relatives in this context of parental mourning is quite common in the 3rd century.¹¹⁶ But does it really contain metrics?

There are no consistent metrics. The combination of the text with the intitulation probably fragmented it into illogical units. We are therefore justified in reorganizing the text into mutilated verses (virtually into greater dactylic units):

1. *quaeque dum ' explesset fati suif ...]laborem (?)*
2. *]meliora sibi sperans*
3. *]contra votum genitorum/is*

The remaining sections contain more rhythmic words than units, even though they can be regrouped into verses, even into a hexameter.¹¹⁷ It is nonetheless more likely that they were originally fragments of several divided units.

The text itself is not classicizing (although rare expressions are the more suspicious) as shown by the *Dat. + Acc.* construction by *privo* and the fading of accusative. The *hiatus* is common in the 3rd century. In other words, there are no grounds for rejecting the possibility of a poem. How is such a formation created? The placer probably composed a text from one or more known and more or less regular epitaphs (of the Carnuntum type), but neglected or paid little attention to the original rhythm.

40. *Dabo ego tibi mensam epulisque oneratam,
Unde tu tuisque fruantur semper Cereri.*¹¹⁸

The clues suggesting poetry: *hapax legomena* (*fruo*, *onero*), as well as the word *semper* is characteristic. The theme itself is close to the Seuso distich, but this can more likely be attributed to the similarity of genre. Only the syntagm *epulisque oneratam* is visibly rhythmical.

The accurate rhythm according to classical metrics:

○○○○○—○○—○○—|—○—○—○○— — — —○○—

Obviously, this is not a verse.

According to the late accentual-metric rhythm of nos 22–23 we receive the following, not too poem-like lines:

— —○— — — ○○— ○○— —
Dab(o) ego tibi mens(am) epulisqu(e) oneratam

¹¹⁵ Cp. no. 2,1, nos 19,1, 21,1, 29,5.

¹¹⁶ 29,2: *orbant matremque virumque*.

¹¹⁷ E.g. [4] *cui dii parvulō privaverunt vita nefandi*.

¹¹⁸ MRT 7. 3/23.

— u u — u u — — — — — u u

Unde tu tuisque fruuntur semper Cereri

Since none of the late poems are purely accentual-metric, but are combined with classical patterns, the combination of an adaptable dactylic rhythm is not too speculative:

— u u l — — l — — u u l — — u u l — —

Dab(o) ego tibi mens(am) epulisqu(e) oneratam...

We thus have a 5-footed verse. In contrast, we cannot reconstruct a similarly regular solution for the assumed verse 2.¹¹⁹

Is this a fragment from an unintentionally mutilated poem, or is it an early experiment by a fledgling poet? Both possibilities seem plausible.

I believe that there are quite a few texts of which we cannot yet conclusively prove that they are verses or derivations of verses. The detection of these texts would be greatly promoted by an accurate analysis of the relevant texts. I would suggest the following methodological schema: texts which 1) contain lofty expressions or are written in an elegant style, 2) contain *hapax legomena*, 3) contain parallels of an already known poem, 4) have a structure (partially) suited to some form of poetry, 5) can be divided into rhythmic units. Bearing these categories in mind we can avoid pseudo-verses produced by mere chance.

VII. POETIC CULTURE

It is clear from the above that the inhabitants of Pannonia had a penchant for inscribing poems onto tombstones – some of which were quite individualized – throughout the province. Still, this custom reveals little about the role of Latin poetry in the everyday life of the province. We can nonetheless pinpoint a few tell-tale signs.

The better-educated inhabitants of the province were to a certain extent familiar with the classics since they were part of the curriculum, as indicated by nos 44–47 which contain quotes from the classics taught in schools.¹²⁰ This group is conspicuously one-sided, containing only a single quote from Ovid beside the ones from the *Aeneid*. In addition, only no. 47 contains misspellings (*litera*, *doccet*, *nula*). We can hardly judge whether these were typical mistakes or even typically local mistakes, a lack of understanding, or whether they were purely accidental.

The Pannonian corpus includes one inscription (no. 41) which incorporates a work known also from other sources. It is a magical verse incised onto a stamped

¹¹⁹ Although I could have created a hexameter with a mutilated beginning, with the aid of a fairly free transposition, I disagree with creating such a free variation for the sake of a hypothesis:

... — l — u u l — u u l — — l — u u l — —

...unde tu tuisque fruuntur Cereri semper.

¹²⁰ BILKEY 1983. ff. 1–4.

brick of the governor's palace at Aquincum,¹²¹ although the last letter was written erroneously: *Roma tibi subit{a}*; the allusion is to:

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.

Regardless of whether this text was written with a view to invoke some potent magic (the magical formula *sator arepo tenet opera rotas* can also be read here), or, more likely, as a witticism or joke, it clearly shows that even common soldiers had a rudimentary knowledge of poetry at the beginning of 2nd century when the palace was built. It is an entirely different question whether they were aware that it was a poem.

The same holds true for the single metric lines in the epitaphs 42–43 (*Optamus cuncti: sit tibi terra levis*).¹²² The metric clausule was certainly widely known and used, but it is uncertain whether it was seen for what it was.

Turning now to the poems written by the amateurs (e.g. nos 5, 23, 15) and the ones written by professionals (nos 1, 4, 12–18 etc.), the picture is rather bleak. The simple folk in Pannonia were evidently incapable of creating metric texts since the surviving amateur works were apparently made by more educated people with an enterprising spirit!

The classical reminiscences in local poetry reflect a rudimentary knowledge of classical literature, at least among the creators of epigraphic texts. It is nevertheless most rare that they drew from more than one source.

Obviously, we can have no idea of how customers related to these poems, although they seem to have appreciated the better ones, as shown by the repeated use of Lupus' epigram. The non-funerary poems represent few genres: graffiti (nos 27 and 37), the vessel inscription of the Seuso hoard, the (uncertain) poem of ownership (no. 40), the distich on the honey-cake mould and the (not original) magical formula (no. 41). From a period of 400 years, these are the only poems that were not written to an unknown, imaginary, perhaps never-to-arrive *viator* (1,1) or *hospes* (4,1) or out of piety to the deceased (and never to be read), but with the intent of bringing joy to the addressed person. Pannonia was not a country of connoisseurs. It is a tribute to the Pannonian poets – working as poetic craftsmen or simply for their own pleasure – that such a high number of poems, most of which reflect a remarkably good craftsmanship, have survived.¹²³

¹²¹ SZILÁGYI 1953. The source is *Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. IX 14,1*.

¹²² RIU 129, 1271.

¹²³ We should not forget the Pannonian Greek poems which deserve the same attention! (They are listed in the appendix to the catalogue.) – No. 48. A new bilingual poem was published between the redaction works (KOVÁCS 1998. 77.). We cannot analyze here the poem, only insert its mutilated Latin text, which is not identical with the Greek one:

*Urbe Palestina genitum [te] militiae res
transulit huc sper[— x — x —]q(ue) tribunus
insontem v[x — s]olvi duo pignor[a — —
]tiqui sume ac bene vive[*

In verse 2 one can see some more letters:]TAM[and]V, and at the end of the poem]A.

CATALOGUE OF PANNONIAN LATIN POETRY

Publication	Findspot	Metre	Placer/owner/author (P, O, A)	Type	Date
1. RIU 239.	Hédervár	Distich	P: C. Farrax Iucundus	Carnuntum	1st c.
2. RIU 185.	Scarbantia	Distich	P: Cotonia Prima	Carnuntum	1st c.
3. VORBECK 1980. 151.	Carnuntum	Distich + pentameter	P: ? (for C. Valerius)	Carnuntum	1st c.
4. VORBECK 1986. 135.	Carnuntum	Distich	P: C. Petronius??	Carnuntum	1st c.
5. VORBECK 1986. 186.	Carnuntum	Dactylic (distich?)	P & A: C. Vibius?	Carnuntum made by an amateur	1st c.
6. VORBECK 1980. 232.	Carnuntum	Distich	P: Pedusia Amanda	Carnuntum	1st c.?
7. VORBECK 1986. 257.	Carnuntum	Distich	P: ?	Carnuntum	1st c.
8. RIU 600.	Brigetio	Hexameter	P: Aurelia Ursicina	Derived from Carnuntum	earlier 3rd c.
9. VORBECK 1980. 295.	Carnuntum	Distich + pentameter (distich?)	P: Fabricia Marcella	Derived from Carnuntum	3rd c.
10. VORBECK 1986. 344.	Carnuntum	Dactylic(hexameter?)	P: ?	Related to Carnuntum	3rd c.
11. AIJ 401.	Poetovio	Distich	P: ? (for Quintina)	Carnuntum?	?
12. NÉMETH 1971. 183.	Aquincum	Hexameter	P: ? A: Lupus	Aquincum	early 3rd c.
13. RIU 910.	Ulcisia Castra	Hexameter	P: ? A: Lupus	Aquincum	earlier 3rd c.

	Publication	Findspot	Metre	Placer/owner/author (P, O, A)	Type	Date
14.	RIU 1166.	Intercisa	Hexameter	P: ? A: Lupus?	Aquincum	early 3rd c.
15.	CIL 3351.	Szabadbattyán	Hexameter	P: M. Aurelius Attianus– Aurelia Sabinilla. A: Lupus??	Aquincum	earlier 3rd c.
16.	RÓMER– DESJARDINS 373.	Campona	Hexameter	P: Iulius Victorinus– Au- relius Eptala. A: Lupus??	Aquincum	earlier 3rd c.
17.	RÓMER– DESJARDINS 132.	Aquincum	Hexameter	P: T. Iulius Valerianus	Aquincum	3rd c.
18.	VAMK 182.	Aquincum	Hexameter +1 penta- meter at the end.	P: T. Aelius Iustus	Aquincum	3rd c.
19.	CIL 3362.	Aquincum	Dactylic (hexameter?)	P: Decorata (–Decoratus?)	?	3rd c.
20.	BORZSÁK 1963.	Aquincum	Dactylic	P: Revocata?	?	2nd /3rd c.
21.	SZILÁGYI 1951.	Aquincum	Distich	P: ?	Aquincum– Carnuntum mix	2nd or early 3rd c.?
22.	NAGY–TÓTH 1990.	Hungary	Distich	O: Seuso	Ownership poem	4th c.
23.	KSHNM 345.	Siscia	Hexameter?	P: Firmus??	? (accentual- metric)	4th–5th c.
24.	RD 175.	Aquincum	Hexameter	P: ? (for Francus)	individual	4th–5th c.
25.	NÉMETH 1990.	Aquincum	Hexameter	P: ? (for Cassia)	Derived from Aquincum	early 4th c.
26.	RIU 80.	Savaria	Hexameter	P: Volussius and Sabatia	?	4th c.
27.	RÓMER– DESJARDINS 429 = B. THOMAS 1974.	Brigetio	Hexameter?	A: ?	?	c. 304?

28.	RIU 277.	Pannonhalma	Distich?	P: Lupianus??	?	2nd–3rd c.
29.	RIU 622.	Brigetio	Distich	P: ?	Aquincum influence	3rd c.
30.	NEUMANN 1967. 30–32.	Vindobona	Hexameter?	P: Marcus??	?	3rd–4th c.
31.	RIU 1237.	Intercisa	Hexameter?	P: ?	?	2nd–3rd c.?
32.	ILJ 1036.	Bassianae	Distich??	P: ?	?	?
33.	CIL 3241.	Sirmium	Dactylic polymeter	P & A: Iulius Asclepiades	made by an amateur	earlier 3rd c.?
34.	CIL 3247.	Sirmium	Hexameter	P: ? (for Ammerus)	?	?
35.	CIL 3989.	Siscia	Asclepiadeus primus	P: Flavius Ursinus– Flavius Maximianus	by an amateur from unknown sample	3rd c. or later
36.	CIL 5695.	Starše (Altendorf)	Hexameter	P: Surilla	? (Carnuntum, Aquincum influences?)	4th (3rd?) c.
37.	CIL 11411.	Savaria	Hexameter	A: ?	individual	?
38.	ALFÖLDI 1945.	Brigetio	Distich	O: ?	(text of a honey- cake mould)	later 2nd–early 3rd c.

UNCERTAIN

39.	VORBECK 1980. 12.	Carnuntum	Dactylic	P: M. Antonius Basilides	?	3rd c.
40.	MRT 7. 3/23.	Budakalász	Dactylic?	O: ?	Ownership poem	?

CITATIONS AND COMMONLY KNOWN VERSES

	Publication	Findspot	Metre
41.	SZILÁGYI 1953.	Aquincum	Pentameter
42.	RIU 129.	Savaria	Pentameter
43.	RIU 1271.	Intercisa	Pentameter
44.	BILKEY 1983. f.1. <i>Aen. I 1.</i>		
45.	BILKEY 1983. f.2. <i>Aen. IX 1–2.</i>		
46.	BILKEY 1983. f.4. <i>Aen. V 461.</i>		
47.	CIL 11451 = BILKEY 1983. f.3. <i>Ov. Metam. XI 705.</i>		

APPENDIX. PANNONIAN GREEK METRIC INSCRIPTIONS

	Publication	Findspot	Metre	Peculiarities	Placer/owner/author (P, O, A)
48.	KOVÁCS 1998. 77.	Aquincum	Hexameter (Greek part: heptameter)	Latin–Greek bilingual	P: C. Valerius Turbo– L. Valerius
49.	VORBECK 1986. 138.	Carnuntum	Distich	Latin–Greek bilingual	P: T. Pomponius Protomachus
50.	VORBECK 1986. 181.	Carnuntum	Distich + a trochaic verse	Latin–Greek bilingual	P: P. Vedius Germanus
51.	VORBECK 1986. 200.	Carnuntum	Distich		P & A: Diodoros?
52.	VORBECK 1986. 373.	Carnuntum	Fragment of a hexameter?		P: ?
53.	SOVRE 1955.	Poetovio	Dactylic (hexameter?)		P: Krispinianos & Krispiniane.
54.	JORDAN–ŠAŠEL KOS– WALLACE 1985	Poetovio	Distich		P: ? (for Demetrios)
55.	BILKEY 1979. 11.	Aquincum	Hexameter		P: ?
56.	BILKEY 1979. 15.	Aquincum	Anacreontic		O: ?
57.	BILKEY 1979. 10. (?)	Aquincum	Rhythmic?		P: Naum?
58.	KSHNM 185.	Sirmium	Hexameter		P: ? (for Herakleia).

DISTRIBUTION OF POETIC INSCRIPTIONS ACCORDING TO FINDSPOT

<i>Aquincum</i> 12, 17–21, 24–25, 41, 48, 55–57 (Greek)	<i>Savaria</i> 26, 37, 42
<i>Bassianae</i> 32	<i>Scarbantia</i> 2
<i>Brigetio</i> 8, 27, 29, 38	<i>Sirmium</i> 33–34, 58 (Greek)
<i>Campona</i> 16	<i>Siscia</i> 23, 35
<i>Carnuntum</i> 3–7, 9–10, 39, 49–52 (Greek)	Starše (Altendorf) 36
Hédervár 1	Szabadbattyán 15
<i>Intercisa</i> 14, 31, 43	<i>Ulcisia Castra</i> 13
Pannonhalma 28	<i>Vindobona</i> 30
<i>Poetovio</i> 11, 53–54 (Greek)	Unknown: 22

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STORIES FROM THE PERSIAN KING'S COURT

4Q550 (4QprESTHAR^{a-f})

Fragments of five manuscripts of an Aramaic narrative work were found in Qumran Cave 4, with another short fragment containing perhaps a part of the same work. The editor J. T. Milik presented the fragments in the pre-edition as a possible source of the book of Esther, and he called the work 'a proto-Esther text'.¹

A find of the model text to the narrative of the book of Esther would have meant a sensation, since no fragment from the book of Esther has been found in Qumran since the discovery of the caves.²

The absence of the book is probably due to the fact that the community was anti-Hasmonean,³ and that the book of Esther was compiled, in all probability, in the golden age of the Hasmonean rule (the second half of the 2nd century B.C.) – perhaps even in the Hasmonean court.⁴ Another explanation for the lack of the book

¹ J. T. MILIK, *Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân*, in: É. PUECH–F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ (eds), *Mémorial J. STARCKY. Textes et études Qumrâniens II*, Paris: Gabalda 1992 = *Revue de Qumrân* 15, 1992, 321–399. Pls. I–VII.

² The book of Esther was probably not part of Qumran biblical canon. On this see P. W. SKEHAN, *The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament*, BA 28, 1965, 87–100 (89); P. W. SKEHAN, in: F. M. CROSS, SH. TALMON (eds.), *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1976, 266.

³ The Evil Priest (khn hrš^c), an enemy of the Righteous Teacher and the Community, mentioned several times in the pesharim can be identified with some Hasmonean ruler(s). With regard to the historical background of the Qumran pesharim and to the meaning of the name Evil Priest several hypotheses have been proposed; for the theories see G. VERMES, *The Essenes and History*, JJS 32, 1981, 18–31; A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, *Wicked Priest of Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary*, JJS 33, 1982, 349–59. Most frequent candidates for the name are Jonathan (152–142 B.C.) and Alexandros Jannaios (103–76 B.C.). The name bears, in all probability, a collective meaning; in my opinion Alexandros Jannaios and his sons are referred to in the pesharim, see I. FRÖHLICH, 'Time and Times and Half a Time'. *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 154–173.

⁴ As for the dating of the book of Esther, the literature varies greatly on its dating between the 3rd century B.C. and the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Linguistic data show that the final compilation of the book of Esther may have taken place during the Hasmonean era, see R. BERGEY, *Late Linguistic Features in Esther*, JQR 74, 1984, 66–78; R. BERGEY, *Post-Exilic Hebrew Linguistic Development in Esther: A Diachronic Approach*, JETS 31, 1988, 161–88.

of Esther in the library of Qumran is that the book may not have been considered a sacred book in Judaism until the end of the 1st century CE.⁵

The story of Esther has survived in several variants in the ancient Jewish tradition.⁶ In his long study written to the edition of the fragments Milik tried to prove that the common source of the variants of the Esther-story was an Aramaic 'Vorlage' which was identical with the texts found in Qumran (4Q550). His theory has not been accepted. Comparing the narratives in 4Q550 with variants of the story of Esther, it is to be concluded that although some literary motifs of 4Q550 are close to those figuring in the narratives on Esther, several elements have nothing to do with the book of Esther – and inversely: the variants of the book of Esther contain several elements which are not to be found in 4Q550. Thus, it cannot be proven that the Qumran Aramaic narrative served as a basis to the composition of the story on Esther and Mordecai.

As to the six manuscripts known as 4Q550, five of them are represented only by singular fragments (4QprEsthar^{a, b, c, e, f}). The manuscript called 4QprEsthar^d includes three columns. Concerning the content of the fragments, several question may be raised: are they parts of the same narrative work? Is their content identical (or partly identical)? What is the relation of the sixth manuscript (4QprEsthar^f) to the rest of the fragments; does it contain the ending of the narrative to be read in the other fragments – or does it have no connection with the other fragments?

The first steps toward the interpretation of the text were made by the observations of the Iranist Sh. Shaked⁷ concerning the names and certain words in the text. He noted that the names occurring in the fragments are of Iranian origin, and certain terms in the narratives are Irano-Aramaic. As it was mentioned before, the language of the fragments is Aramaic. It is thus likely that 4Q550 contains a popular narrative tradition of Mesopotamian and Persian origin. Aramaic was the lingua franca used in Mesopotamia during the age of the Babylonian exile of the Jews (6th c. B.C.). Aramaic may have been the vehicle which mediated to the exiled local Mesopotamian tradition.⁸ Following the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia and other countries

⁵ The canon of the biblical books was established only at the end of the 1st century CE at the synod of Jamnia (rabbinical canon). The Qumran community ceased to exist during the Jewish Revolt (probably in 68 CE).

⁶ The best known are the story in the Masoretic text, that in the LXX, and in Josephus, Ant. 11. Later Targums (Aramaic paraphrases) of the book of Esther contain motifs differing from the Masoretic text.

⁷ S. SHAKED, Qumran: Some Iranian Connections, in: Z. ZEVIT and others (eds), Solving Riddles and Untying Knots, Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns 1995, 277–281

⁸ Such a tradition has been preserved in most of the Aramaic chapters in the Book of Daniel (chs 2–6). W. VON SODEN had shown already as early as 1935 that the Nebuchadnezzar figure of chs 3 and 4 of the book of Daniel refers to the historical Nabonidus, see W. VON SODEN, Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung von Nabonid in den Danielerzählungen, ZAW 53, 1935, 81–89. For literature see K. KOCH, Das Buch Daniel (Erträge der Forschung 144), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1980; R. KRAFT, G. W. E. NICKELSBURG (eds), Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters (The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters 2), Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1986; R. G. KRATZ, Translatio imperii. Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld (WMANT 63), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1991.

of the Near East Aramaic became the language of the administration of the provinces of the Persian empire. The Aramaic story of Ahiqar – a narrative originating from Mesopotamian tradition⁹ – was widespread all over the Persian empire. The exemplary of the novel found in the Jewish military settlement in Elephantine proves that it was read in Aramaic by its Jewish readers.¹⁰ The spread of popular literature written in Aramaic is the reason that several narrative and descriptive works written in Aramaic were found among the Qumran manuscripts. These texts contain names, words, and motifs of Babylonian and Persian origin.¹¹ Aramaic works occur among manuscripts representing the oldest written tradition of the community. Persian loan-words often occur in both Mesopotamian and Qumran Aramaic texts,¹² suggesting that traditions originating from a Persian milieu are preserved in the works.

Aramaic texts in Qumran represent a huge field to be investigated. This is not the place to discuss the problem of Qumran Aramaic texts – however, some remarks seem in order. As noted above, Aramaic texts are represented among the oldest written tradition in Qumran. The earliest copies of the book of 1 Enoch found in Qumran go back as early as the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.¹³ Other Aramaic works are known only from later manuscripts (1QApGen). This can be a result either of the fact that they were written in a later period, or that only later manuscripts of the work have survived. As to 1 Enoch, the manuscripts coming from various periods suggest that the work had a continuous tradition in the spiritual life of the Qumran community. During a roughly one hundred years period the work was re-copied, and new parts were added to the existing text, all in Aramaic. Paleographic evidence of other works represented by several manuscripts suggests that besides Hebrew there may have been a continuous Aramaic tradition in Qumran.

Returning back to 4Q550, the whole narrative can hardly be reconstructed on the basis of the existing fragments; however, certain motifs can be outlined in the fragments, and the character of the whole work can be defined with great probability. The names of the characters of the narrative are mentioned in most of the fragments; but the fragments do not all contain the same names. In the fragments of 4QprEsthar^{a-c}

⁹ A list of post-diluvian sages found in Uruk mentions Aba-enlil-dari, whom the Ahlamu [=Arameans] call Ahiqar; see J. van Dijk, in H. J. LENZEN et al. (eds), *Vorläufiger Bericht XVIII über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 7), Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann 1962, 45, 51–52; idem, *Ausgrabungen in Warka. Die Tontafelfunde der Kampagne 1959/60*, AfO 20, 1963, 217.

¹⁰ For the Aramaic text found in Egypt see A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1923 (1973) II, 715–84.

¹¹ The best known text is 4Q242 called *The Prayer of Nabonidus*. On the Jewish legend on Nabonidus see I. D. AMUSSIN, *Kumranskij fragment 'molitvi' vavilonskogo tsaria Nabonida*, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 4.66 (1958) 104–117; idem, *Teksti Kumrana*, Moscow: Nauka 1971, 326–35; R. MEYER, *Das Gebet des Nabonid: Eine in der Qumran-Handschriften Wiederentdeckte Weisheits Erzählung* (SSAW.PH 107/3), Berlin 1962; W. DOMMERSHAUSEN, *Nabonid im Buche Daniel*, Mainz: Grunewald 1964.

¹² On Persian influence on Qumran literature see SH. SHAKED, *Qumran and Iran: further considerations*, *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University 1972, 433–46.

¹³ J. T. MILIK, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1977, 139–41.

a certain Pitarvaza is mentioned, while in manuscripts 4QprEsthar^{d-e} the names Bagasrava and Bagaushi are repeated. It is not certain whether the texts mentioning Pitarvaza and those mentioning Bagasrava and Bagaushi are connected or not. The fragment called 4QprEsthar^b does not contain any personal names. It mentions divine retribution along with the geographical names of Media and Persia. It is doubtful whether it belongs to the rest of the fragments.

On the basis of the names appearing in the fragments and their content the six manuscripts are to be arranged in three groups:

1/ 4QprEsthar^{a-c}: the story on Pitarvaza

2/ 4QpsEsthar^{d-e}: the story on Bagasrava and Bagaushi (the manuscript 4QprEsthar^d consists of three columns containing this story).

3/ 4QprEsthar^f ar: oracle on divine retribution, with mention of Media and Persia.

A/ The narrative elements of the story on Pitarvaza are the following:

4QprEsthar^a:

– mention of X, son of Pitarvaza official of the royal wardrobe, entering the king's service.

– mention of the king whose father was called Dareios.

– mention of the king's mood ('rkt rwhh¹⁴), and that books of his fathers are read before him (spr̄y 'bwhy htqryw qdmwhy). Among the books a scroll (mglh) is found, sealed with seven seals of Dareios. The scroll contains, to all probability, a letter from Dareios to the governors of his empire. The letter mentions 'oppressors and liars' (kwl 'nws wšqr).

4QprEsthar^b:

– mention of somebody's reputation and loyalty (smh tbh uhymnwth) (probably of Pitarvaza, son of Jair) (lines 2–3)

– mention of somebody's fear from the family of the Scribe/Safra? (line 4)

– words of a royal informer ('wšy mlk') (line 5)

– mention (in sg. 1) of the transmission of somebody's house and riches (line 6)

– somebody (probably Pitarvaza's son) will take up his father's office (in sg. 2; words of the king's command) (line 7)

4QprEsthar^c:

– words of a message sent by a royal informer ('wšy mlk') to a lady (šrt' – a personal name?) calling her upon running away (prb. with her family) (line 1)

– mention of Pitarvaza, father of X (in sg. 2, words of the king) as a man originating from Hama(?) being in the service of the kingdom (line 2)

¹⁴J. T. MILIK, Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân, in: É. PUECH-F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ (eds), *Mémorial J. STARCKY. Textes et études Qumrâniens II*, Paris: Gabalda 1992 = *Revue de Qumrân* 15, 1992), p. 325 interprets it as 'la colère du roi'. Given that the root 'rk ('to be long') when used in expressions relating to mood means 'forbearance, self-restraint' (Hebr. 'rk 'pym). Aramaic 'rkh is documented from Dan. 4:24, 7:12 as 'lengthening, prolonging' (of time). The expression 'rkt rwhh is rather to be connected with the meaning of 'patience' or 'boredom'.

– mention of somebody's (prb. of Pitarvaza) merits in the service of the kingdom and of 'purple given him' (decoration of Pitarvaza), (lines 4–5).

B/ Narrative elements in the story on Bagasrava and Bagaushi:

4QprEsthar^d, col. I.

– confession (words in sg. 1) of an anonymous character¹⁵ speaking of the sins of his ancestors (lines 1–2). The events reported in the following (col. I.) are his words.

– mention of a Judean man who originates from Benjamin and lives in exile. He is mentioned as a true and excellent official of the king (lines 2–4)

– mention of a man from Cuta (gbr kwty) (line 5)

– royal mandates given to the Cutaeen man (line 5)

– services of the speaker to the king (lines 6–7).

col. II:

– list of an order of rank (prb. of royal officials), and mention of the royal wardrobe (probably as the office of some character); mention of a five-year period. Mention of 'the sixths' (prb. a part of the order of rank) (lines 1–4)

– mention of Bagaushi's riches (gold and silver) as doubled (line 5)

– mention of 'the sevenths', and that Bagasrava appears 'in peace' (bšlwm, i.e. safe and sound) in the king's court (line 6)

– a sentence is pronounced on Bagaushi, and he is executed (line 7)

– Bagasrava enters the king's seventh courtyard; the king puts his hand on Bagasrava's head, and embraces him (line 8)

col. III:

– words on the Most High ('ly') who rules over the whole earth (line 1)

– promise of a capital punishment to all the enemies of Bagasrava (lines 2–3)

– the king orders to put in writing his words concerning Bagasrava. The documents are taken into the royal archive (bdrt byt mlk') (line 4).

– words on the retribution to the evil (lines 6–7).

4QprEsthar^e

– mention of Bagasrava (line 4). The fragment is too tiny to interpret it from the point of the narrative.

4QprEsthar^f

– words on 'the evil coming from the north', and on 'the building of Zion' (mbnh šywn) serving as an asylum for 'all the Poor/Humble of (His, i.e. God's) people' (kwl ʿnyy ʿm[h]) (lines 1–2).

¹⁵ J. T. MILIK, *Les modèles araméens ...* 336–39 translates the citation in feminine, and reconstructs at the end of line 5 the name Esther – but there are neither grammatical, nor paleographical reasons for this identification; see Plate III where he reconstructs 's(tr), but where the letter ' is followed by a lacuna.

– a geographic reference ‘between Media, Persia, Assyria, and the sea’ (byn mdy lprs w’twr wlym’)¹⁶ (line 4)

It is not known if the two stories – the story on Pitarvaza and the one on Bagasrava and Bagaushi – are parts of the same narrative work. Neither is the relation of the last fragment (4QprEsthar^d) to them clear. As to the names in 4Q550 and those in the book of Esther: no names of 4Q550 are to be found in any of the recensions of the story of Esther (including the Greek recension of the LXX and Josephus). As to the literary motifs, some of the motifs to be recognized in 4Q550 are to be found in the stories on Esther.

Dareios, the king mentioned in 4QprEsthar^d can be identified with any of three Achaemenid kings: Dareios I (522–486 B.C.), Dareios II (423–405 B.C.), and Dareios III (335–330 B.C.). It is possible that the narrative of 4Q550 has some relation with historical tradition concerning any of the three kings. However, the narratives in 4Q550 are basically literary ones. Consequently, any trace of the use of historical material would show rather the use of historical legends.

The book of Esther is a good example for the use of historical legends in literary narratives. The name of the king – Ahashverosh – can be identified, on linguistic grounds, with the name Xerxes (xšayarša). Based on historical tradition it is also probable that the plot of the story was influenced by some historical legends originating from the court of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), and known from Herodotus.¹⁷ The king mentioned in 4Q550 is said to be the son of a king called Dareios. Two candidates can be considered here: Xerxes, son of Dareios I (521–485), and Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–358), son of Dareios II Nothos (423–404). Among them the first one – Xerxes, a well-known character from historic legends – seems to be the model of the king in 4Q550.

However, the origin of the narrative material in 4Q550 is to be sought not in historical tradition, but in literary patterns of the Achaemenid period. The main motif in the two stories of 4Q550 – the story of Pitarvaza, and that of Bagasrava and Bagaushi – is basically the same: a high-rank royal official falls out of favour with the king; then – due to a coincidental sudden change – returns to the royal court and is raised to an even higher rank. In the story of Pitarvaza the turn in fortunes is due to the letter read before the king accidentally (probably to drive his boredom away). The letter contains, to all probability, information on merits of Pitarvaza, on his action against the ‘oppressors and liars’ mentioned in the letter. Pitarvaza’s reputation and loyalty are recalled before the king, and he is given somebody’s (his enemy’s; see 4QprEsthar^b, line 4) riches (4QprEsthar^b, line 6). His son receives his father’s office (4QprEsthar^b, line 7). His enemies are banished(?) (4QprEsthar^c, line 1), and Patireza is decorated by the king (4QprEsthar^c, lines 4–5).

Bagasrava’s story is recalled by an anonymous character (a court official?). He can, in all probability, be identified with the Benjaminite Jew living in the diaspora

¹⁶The interpretation given by MILIK to the reading and meaning of the rest of the words of the line is not too convincing, see J. T. MILIK, *Les modèles araméens ...* 361–63.

¹⁷I. FRÖHLICH, ‘Time and Times and Half a Time’. *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 140–141.

who is an excellent royal official (4QprEsthar^d I.2–4). The man of Cuta (gbr kwty) may be identical with Bagaushi who attains high honours in the king's court and becomes a rich man (4QprEsthar^d I.5, II.5). Due to the fragmentary state of the text the reader is not informed either about the nature of their conflict, or the danger impending on Bagasrava. The next event the reader learns about him is that Bagasrava appears safe and sound in the king's court, and that Bagaushi is sentenced and executed (4QprEsthar^d, II.7). Following this Bagasrava enters the king's seventh courtyard; the king puts his hand on Bagasrava's head, and embraces him (4QprEsthar^d, II.8). Bagasrava is honoured by the king, and the king orders to put in writing his words concerning Bagasrava. The document is taken into the archives (4QprEsthar^d, III.4).

The general remarks on the retribution against evil following the narrative indicate that this was the end of the story, followed by a moralizing reflection on theodicea (4QprEsthar^d, III.6–7).

The story which apparently served as a literary model for both stories (and on some points also as a basis for our reconstruction) was the Aramaic Ahiqar-novel, a 'bestseller' in the Near East during the Persian period. According to the narrative of its example from Elephantine, Ahiqar, the high-ranking official was falsely accused by his nephew, condemned to death, thereafter saved with the help of the hangman who recognized him for his former benefactor. The story ends with Ahiqar's return to his former position, and the punishment of his nephew. The story was widespread in the ancient Near East, and its variants survived in several languages.¹⁸

The Elephantine papyrus contains a collection of wise sayings illustrating the wisdom of Ahiqar. The story – a narrative answer to the question of theodicea, the question of divine reward of the righteous and retribution against evil – was a main theme of the wisdom literature in the Persian period. Career stories similar to that of Ahiqar are to be found in the book of Daniel (chs 3 and 6). In these narratives Daniel or some Jews living in captivity (the three young men) are accused by their enemies, who are also court officials, before the king. The fate of the accused is decided by ordeal. The book of Tobit is not only familiar with the above type of story, but refers explicitly to Ahiqar, and recalls his story (Tobit 1:22, 11:17, 14:10). Tobit is said to be a relative of Ahiqar (Tobit 1:22). The story about Tobit and his son is again modelled on the story of Ahiqar. The story recounts how Tobit (the buyer of supplies of the Assyrian king Asarhaddon, Tobit 1:13) had lost his eyesight and all his riches, and how his son Tobiah had got back all of these with the help of a stranger (in fact, the angel Raphael); how Tobiah found a wife for himself from the family of his father.

The story of Esther, as it was mentioned before, survived in several versions. The Masoretic text, the text of the LXX, and the narrative of Josephus about Esther present different versions of the story; but their authors might have used the same literary material. One strand of the work is the story of Mordecai, and his rival

¹⁸I.C. CONYBEARE et al. (eds), *The Story of Ahiqar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1913.

Haman. The original story which served as the basis for the adaptation of the author of the book of Esther, was in all probability about the discovery of a conspiracy against the life of the king by Mordecai, a royal courtier.¹⁹ He reports the conspirators to the king. The culprits are executed, and Mordecai's name is recorded in 'the chronicle of memorable events' (Est. 2:23). Mordecai does not receive a reward. In the meanwhile the king elevates to a very high rank an official called Haman. Mordecai – probably aware of his own worth – refuses to bow to the higher-ranking Haman. The infuriated Haman reports Mordecai to the king. Mordecai escapes Haman's vengeance only accidentally since the king spends a sleepless night and asks to be read to from 'the chronicle of memorable events' (Est 6:1). This is how he is informed that Mordecai who had saved his life has not received a reward for unmasking the conspiracy. He orders that Mordecai be decorated, and Haman who accused him be executed. This may have been the story, which has been termed the vizier story in literary history after its protagonists, the rival court officials.

This material was conflated with the narratives about Vashti and Esther.²⁰ The narratives on the two women, analogously to the former is also a kind of career and deliverance story. The elements of the two narratives show certain similarities.²¹ The locale is the same, the Persian royal court at Susa, and the motif of the feast appears in both of them. Vashti refuses to appear at the feast of the men, at which Ahasuerus has ordered her to appear. Esther prepares two feasts for the king, and it is at the second that she states her request (Est 7:2–4). Both Vashti and Esther are outstanding beauties; in Vashti's case the king wants to show off her beauty at the feast (Est. 1:12); in the case of Esther, her beauty catches the attention of Hegai 'who had charge of the women' (Est. 2:7–9). Both women disobey the king; despite the command of the king Vashti does not appear at the feast of the men (Est. 1:12); Esther enters the hall where the king is in judgment despite the royal command (Est. 4:11, 5:1–2). At the same time the fates of the two women are diametrically opposed. The king dismisses Vashti because of her disobedience, whereas even though Esther disobeys his order, the king fulfils her request. The narrative elements constituting the stories of the two women are similar, but their fate differ. The destinies of the two women – in contrast to the story about Mordecai and Haman – are not intertwined. Their destinies only demonstrate the unpredictability of luck, of royal favour.

¹⁹The meaning of the expression in Esth. 2:19 'Mordecai was sitting at the king's gate' is that Mordecai was a royal judge; see E. BICKERMAN, *Four Strange Books of the Bible. Jonah, Daniel, Koheleth, Esther*, New York: Schocken Books 1967, 178; C. A. MOORE, *Archaeology and the Book of Esther*, BA 38.3–4, 1975, 62–79; R. GORDIS, *Studies in the Esther Narrative*, JBL 95, 1976, 43–58. The Revised English Bible translates the expression as 'Mordecai was in attendance of the court'.

²⁰The surviving Masoretic text, the text of the LXX, and the narrative of Josephus about Esther (Ant. 11.6–12) present different versions of the story; however, all of them contain the narratives on both women, Vashti and Esther.

²¹On this see S. B. BERG, *The Book of Esther: Motifs, Themes and Structure* (SBLDS 44), Missoula, MT: Scholars Press 1979, 72–93; I. FRÖHLICH, 'Time and Times and Half a Time'. *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 137–39.

The two stories were merged and Judaized²² in the book of Esther and in the Esther-story of Josephus.²³ In those narratives Haman's aim is to extirpate the Jews, and Esther solicits the king's help in order to save the Jews, her compatriots. Retribution imposed on the evil rival of the hero Mordecai befalls the enemies of the Jews as it is acknowledged in Esther's and Mordecai's letter written following the escape.²⁴

Besides these stories originating from the Persian era another Biblical story needs to be mentioned, the final redaction of which is to be dated to the 7–6th century B.C.: the story of Joseph from Genesis 37–50.²⁵ Several details in the story are close to motifs in the above-mentioned stories.

4Q550 has several common elements with the Biblical stories modelled on the story of Ahiqar the wise:

- mood of the king resulting in the reading of a document which suddenly changes the fate of the royal official in disgrace (Est. 6:1–3).²⁶
- punishment of the rival official (Est. 7). According to the narratives in the book of Daniel the accusers are killed by ordeal (Dan. 3:22–23) or by the king's order (Dan. 6:25).
- the hero obtains the riches of his enemy (Est. 8:1–2, Haman's house is given to Esther)
- mention of the enemy's wife at the punishment (Est. 6:13)
- decorations given to the official (among them: royal robe) (Est. 6:7–11; Gen. 41:42; Dan. 5:29).²⁷

An important common element of all of the above stories is that the main characters – notwithstanding that their names are in most of the cases of foreign origin – are said to be Jews living in exile, i.e. in the diaspora (Daniel, Mordechai, Joseph, Tobit, and the same holds true for Pitavaza and Bagasrava).²⁸ All of these stories are

²² The internal contradictions of the text bear witness to the post facto Judaizations; thus for example, after Haman has reported Mordecai to the king, the king must realize that Mordecai is Jewish. Nevertheless, the king rewards Mordecai, regardless of the fact that he himself had decreed the destruction of the Jews (Est. 3:12–15; cf. 6:1ff).

²³ The characters bear Persian names which shows that the compilers of the book of Esther used authentic Persian narrative material. On Persian names in Esther see A. R. MILLARD, *The Persian Names in Esther and the Reliability of the Hebrew Text*, JBL 96, 1977, 481–88; H. S. GEHMAN, *Notes on the Persian Words in the Book of Esther*, JBL 43, 1924, 321–28.

²⁴ MT and LXX: Esth. 9:20–32; Josephus, Ant. 11.6.12–13.

²⁵ On the origin and age of certain elements of the story of Joseph see the excellent analysis by D. REDFORD, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (VTSup 20), Leiden: Brill 1970.

²⁶ Cf. the motif of the king's sleeplessness in a narrative in Josephus (11.3.2–7) and in 3Ezra 4:41 (Vulgate). The king Darius cannot sleep after a feast (cf. Esth. 6:1). In order to pass the time he poses questions to his three guards: who or what has greater power: wine, the king, women, or the truth? The king promises a reward to the one who gives the best answer. Zerubbabel, a Jewish youth of the king answers that the greatest power is that of truth. In all probability Zerubbabel's answer is formulated according to Jewish tradition; but the motif of the king's sleeplessness points to a Persian origin for the story.

²⁷ On the decoration of Joseph see D. REDFORD, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (VTSup. 20) Leiden: Brill 1970, 208–226, esp. 225–226.

²⁸ Double names in several of the stories bear traces of the same process of Judaizing foreign literary material.

borrowed from Mesopotamian and Persian narrative literature, and are Judaized in Jewish narrative tradition. They represent a particular type of literary narrative which can be labeled as 'the Jew in the court of the foreign king'.²⁹ The narratives are characterized by a Judeo-centered theology, and a strong interest in history. The story of Ahiqar, their literary model, reported on an individual court career: on the rivalry of two court officials, on the evil one's false accusation against his colleague, the unexpected escape of the falsely accused official, and the punishment of his evil enemy. The stories on 'the Jew in the court of a foreign king' are set in a broader perspective. The success of the hero in the foreign court symbolizes his God's power and effective help. His escape from the danger means simultaneously the liberation of his people in a foreign country (Esther) or is the anticipation of their escape (Joseph, Daniel). The individual deliverance story has a message here: the representatives of the 'nations' who attack the Jews unjustly will be defeated with their own weapons, their plans will turn against them. The stories are to prove that the Lord of the Jews rescues His people, and the story of this deliverance and its memory becomes another parable in the Jewish historical tradition, of how God, not directly but in indirect ways, governs the course of history. It can be supposed that the two stories in 4Q550, together with the closing part (4QprEsthar^f) were aimed at justifying the same idea, viz. that history is ruled by God, and He is the one to give reward and retribution.

The stories on 'the Jew in the court of the foreign king' are related to history. They are set in a historical milieu, and they reflect a historical consciousness. The closing verses of Tobit refer to a historical retribution: Tobit – who had been taken into exile by the Assyrians – lives long enough to hear of the destruction of Nineveh (Tobit 14:15). In the book of Esther – an etiological legend of the feast of purim – a story of a mortal danger hanging over the Jews in the Persian empire and on the escape from the danger is recalled. Historical consciousness comes in view/looms up in some cases in the contextual meaning of the story. The story of Joseph has a pivotal role in the narrative of the tradition of the Egyptian slavery and the exodus from Egypt. Dan. 2, 4, and 5 are parts of a collection of oracles on history, oracles on the fall of the empires in which the Jews were taken into exile.³⁰

In 4Q550 Bagašrava's enemy is called the Cutaeen Bagaushi.³¹ The geographical name Cuta has in the postexilic Jewish tradition the meaning of Samaria, the territory of the former kingdom of Israel the inhabitants of which were, according

²⁹ On this type of stories in the Jewish literary tradition see L. M. WILLS, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (HDR 26), Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press 1990.

³⁰ The oracles in Dan. 2–6 may have been written as early as the end of the New Babylonian kingdom and the Persian age. They rework many Babylonian materials. During centuries the oracles were systematically reinterpreted, and the text itself was also subject to some minor changes. The oracles originally presaged the fall of the Babylonian empire.

³¹ Cutaeen means Samaritan (see Jos. Ant. XI. §88), traditional enemies of Juda from the Persian age. In the Masoretic text of the book of Esther Mordecai is a Benjaminite (2:5), while his rival, Haman is Agagite (3:1); they are stereotypes for Saul (a Benjaminite) and the enemy 'par excellence' of Israel. According to 1Sam 15:1–9 Saul destroyed the Amalekites. The LXX does not seem to be familiar with the symbolism of the name; here Haman is a Macedonian and 'a Gagite'. See A. LACOCQUE, Haman in the Book of Esther, HAR 11, 1987, 207–22

to Biblical tradition, taken into exile by the Assyrians, and the land was resettled by foreigners (2Kings 17:5–41). Therefore the opposition of the two officials stands in the narrative for a Jewish-Samaritan opposition, and Bagasrava's victory over his rival has a nationalistic connotation.

4QprEsthar^f, reconstructed as the closing part of the story refers to the Poor/Humble Ones. The term is known from Qumran literature. It means perhaps the followers of the Essene tradition, but the exact meaning of the term is not known.³² On the basis of the mention of the Poor/Humble Ones the conclusion can be drawn that the narrative of 4Q550 was probably compiled in the community. It was not simply a piece of distractive literature, but it was a work which expressed the ideas of a spiritually isolated group, their faith in theodicea and divine retribution working in history. It may not be a source for the book of Esther, but a work of its own – built on similar literary material as the book of Esther. What seems to be lacking in 4Q550 is the string of the 'female stories', the court stories on women in the book of Esther.

The lack of these stories in 4Q550 is certainly not accidental. Qumran law had rigorous prescriptions concerning marriage and sexual life, and a story on a Jewess as the wife of a foreign king would certainly not have been welcomed by a Qumran audience.³³ The book of Esther may have been written at the end of the 2nd century B.C., and probably in Hasmonean circles. It seems probable that the story was generally known in the country. It is possible that 4Q550 served as a story on liberation rivalizing with the story of Esther: several elements in the narrative are similar to those of Esther, but the whole story is elaborated without motives which are important in the book of Esther. The literary motifs used in 4Q550 are exclusively those of the story of Ahiqar, similarly to other works written in the Persian period, survived mainly in Biblical tradition. Such works may have been popular in the Qumran tradition. Light copies of the book of Daniel were found in Qumran, and pieces belonging to an apocryphal Danielic tradition were found in Cave 4. The book of Tobit was again represented in several examples in the Qumran library, both in the original Aramaic, and in a Hebrew translation.³⁴

The literary material used in 4Q550 may be the same as that used in the above works – the narratives on Tobit and Tobiah, Daniel, and also Esther: narratives coming from Mesopotamian and Persian tradition, circulating in Aramaic, and using as a model the story of Ahiqar, along with other stories – stories on kings, and stories of court and harem intrigues from Neo-Babylonian and Persian royal courts. The book of Esther may refer to such a book mentioning 'the annals of the kings of Media and Persia'.³⁵ Herodotus recorded similar narratives in his historical work as well.

³² 'nyym

³³ Rabbinic interpretations of the story pay attention to this motif too.

³⁴ Four out of the five Cave 4 manuscripts are in Aramaic and only one is in Hebrew. A thorough analysis of the fragment showed that the Aramaic text may have served as a basis of a Hebrew translation, see J. FITZMYER, *The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4*, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57, 1995, 655–675.

³⁵ Most probably it did not constitute an authentic chronicle, but rather a kind of 'Volksbuch' which was written in Aramaic and which may have contained legend-like narratives about well-known personalities, and legendary historical tradition.

Travelling in the area he recorded stories he was told – most likely the sources of his stories known as ‘Persian novels’ were similar ‘Volksbücher’. To all appearances this kind of literature was not unknown in Qumran either, but it may have been used selectively, in order to create narratives on deliberation according to the ethical prescriptions of the community.

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DAVIES-MACADAM 93

This cone is listed under no. 93 in the catalogue of funerary cones which Egyptologists usually quote simply as *Corpus*.¹ This funerary cone is the theme of this brief comment. In Index A (*Names of Persons*) at the end of the *Corpus*, under the heading *Doubtful*, the author mentions our funerary cone's owner as: ...-nfr.



Fig. 1. D & M 93

¹ D & M; the second volume (Part II: Text) has still not been published to date.

The oblong stamp at the base of the cone contains four columns of text. It measures 4.7 by 9.2 centimetres.² The transliterated text (the letter and number prefixed to the individual hieroglyphs are those assigned to them by A. H. Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*)³ reads as follows:

→
↓

- ¹ *rp*ʿt *h3tj*-^c *sd3wtj*-*bjtj* [...] -
D21+Q3+D36+F4+D36+L2+S19+G43+[...]
² -*mr* *wr* *wʿtj* *r3* *s*-
G17+D21+A21+T21+D36+X1+Z4+G37+A1+D21+Z1+S29
³ *hr*. *m* *t3* *qr.f* [...] -
O4+D21+D21+G17+N17+Z1+N21+D21+M36+D21+I9+[...]
⁴ [...] -*nfr* *wlhm* ʿ*nlh* *nb* *jm3h*
[...] +F35+A52+F25+S34+V30+M17+U2+Aa1+F39A+Z1

The personality in question bears six titles in all. These are fairly distinguished ones, suggesting that this person was a leading official in Egyptian society.

Let us take these one by one. The first three titles are:

a) *rp*ʿt – ‘hereditary noble’;⁴ **b)** *h3tj*-^c – ‘nomarch’;⁵ **c)** *sd3wtj*-*bjtj* – ‘seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt’;⁶ the G43-sign was probably followed by the combination of two signs: [X1+Z4A].

The fourth title is extended over the second column. This title is partly broken but it can be easily completed:

- ¹ ... [*smr*] ² {*mr*} *wr* *wʿtj*
[S29+U23] / {G17+D21}+A21+T21+D36+X1+Z4+G37+A1

It appears to me that col. 1 could be ended with only two more hieroglyphic signs that followed the broken sign-combination of [X1+Z4A]. It is certain that the two broken, vertically positioned hieroglyphs are [S29+U23] with a reading as [*smr*]. Therefore the first two signs of col. 2 (G17+D21) must be the phonetic complement of [*smr*] at the very end of col. 1.

² N. DE GARIS DAVIES makes his copies one and the same measure as the original.

³ Cf. References.

⁴ Wb. II, pp. 415–416; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 36 (0372); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 39 (0398); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 27 (0278); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 55–56, p. 93, pp. 111–113; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 173–175; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 102, 850; P. KAPLONY, 1975–1992, III, pp. 177–181.

⁵ Wb. III, pp. 25–26; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 237–238 (2563); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 236 (2576); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 185 (1881); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 20–21, 111–113; K. BAER, 1974, pp. 178–179; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 104–105, 864; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1042, 2; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1237.

⁶ Wb. IV, p. 379; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 358 (4036); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 448–449 (4981, 4982, 4983); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 350 (3694, 3695, 3696); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 53, p. 92, pp. 111–119; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 193–194; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 170, 1472; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 596–601, p. 596.

Consequently, the fourth title (an honorary one) of the unknown personality is: d) *smr wr w'tj* – 'the sole companion'.⁷

The fifth element of the title-sequence extends over col. 3. This title (in cols 2–3), then, reads as follows: e) *r3 shrr m t3 dr.f* – 'the mouth that makes peace to the ends of the earth'.⁸

It seems as if there is sufficient place for the next, the sixth broken title that I denoted under f). In fact, this title is probably quite short. In my opinion the title that fits in here contains only two signs: [M23+F25], *whmw njswt* – 'king's herald'.⁹

Let us summarize the results of this reconstruction:

↓ →
¹ *rp't h3tj-^c sd3wtj-bjtj [smr]*
 D21+Q3+D36+F4+D36+L2+S19+G43[+X1+Z4A+S29+U23]
² {*mr*} *wr w'tj r3 s-*
 G17+D21+A21+T21+D36+X1+Z4+G37+A1+D21+Z1+S29
³ *hrr m t3 dr.f [whmw njswt]*
 O4+D21+D21+G17+N17+Z1+N21+D21+M36+D21+I9+[M23+F25]
⁴ [...]-*nfr whm 'nh nb jm3h*
 [...]+F35+A52+F25+S34+V30+M17+U2+Aa1+F39A+Z1

Translation of the text:

"¹ Hereditary noble, nomarch, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, ² great sole companion, the mouth ³ that makes peace to the ends of the earth, [king's herald?], ⁴ [...]-*nfr*. Live again, lord of veneration!"

The text of the cone is thus clear with the exception of the personal name.

* * *

I went carefully over those funerary cones where the last element of the personal names ended with [...]-*nfr*. These are *Jtw*¹⁰ called *Jrj-nfr*¹¹ (D & M No.

⁷ Wb. IV, p. 138; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 324 (3598); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 327 (3551); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 254 (2572); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 24, p. 108, pp. 111–114, pp. 117–118; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 190–191; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 151, 1299; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, V, pp. 146–147.

⁸ Wb. II, pp. 389–390, p. 390, 2; Wb. IV, pp. 207–208, p. 208, 3; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 210 (2310); p. 335 (3641); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 164–165 (1702); p. 263 (2679); M. VALLOGGIA, 1975–1992, IV, pp. 288–291, p. 289.

⁹ Wb. I, p. 344, 8; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 97 (1012); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 103 (1063); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 75 (0740); W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 89–90, 741, 747; M. VALLOGGIA, 1975–1992, IV, pp. 288–291, p. 289.

¹⁰ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 50, 7.

¹¹ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 41, 27.

282), *Jt-nfr*¹² (D & M No. 442),¹³ *P3-rn-nfr*¹⁴ (D & M No. 253) and another *P3-rn-nfr* called *Hnsw* (D & M No. 502), *Nb-nfr*¹⁵ (D & M Nos 319, 382, 497), *Hq3-nfr*¹⁶ (D & M Nos. 393, 394), *Sn-nfr*¹⁷ (D & M Nos. 154,¹⁸ 223,¹⁹ 224, 423), *T3-nfr*²⁰ (D & M No. 73) called *Jmn-m-jpt*,²¹ *Dhwtj-nfr*²² (D & M Nos. 142²³ [called *snw*²⁴], 53, 176,²⁵ 189, 241, 396 [called *Snw*], 397 [called *Snw*], 492,²⁶ 516,²⁷ 560).

As can be seen in Fig. 1, the personal name of the cone's owner at col. 4 begins with a hiatus in front of the sign F35 ([...]-*nfr*). The space of this hiatus is enough for one or two vertically positioned hieroglyphs. There are at least seven names occurring on different funerary cones that fulfil this requirement. These are *Jrj-nfr*, *Jt-nfr*, *Nb-nfr*, *Hq3-nfr*, *Sn-nfr*, *T3-nfr*, and *Dhwtj-nfr*.

Here is a complete list of the funerary cones containing titles:

D & M No. 14 (*Dhwtj-nfr*) – *zš hsb jhw 3pdw m pr Jmn* – 'accountant of cattle (and) fowls in the temple of Amun';²⁸

D & M No. 53 (*Dhwtj-nfr*) – *<s3->njswt tpj n Jmn* – 'first king's <son> of Amun';²⁹

D & M No. 73 (*T3-nfr*) – *zš hsb jt n Jmn* – 'accountant of the grain of Amun',³⁰ *jmj-r3 3hwt* – 'overseer of fields';³¹

¹² H. RANKE, 1935, p. 50, 22.

¹³ The owner of TT 53 was called *Jt-nfr*: FR. KAMPP, 1996, pp. 268–260.

¹⁴ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 114, 24.

¹⁵ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 185, 18.

¹⁶ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 256, 10.

¹⁷ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 309, 5.

¹⁸ TT 99; PM I², I, pp. 204–206; A. H. GARDINER–A. E. P. WEIGALL, 1913, p. 24, 99*.

¹⁹ TT 96; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, pp. 360–364, Figs 235–243, Plan III, B 6.; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 10; there are two funerary cones, D & M Nos 223, 224, which are attributed to TT 96.

²⁰ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 387, 9.

²¹ TT 297; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, pp. 567–568, Fig. 461, Plan V, B 3; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 11.

²² H. RANKE, 1935, p. 408, 6.

²³ TT A. 6.; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, p. 616, Plan VII, ca. D 4.; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 11.

²⁴ H. RANKE, 1935, p. 297, 6.

²⁵ TT 104; FR. KAMPP, 1966, p. 67, Tab. 50, pp. 378–380, Figs 261–263, Plan III, H 2.=D & M No. 176.

²⁶ TT 80; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, pp. 320–323, Figs 206–207, Plan III, C 4.; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 10.

²⁷ TT A. 10; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, p. 616, Plan VII, ca. C 5 (evtl. bei Grab Nr. –141– ?); D & M No. 516 is attributed to the tomb.

²⁸ Wb. III, pp. 479–481, p. 481, 4; Wb. I, pp. 119–120, p. 120, 2; Wb. I, p. 9; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 44 (0443); L. STÖRK, 1975–1992, V, pp. 257–263; P. BEHRENS, 1975–1992, II, pp. 503–505; P. BEHRENS, 1975–1992, II, pp. 505–507; P. BEHRENS, 1975–1992, II, pp. 507–508.

²⁹ Wb. III, pp. 408–410, p. 409, 6; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 300 (3311); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 302 (3259); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 236 (2381); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 145, 1245; B. SCHMITZ, 1975–1992, III, pp. 626–630.

³⁰ Wb. III, pp. 166–167, p. 167, 8; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 261 (2818); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 202 (2059); (W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 155, 1335; p. 162, 1405); A. ONASCH, 1986, pp. 3536, p. 35, n. 49.

³¹ Wb. I, p. 12, 17; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 6 (0053); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 4 (0036); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 10, 29; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, pp. 152–155, p. 154.

D & M No. 154 (*Sn-nfr*) – *rp*^c – ‘hereditary noble’,³² *h3tj*^c – ‘nomarch’,³³ *hmtw-bjtj* – ‘seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt’,³⁴ *smr w^ctj* – ‘sole companion’,³⁵ *jmj-r3 htmw* – ‘overseer of seal-bearers’;³⁶

D & M No. 176 (*Dhwtj-nfr*) – *zš-njswt* – ‘king’s scribe’;³⁷

D & M No. 189 (*Dhwtj-nfr*) – *jmj-r3 pr n hmt-nfr* – ‘steward of the god’s wife’;³⁸

D & M No. 223 (*Sn-nfr*) – *h3tj*^c *n njwt rsjt* – ‘nomarch of the Southern City (Thebes)’;³⁹ *jmj-r3 pr* – ‘mayordomo’;⁴⁰ *jmj-r3 jhw n Jmn* – ‘overseer of cattle of Amun’;⁴¹

D & M No. 224 (*Sn-nfr*) – *h3tj*^c *n njwt rsjt* – ‘nomarch of the Southern City (Thebes)’;⁴² *jmj-r3 pr Jmn* – ‘steward of Amun’;⁴³

³² Wb. II, pp. 415–416; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 36 (0372); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 39 (0398); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 27 (0278); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 55–56, 93, 111–113; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 173–175; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 102, 850; P. KAPLONY, III, pp. 177–181.

³³ Wb. III, pp. 25–26; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 237–238 (2563); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 236 (2576); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 185 (1881); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 20–21, 111–113; K. BAER, 1974, pp. 178–179; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 104–105, 864; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1042, 2; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1237.

³⁴ Wb. IV, p. 379; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 358 (4036); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 448–449 (4981, 4982, 4983); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 350 (3694, 3695, 3696); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 53, p. 92, pp. 111–119; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 193–194; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 170, 1472; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 596–601, p. 596.

³⁵ Wb. IV, p. 138; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 324 (3598); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 327 (3551); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 254 (2572); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 24, p. 108, pp. 111–114, pp. 117–118; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 190–191; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 151, 1299; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, V, pp. 146–147.

³⁶ Wb. III, p. 350, p. 352; Wb. I, p. 435, 8; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 289 (3207); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 138, 1185; P. KAPLONY, 1975–1992, V, pp. 933–937.

³⁷ Wb. III, p. 480; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 345 (3861); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 161, 1392; W. SCHENKEL, 1975–1992, V, pp. 698–700; F. JUNGE, 1975–1992, V, pp. 1176–1211, p. 1198, n. 45.

³⁸ Wb. I, pp. 511–516, p. 514, 10–13; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 130 (1408); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 137 (1458); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 95–96 (0984); K. BAER, 1960, p. 170; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 21–22, 132; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, I, p. 1120; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 246 (2704); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 249 (2683); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 193 (1970); M. GITTON–J. LECLANT, 1975–1992, II, pp. 792–812, p. 803, 8; E. GRAEFE, 1981, pp. 185–186.

³⁹ Wb. III, pp. 25–26, p. 25, 21; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 237–238 (2563); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 236 (2576); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 185 (1881); D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 184 (2011); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 185–186 (1997); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 142 (1774); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 20–21, 111–113; K. BAER, 1974, pp. 178–179; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 104–105, 864; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1042, 2; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1237; R. STADELMANN, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 465–473, p. 466.

⁴⁰ Wb. I, pp. 511–516, p. 514, 10–13; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 130 (1408); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 137 (1458); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 95–96 (0984); K. BAER, 1960, p. 170; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 21–22, 132; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, I, p. 1120.

⁴¹ Wb. I, pp. 119–120; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 41–42 (0419); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 11, 41; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, pp. 1220–1223; L. STÖRK, 1975–1992, V, pp. 257–263.

⁴² Wb. III, pp. 25–26, p. 25, 21; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 237–238 (2563); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 236 (2576); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 185 (1881); D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 184 (2011); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 185–186 (1997); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 142 (1774); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 20–21, 111–113; K. BAER, 1974, pp. 178–179; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 104–105, 864; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1042, 2; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1237; R. STADELMANN, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 465–473, p. 466.

⁴³ Wb. I pp. 511–516, p. 514, 10–13; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 130 (1408); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 137 (1458); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 95–96 (0984); W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 21–22, 132; E. MARTIN-PARDEY, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 401–407, p. 404; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 596–601, p. 601.

D & M No. 241 (*Dḥwtj-nfr*) – *zš ḥsb jḥw n njswt* – ‘accountant of cattle of the king’;⁴⁴ *jmj-r3 šhtjw* – ‘overseer of peasants’;⁴⁵

D & M No. 282 (*Jrj-nfr*) – *whmw- njswt* – ‘king’s herald’;⁴⁶ *jmj-r3 rwjtt* – ‘overseer of the waiting place’;⁴⁷

D & M No. 319 (*Nb-nfr*) – *zš ḥtmjt ntr* – ‘scribe of the divine seal’;⁴⁸

D & M No. 382 (*Nb-nfr*) – *jmj-r3 k3t m ḥwt-ntr <n> Jmn* – ‘overseer of the works in the temple of Amun’;⁴⁹ *hrj-pdt* – ‘troop-commander’;⁵⁰

D & M Nos. 393–394 (*Hq3-nfr*) – *wḥ* – ‘wḥ-priest’;⁵¹ *jmj-r3 sb3w n Jmn n k3 njswt (Mn-ḥpr-R)* *m Hnkt-nḥ* – ‘doorkeeper of Amun (and) of the ka of the king, (Mn-ḥpr-R) in *Hnkt-nḥ*’;⁵²

D & M No. 423 (*Sn-nfr*) – *ḥrd n k3p* – ‘page’;⁵³

D & M No. 442 (*Jt-nfr*) – *jmj-st- n Jmn* – ‘acolyte of Amun’;⁵⁴

D & M No. 492 (*Dḥwtj-nfr*) – *zš-njswt* – ‘king’s scribe’;⁵⁵ *jmj-r3 prw-ḥd* – ‘overseer of the treasures’;⁵⁶ D & M No. 497 – *ḥrd n k3p* – ‘page’;⁵⁷

⁴⁴ Wb. III, pp. 479–481, p. 481, 4; Wb. I, pp. 119–120, p. 120, 2; Wb. I, p. 9; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 44 (0443); L. STÖRK, 1975–1992, V, pp. 257–263..

⁴⁵ Wb. IV, pp. 231–232, p. 232, 2; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 343 (3741); W. HELCK, 1975–1992, I, p. 637.

⁴⁶ Wb. I, p. 344, 8; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 97 (1012); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 103 (1063); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 75 (0740); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 90, 747; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, pp. 1153–1154.

⁴⁷ Wb. II, p. 407, 14; D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 167–168 (1731); L. H. LESKO, 1982–1990, II, p. 57; P. SPENCER, 1984, p. 197, n. 243; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 1086–1087.

⁴⁸ Wb. IV, p. 379; Wb. V, p. 637, 6; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 448–449 (4981, 4982, 4983); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 350 (3694, 3695); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 165, 1434; B. SCHMITZ, 1975–1992, V, pp. 539–543.

⁴⁹ Wb. V, pp. 98–101, p. 101; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 394–395 (4348); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 307–308 (3200); K. BAER, 1960, p. 173; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 51, 401; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, I, pp. 654–655; A. M. GNIRS, 1996, pp. 142, 144, n. 886.

⁵⁰ Wb. I, pp. 570–571, p. 571, 1–4; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 142 (1533); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 146 (1555); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 105 (1070); W. DECKER, 1975–1992, I, pp. 842–844, p. 843; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, IV, pp. 128–134, p. 132, 5 (‘Truppenoberst’); A. M. GNIRS, 1996, p. 2, *passim*.

⁵¹ Wb. I, pp. 282–283; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 83 (0859); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 88–89 (0899); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 64 (0630); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 30; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 78, 639; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, IV, pp. 1084–1097, p. 1085.

⁵² Wb. IV, p. 85, 4; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 315 (3490); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 316 (3425); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 42, 334.

⁵³ Wb. III, pp. 396–398, p. 397, 9; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 296 (3280); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 232 (2356); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 143, 1229; CH. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, 1947, pp. 68–70; H. BRUNNER, 1957; BRUNNER, 1971; E. FEUCHT, 1985, pp. 38–47; E. FEUCHT, 1995.

⁵⁴ Wb. I, pp. 72–75, p. 75, 1, 12; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 26 (0269); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 29 (0304); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 55, 433–434; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, I, pp. 672–675, p. 672.

⁵⁵ Wb. III, p. 480; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 345 (3861); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 161, 1392; W. SCHENKEL, 1975–1992, V, pp. 698–700; F. JUNGE, 1975–1992, V, pp. 1176–1211, p. 1198, n. 45.

⁵⁶ Wb. I, p. 518, 3; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 132 (1426); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 138 (1470); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 97 (0997); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 58, pp. 59–63; K. BAER, 1960, p. 170; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 24, 151; B. SCHMITZ, 1975–1992, V, pp. 536–539.

⁵⁷ Wb. III, pp. 396–398, p. 397, 9; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 296 (3280); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 232 (2356); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 143, 1229; CH. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, 1947, pp. 68–70; H. BRUNNER, 1957; BRUNNER, 1971; E. FEUCHT, 1985, pp. 38–47; E. FEUCHT, 1995.

D & M No. 516 (*Dḥwtj-nfr*) – *rp ʿt* – ‘hereditary noble’,⁵⁸ *ḥ3tj-^c* – ‘nomarch’,⁵⁹ *ḥrj-ḥbt ḥrj-tp m pr-nfr* – ‘chief lector in the funerary workshop’,⁶⁰ *jmj-r3 pr-ḥd* – ‘overseer of the treasury’;⁶¹

D & M No. 560 (*Dḥwtj-nfr*) – *zš ḥtpw-nfr <m> ḥnqt t k3w 3pdw n Jmn* – ‘scribe of god’s offering <consisting> of beer, bread, oxen, fowl of Amun’,⁶² *jmj-r3 šnwtj n Jmn* – ‘overseer of the granaries of Amun’.⁶³

* * *

Of the enumerated funerary cones, D & M No. 154 seems to me to be the most plausible candidate. We know that this cone was found at TT 99 as early as in 1913.⁶⁴

In the series of his Internet-articles, Nigel Strudwick, who started the excavation at TT 99 in 1992,⁶⁵ mentions that he found some cones bearing the name of the owner, *Sn-nfr*.⁶⁶ In his 1996 field report he notes the following: “Funerary cones composed the majority of the architectural and decorative elements. Of the 58 stamped examples recovered, 35 certainly bore the name of Sennefer (¹⁴ N. de Garis Davies and M. F. Laming Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford, 1957, no. 154.) Only one further cone type was found in a quantity of more than 2 examples, Davies-Macadam Corpus 93, of which 16 were found. The name of the owner of this cone is uncertain, but seems to end in *-nfr*. As the titles on the cone are nearly all found in the tomb, (¹⁵ In particular, the epithet *r šrr t3 r dr.f*, also found on the east face of the northern pillar in the rear room of TT99, is restricted only to high ranking officials [A. M. Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*,

⁵⁸ Wb. II, pp. 415–416; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 36 (0372); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 39 (0398); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 27 (0278); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 55–56, p. 93, pp. 111–113; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 173–175; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 102, 850; P. KAPLONY, 1975–1992, III, pp. 177–181.

⁵⁹ Wb. III, pp. 25–26; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, pp. 237–238 (2563); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 236 (2576); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 185 (1881); W. HELCK, 1954, pp. 20–21, 111–113; K. BAER, 1974, pp. 178–179; W. A. WARD, 1982, pp. 104–105, 864; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1042, 2; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, II, p. 1237.

⁶⁰ Wb. III, p. 395, 9; Wb. I, p. 517, 11; D. MEEKS, 1977, p. 296 (3278); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, pp. 298–299 (3236); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 232 (3571); D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 131 (1421); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 138 (1465); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. (0991); K. BAER, 1960, pp. 184–185; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 118, 995; E. OTTO, 19756–1989, I, pp. 940–943, pp. 941–942, B; D. ARNOLD, 1975–1992, I, pp. 614–615.

⁶¹ Wb. I, p. 518, 3; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 132 (1426); D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 138 (1470); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, p. 97 (0997); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 58, pp. 59–63; K. BAER, 1960, p. 170; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 24, 151; B. SCHMITZ, 1975–1992, V, pp. 536–539.

⁶² Wb. III, pp. 479–481, p. 480, 14–15; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 345 (3861); W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 159, 1378; W. HELCK, 1975–1992, IV, pp. 647–651, p. 651 (“Tischschreiber”); E. MARTIN-PARDEY, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 401–407, 404.

⁶³ Wb. IV, p. 510, 15; D. MEEKS, 1978, II, p. 137 (1458); D. MEEKS, 1979, III, pp. 95–96 (0984); W. HELCK, 1954, p. 64; K. BAER, 1960, pp. 172–173; W. A. WARD, 1982, p. 49, 385; B. SCHMITZ, 1975–1992, V, pp. 591–598.

⁶⁴ FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50.; pp. 368–370; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 10.

⁶⁵ N. STRUDWICK, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996.

⁶⁶ N. STRUDWICK, 1993, <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99.report.93/report.tt99.93.html#cl>.

SAGA 17, 1996, 103]. The characteristic title of Sennefer *imy-r sḏḥwty* is perhaps to be reconstructed at the bottom of the penultimate column of this cone.) it is tempting to identify is as originating in TT99, although no positive evidence for this identification was found, despite it being possible to improve the reading of some parts of the impression. (¹⁶ The stamp itself was larger than the end of the cone, and thus some examples bear the impression of the lower part of the stamp and some the upper part. Two fired bricks bore the whole stamp. Some imperfections in the original stamp are indicated by the consistent illegibility of certain groups of signs.)”⁶⁷

In 1997 N. Strudwick again published an Internet-article on TT 99.⁶⁸ The chapter entitled “Funerary Cones” surveys also the owner’s cones: “A considerable number of cones found in the TT99 excavations certainly bore the name and title of Seenefer (below left=Cone of Seenefer, D & M No. 154). Only one further cone type was found in any quantity (below right=Possible cone of Sennefer, D & M No. 93); the name of the owner of this cone is uncertain, but seems to end in *-nefer*. As the titles on the stamp are nearly all found in the tomb, it is tempting to identify is as originating in TT99, although no positive evidence for this identification was found, despite it being possible to improve the reading of some parts of the stamp. More than one cone from a tomb is quite plausible. The long stamp was also found on two bricks.”⁶⁹

The funerary cone D & M No. 154 has a text of three columns impressed into its base that measures 5.6 by 4.8 centimetres.⁷⁰ and reads as follows:

↓ →

¹ *jm3hjj hr Wsjr*

F39A+Aa1+M17+M17+Aa1+D21+D4+Q1+A40

² *{h} rp^t h3tj-^c htmw-bjtj*

Aa1+D21+Q3+D36+F4+D36+L2+S20+X1+Z1

³ *smr w^t tj jmj-r3 htm<jw> Sn-nfr m3^c-hrw*

S29+U23+T21+F20+S19+T23+F35+A52+Aa11+P8

Translation of the text:

“¹ One revered by Osiris, ² hereditary noble, nomarch, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, ³ sole companion, overseer of (those officials who) sealed (the documents), *Sn-nfr*, justified.”

⁶⁷ N. STRUDWICK, 1993, <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99/rep96/>.

⁶⁸ N. STRUDWICK, 1997, <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99/>.

⁶⁹ N. STRUDWICK, 1997, <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99/finds/cones.html>.

⁷⁰ D & M.

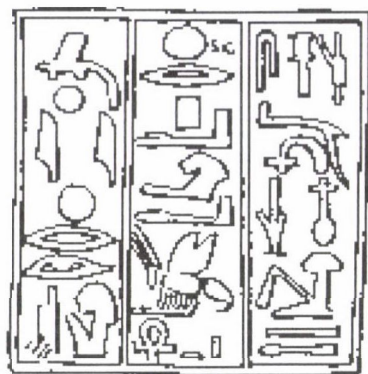


Fig. 2. D & M No. 154

* * *

N. Strudwick is still uncertain about a positive identification. There is a further argument for the verification: the two cones belong to the same type. In other words, the shapes of both stamps are oblong, and the texts on them are divided into columns with vertical frame-lines.

The title sequences of D & M. No. 154 and 93 are nearly the same. D & M No. 93 gives six titles of *Sn-nfr* (including two honorary ones). (*Sn-nfr* has many titles and I am quite willing to alter my point of view, if a new specimen of this funerary cone is found which is not broken at the title marked by f.⁷¹) The other one, D & M No. 154, bears five titles (this cone only has one hereditary title). The four titles that appear in cols 2–3 follow the sequence of D & M No. 93. The fifth title is a new one: *jmj-r3 htmt<jw>* – ‘overseer of (those officials who) sealed (the documents)’.⁷²

I am convinced that the funerary cones belonged to one and the same owner. The unique title that occurs on the pillar of the tomb, as well as on the other funerary cone, suggests to me that the identification of D & M No. 93 was successful. The owner of D & M No. 93 is really *Sn-nfr*.⁷³ I have here reproduced once again this honorary title which was published by K. Sethe as early as 1927. I previously marked this with e).⁷⁴



Fig. 3. Urk. IV, 175, p. 540, a), 6

⁷¹ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 171, p. 528; 172, p. 529; 175, pp. 539–543.

⁷² Wb. I, pp. 72–75, p. 74, 11–13; Wb. III, p. 352, 14; Wb. V, p. 637, 11–12, p. 639, 2; D. MEEKS, 1977, I, p. 455 (5306); P. KAPLONY, 1975–1992, V, pp. 933–937.

⁷³ PM I², I, pp. 204–206; FR. KAMPP, 1996, p. 67, Tab. 50, the author argues that only D & M No. 154 can be attributed to this tomb; pp. 368–370, Figs. 248–249, Plan III, C 5–6; L. MANNICHE, 1988, p. 10.

⁷⁴ *Urk.* IV, 175, p. 540, a), 6.

It cannot be mere chance that this honorary title occurs only once in the *Corpus*, namely on D & M No. 93. This corpus of funerary cones lists 611 types, but there is only one specimen which can be assigned to this type.⁷⁵

* * *

We know much about the events in the life of *Sn-nfr*. The life of other dignitaries was more simple. *Sn-nfr* held numerous offices as shown by his two funerary cones. His biography, inscribed on the walls of the tomb at Sheik Abd el-Qurna mentions that, among others, his first post was 'the overseer of Medjay'. His second title, mentioned also on the funerary cone, was 'the overseer of (those officials who) sealed (the documents)'. At the same time he was appointed to the post of 'overseer of the granaries'. He was then promoted to 'the overseer of the mayors of the Theban nomos', as well as to 'the overseer of the priests of Sobek, Anubis'. These titles were connected with the title of 'overseer of those peasants who cultivate the fields of Amun'.⁷⁶

This excellent personality whose tomb was decorated with the portrait of Tuthmosis III,⁷⁷ immortalized the important events of his life. His sovereign entrusted him to sail to Byblos for cedar wood to be used for making flagstaffs for the temple of Amun. *Sn-nfr*, who led the expedition as *wḥmw njswt* – 'king's herald' (cf. above the title marked with f), performed his task with perfection.⁷⁸

As a leading officer of his age (he was active during the reign of Tothmes III and Hatshepsut), he left many inscriptions;⁷⁹ here I only discussed the two funerary cones⁸⁰ which were arranged into two or three freeze-like rows and together with their companions decorated the facade of his tomb.⁸¹

Finally, I publish the reconstructed text of D & M No. 93 with the broken [T22] which reads as *sn*.

⁷⁵ D & M. INDEX B, {p. 7}.

⁷⁶ *Urk.* IV, 172, p. 530, 2., 11., 13., p. 531, 2–5.

⁷⁷ J. V. BECKERATH, 1975–1992, III, pp. 540–556, p. 550, 6; D. B. REDFORD, 1975–1992, VI, pp. 540–548.

⁷⁸ *Urk.* IV, 173, A, p. 532, 12–13., B, p. 535, 2., 6., 13.

⁷⁹ W. K. SIMPSON, 1975–1992, V, pp. 856–857.

⁸⁰ Prior to N. Strudwick's excavation we knew only three specimens of D & M No. 93; H. GUKSCH, 1995, pp. 120–121: TT 97, 1 Ex.; Cone 154.; W. C. HAYES, 1990, pp. 128–129: "Through their cones we meet such important administrative officials as ... the Steward and Overseer of the Treasury Sen-nefer (Tomb 99)."; R. MOND, 1905, p. 94: No. 282[A], *Sn-nfr*.

⁸¹ N. M. DAVIES, 1938, pp. 25–40, Figs 1–24.

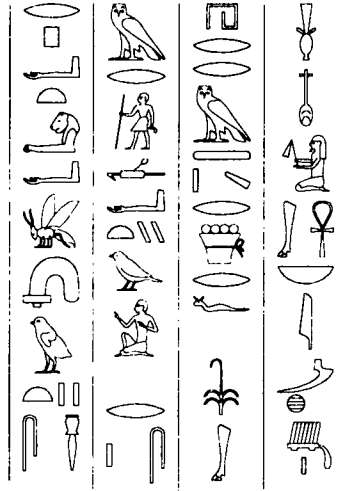


Fig. 4. The text of the cone (reconstructed)

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TAMÁS GESZTELYI

SPÄTRÖMISCHE GLASKAMEEN MIT ZWEI KANÄLEN

In einer früher veröffentlichten Studie berichtete ich über Glaskameen mit zwei parallel laufenden Kanälen, die vorwiegend in Pannonien vorkommen; ich machte dabei auch den Versuch, für ihre Anwendung eine Erklärung zu finden¹. Nach der *communis opinio* sind diese Glaskameen Glieder von Armbändern oder Halsketten gewesen. Diese Erklärung habe ich in Zweifel gezogen, vor allem, weil der Hersteller der Glaskameen auf deren regelmäßige Form keinen besonderen Wert gelegt hatte und auch wegen der Beobachtung, daß die ausgegrabenen Stücke immer zusammen mit Perlen mit einem Kanal aufgefädelt waren, die zwei Kanäle also ursprünglich anderen Zwecken gedient haben müssen. J. Hampel hatte dagegen folgende Vorstellung von ihrer Anwendung: „Es scheint, daß die Perle als Abschlußglied an Halsbändern zu dienen hatte und daß von ihr mehrere Fäden ausgingen.“²

In meiner erwähnten Studie suchte ich die Lösung in einem ganz anderen Bereich der Verwendungsmöglichkeiten. Ich nahm an, daß die zwei Kanäle zur Einführung einer Schnur oder eines Metallfadens gedient haben, die zum Verschnüren von irgendeiner Ware bestimmt war, wobei die Glasbulle die Echtheit und Unversehrtheit der Ware bestätigt hat. Nach den Darstellungen auf den Kameen müßte diese Ware meistens irgendein Medikament gewesen sein. Die Löcher in den Ton- bzw. Bleisiegeln, mit denen Urkunden oder Waren versiegelt wurden, sind aber immer unregelmäßig gewesen, weil sie auf die bereits verknotete Schnur aufgedrückt wurden. Die Glasmasse konnte man hier sicherlich nicht verwenden, höchstens mit vorgefertigten Löchern, durch die erst nach der Aushärtung der Masse die Schnur gezogen werden konnte.

Die Fundumstände der erwähnten Glaskameen haben zunächst keine dieser Erklärungen für die Verwendung bewiesen. Die einzeln zum Vorschein gekommenen Fundstücke konnten kein Armband oder eine Halskette bilden. Mehrere Stücke zusammen – insgesamt 9 – wurden ein einziges Mal gefunden, ihr Entdecker hielt sie

¹ Spättrömische Glasbullen. ACD 27, 1991, 107–114.

² Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn. I. Braunschweig 1905, 68.



Abb. 1. Armbandglieder aus dem Grab 101 von Bátaszék-Kövesd puszta.
Wosinsky Mór Múzeum, Szekszárd. Photo: Kádas

für einen Armreif³, ihre Anordnung liefert aber keine Beweise dafür, weil sie nicht am Arm des Skeletts, sondern zusammen mit anderen Fundstücken, davon getrennt am Grabende lagen. Unter den Beigaben hat man zwar auch Glasphiolen freigelegt, aber die Beweise für die Zugehörigkeit der Kameen zu diesen fehlen.

Es ist weiterhin zu bemerken, daß den Großteil der Glaskameen mit zwei Kanälen nicht Figuren darstellende Stücke ausmachen, sondern solche mit gerippter Verzierung (Abb. 1). Nach diesem Muster werden sie Rippenglasperlen⁴ oder Trilobitenperlen⁵ genannt. Ihre formale Analogie ist unter den Gagatschmuckstücken zu finden⁶. Obwohl auch unter diesen selten ein Stück *in situ* vorkommt, gibt es doch einige Fälle – ebenfalls hauptsächlich in Pannonien – wo die Gagatglieder offensichtlich Glieder eines Armbandes waren (Sopiana, Brigetio; Abb. 2).⁷

Es wird kaum in Frage gestellt, daß die Rippenglasperlen die Nachahmungen von Gagatprodukten waren⁸. Darauf verweisen nicht nur ihre Formen, sondern auch ihre schwarze Farbe. So kann die Verwendung der Rippenglasperlen mit den Gagat-

³ F. FÜLEP: Sopiana. The History of Pécs during the Roman Era and the Problem of the Continuity of the Late Roman Population. Arch.Hung. 50. Budapest 1984, 90 f., Fig. 35; 99, 10/8, Pl. LII 7. ACD 27, 1991, 108 ff.

⁴ R. NOLL: Das römische Gräberfeld von Salurn. Innsbruck 1963, 68.

⁵ TH. E. HAEVERNICK: Trilobitenperlen. Folia Arch. 25, 1974, 105–129.

⁶ W. HAGEN: Kaiserzeitliche Gagatarbeiten aus dem rheinischen Germanien. B.Jb. 142, 1937, 118 f. Nr. 22–27; E. RIHA: Der römische Schmuck aus Augst und Kaiseraugst. Augst 1990, 91.

⁷ FÜLEP F.: Pécsi későrómai temető. Arch.Ért. 96, 1969, 20 ff. Grab 31. Fig. 42/5; 48/31; Ung.Nat.Mus. Inv.Nr. R 1.1932.2 (Gräberfeld Gerhát); W. HAGEN a.a.O. 91 f., 119 Nr. 30–46.

⁸ S. LOESCHKE, Trierer Heimatbuch 1925, 359; W. HAGEN a.a.O. 103.

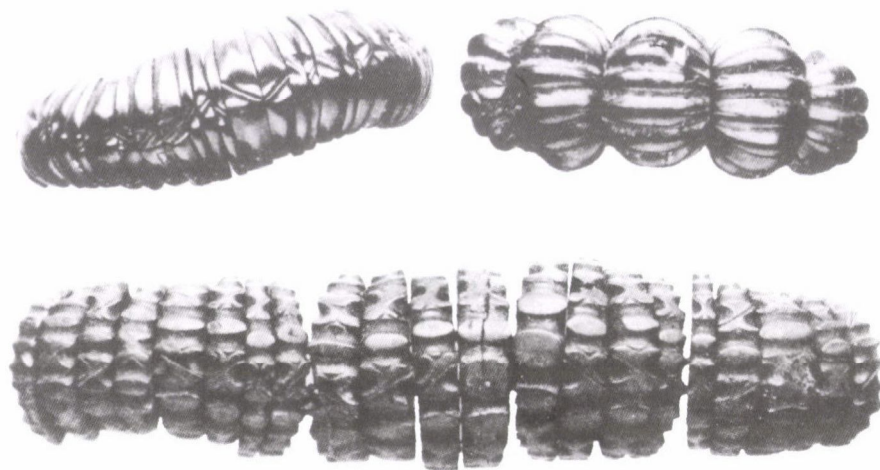


Abb. 2. Armbänder aus Gagatperlen (Hagen Taf. 25, Abb. 2)

perlen identisch sein, d.h. auch sie konnten als Armbänder vorkommen. Diese Voraussetzung wurde auch durch eine neuere Publikation der Funde in einem spätrömischen Gräberfeld bestätigt. Im Grab 101 von Bátaszék-Kövesd puszta wurden 8 Stück Glaskameen mit zwei Kanälen gefunden (Abb. 1), und zwar beim linken Handgelenk eines Mädchenskeletts⁹. Es besteht kaum Zweifel, daß sie Glieder eines Armbandes waren. Sieben davon sind mit Rippen, eines mit einem Gorgoneion geschmückt. Die Münzen des Grabes stammen aus der Konstantinischen Zeit. Die vorsichtige Annahme Nolls über die mögliche Anwendung der Rippenglasperlen kann also als bewiesen gelten.

Aufgrund dieser Umstände ist die Verwendung auch der Glaskameen mit figuralen Darstellungen als Glieder eines Armbandes oder einer Halskette offensichtlich. Andererseits scheint aber auch ihr Zusammenhang mit dem Glauben an Heilung äußerst wahrscheinlich zu sein, selbst wenn nicht auf die Art und Weise, wie wir früher gedacht haben. Die Inschrift VTIE auf zwei Glaskameen (a.a.O. 112, Abb. 3) beweist dies zweifelsfrei, aber während wir früher Hygieia als den Namen der Göttin ausgelegt haben, ist jetzt ernsthaft zu bedenken, ob man sie nicht doch lieber als Gattungsname interpretieren sollte. Das würde heißen, daß die Inschrift dem/der Träger/in des Glaskameo gute Gesundheit wünscht. Eine solche Funktion hat dieser Begriff nämlich auf magischen Amuletten¹⁰. Diese Deutung wird durch eine weitere Inschrift bestätigt, die auf einem anderen Glaskameo vorkommt, und die ZOHN lautet

⁹ V. PÉTERFI ZS., A Bátaszék-Kövesd pusztai későrómai temető (Der spätrömische Friedhof von Bátaszék-Kövesd puszta, deutsche Zusammenfassung 102 f.). *Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve* XVIII Szekszárd 1993, 67, 86, T. XIV. 101/6, T. XXXVIII. 4.

¹⁰ P. PERDRIZET: *ΥΓΙΑ ΖΩΗ ΧΑΡΑ*. REG 27, 1914, 267: „l'*hygieia* était un préservatif contre la maladie"; W. HAGEN (Anm. 6) 177; C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. Ann Arbor 1950, 177.



Abb. 3. Glaskameo mit Frauenbüste und Inschrift.
Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs. Photo: Csongrády



Abb. 4. Glaskameo mit Frosch und Inschrift.
Verschollen

(Abb. 4).¹¹ Dieser Wunsch für ein glückliches Leben entspricht dem lateinischen *vivas*¹².

Auf spätantiken syrischen Inschriften kommt noch mit den Glückwünschen VTIA und ZUHH auch ein dritter vor, und zwar XAPA. Es ist wohl möglich, daß die unlesbare Fortsetzung der Inschrift auf den erwähnten zwei Glaskameen, rechts von der Frauenbüste, die Wörter ZUHH und XAPA enthält. Bei dem Exemplar in Pécs (Sopianae) kann man nämlich in der Mitte der rechten Seite ein ...X... finden (Abb. 3). Diese Ergänzung scheint auch bei einem in Wien bewahrten Exemplar¹³ vorstellbar zu sein. Auf diesem entziffert Zwierlein-Diehl die folgende Inschrift: links AGIC, rechts UUNY. Die Verfasserin hält den Anfangsbuchstaben 'A' für unsicher (briefliche Mitteilung). Das C könnte auch ein abgerundetes E sein. Danach setzt die Verfasserin noch zwei Buchstaben voraus (meines Erachtens ist das ganze Wort eventuell *hygieia*). Die Inschrift rechts bewahrt vielleicht die Spuren des 2. und 3. Buchstabens von ZUHH und den ersten von XAPA.

Es ist sicherlich kein Zufall, daß diese Glaskameen den Gagat nachahmen. Dieser Steinart hat man nämlich mehrerlei Schutz- und Heilkräfte zugeschrieben. Plinius der Ältere beschreibt sie wie folgt: *Fugat serpentes ita recreatque vulvae strangulationes. Deprendit santicum morbum et virginitatem suffitus. Idem ex vino decoctus dentibus medetur strumisque cerae permixtus. Hoc dicuntur uti Magi in ea quam vocant axinomantiam, et peruri negant, si eventurum sit quod aliquis optet.* (n.h. XXXVI 142)

Bei den Gagatsteinen hat Hagen (a.a.O. 88) auf ihre apotropäische Rolle hingewiesen und zwar deshalb, weil sie hauptsächlich in den Gräbern von Frauen und Kindern vorgekommen sind. Dabei messen wir letzteren größere Beweiskraft zu, da das Tragen von Schmuck bei Frauen ohnehin natürlich ist. Die Funde der Gräberfelder von Pécs, Keszthely-Dobogó und Bátaszék-Kövesd puszta beweisen ebenfalls die Feststellung von Hagen. Die Glaskameen, die den Gagat imitieren, sind immer aus Kindergräbern zum Vorschein gekommen. In einem Fall fand man auf der Hals-

¹¹ K. SÁGI: Das römische Gräberfeld von Keszthely-Dobogó. Budapest 1981, 74, Abb. 56/2.

¹² P. PERDRIZET (Anm. 10) 268, 278.

¹³ E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL: Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. III. München 1991, Nr. 2502.

kette auch eine kleine Bulle aus Bronze¹⁴, die Stoffreste und Samen enthielt, offensichtlich bezweckten diese die Abwehr von Unheil und den Schutz der Gesundheit. Von den Gagatimitationen erwartete man also dieselbe Wirkung wie von einem echten Gagat.

Bei einem Glaskameo aus dem Gräberfeld Keszthely-Dobogó (*Abb. 4*) erscheint eine neue Farbe: das Honig- oder Goldgelb. Diese Farbe zeigt eine Verwandtschaft mit einer anderen Gruppe der spätantiken Glaskameen, bei denen aus dem Glasmaterial eine Öse ausgeformt ist, voraus man eindeutig schließen kann, daß sie als Anhänger einer Halskette benutzt wurden¹⁵. Die meisten von ihnen sind gelb, was sowohl die Imitation des Karneols als auch die des Goldes sein kann. Die Vermutung ist also um so plausibler, als uns ein Gliederband bekannt ist, bei dem die Rippen- glasperlen mit aufgehämmertem Goldblech überzogen wurden¹⁶.

Der gelbe Glaskameo aus Keszthely-Dobogó ist aber nicht nur wegen ihrer Farbe, sondern auch wegen ihrer Darstellung und Inschrift erwähnenswert. Auf ihr ist ein Frosch von oben zu sehen, an seinen beiden Seiten die bereits angeführte Inschrift: ZO-HN. Auf Glaskameen mit zwei Kanälen gilt diese Darstellung als einmalig, bei den Glaskameen mit Öse kommt sie aber auch bei den Funden aus Keszthely-Dobogó vor, ebenso in der Sammlung des Museums zu Split¹⁷. Über die Bedeutung der Inschrift haben wir bereits gesprochen. Ähnlicherweise läßt sich auch die Farbe des Glaskameo interpretieren: Gold bzw. die Goldfarbe symbolisieren ja das Leben. Der Frosch galt in der ägyptischen Symbolik – die die häufigste Quelle der Amulette war – als Sinnbild der Geburt, der Wiedergeburt und der Fruchtbarkeit¹⁸. Einen ähnlichen Sinn hatte auch die häufigste Darstellung der Glaskameen mit Öse: der Sonnenlöwe (über dem Löwen war meistens ein Stern oder die Mondsichel zu sehen); diese Symbolik kann auf die Wiedergeburt der Sonne und auf die Flut des Nil hinweisen¹⁹. In Ungarn sind bis jetzt 3 Stücke dieser Sorte gefunden worden, eines in dem Gräberfeld von Ságvár, das andere in dem von Keszthely-Dobogó²⁰, ein drittes, noch unpubliziertes, auf dem Gebiet der Balácsaer Villa.

Die apotropäische Funktion der Gorgoneia bedarf wohl keiner Beweisführung, und es ist wahrscheinlich, daß auch die Masken eine ähnliche Aufgabe erfüllt haben. Der Maskentyp aus dem Grab von Báticasék-Kövesd puszta (*Abb. 1*) wurde bisher in Pannonien noch nicht gefunden, ist aber aus anderen Sammlungen bekannt. In seiner Bestimmung können wir eine gewisse Unsicherheit beobachten: Theatermaske (?),

¹⁴ SÁGI (Anm. 11) 23 Grab 47.

¹⁵ N. CAMBI: Certains objets de verre de la basse antiquité avec représentation figuratives au Musée Archéologique de Split (kroatisch mit französischer Zusammenfassung 154–157). *Archeološki Vestnik* 25, 1974, 139 ff.

¹⁶ M. R. ALFÖLDI: Schmucksachen. In: *Intercisa II.* (Dunapentele). Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit. Budapest 1957. *Arch.Hung.* 36, 442.

¹⁷ SÁGI (Anm. 11) 28 f., Grab 56; CAMBI (Anm. 15) 150, Nr. 11.

¹⁸ H. WREDE: Ägyptische Lichtbräuche bei Geburten. Zur Deutung der Froschlampen. *JACr* 11/12, 1968/69, 92 f.; C. BONNER (Anm. 10) 243.

¹⁹ H. PHILIPP: *Mira et magica*. Mainz 1986, 43.

²⁰ *Acta Arch.Hung.* 18, 1966, 134 f., Grab 340/7; SÁGI (Anm. 11) 28 f., Grab 56.

Löwenkopf²¹, weibliche Maske²². Zwierlein-Diehl denkt an Medusa²³, aber sie vermißt die Attribute. In Wirklichkeit – auch wenn kaum bemerkbar – sind sie aber vorhanden: über der Stirn erscheinen zwei kleine Flügel (dicker und gebogener als die Haarsträhnen), und eine leicht gewellte Linie unter dem Kinn bedeutet die Schlangen.

Die schützende, beschirmende Funktion der Porträts, wenn sie ein Herrscherpaar darstellen, liegt auf der Hand. Die Frauenbüste auf dem Glaskameo aus dem Gräberfeld Keszthely-Dobogó schildert nach Ansicht des Archäologen, der sie entdeckt hat, Helena. Nach der Haartracht halten wir diese Interpretation für wenig wahrscheinlich – sie ist viel mehr mit der Haartracht der Salonina verwandt – es ist jedoch äußerst wahrscheinlich, daß hier eine Kaiserin dargestellt wurde, wie auch bei den Porträts, die die Frauenfigur von vorne darstellen (*Abb. 3*). Die Frauenbüste, auf der das Haar der Frau mit einem breiten Band umwunden ist, stellt nach unserer Auffassung Hygieia dar. Die Anwesenheit der Göttin auf diesen Glaskameen ist leicht zu begründen, wenn man sie zur Beschützung der Gesundheit und zur Abwehr der Krankheiten getragen hat.

Haevernicks nimmt an, daß der Herstellungsort dieser Glaskameen in Pannonien lag, da sie hier in größter Zahl vorkommen. Von den Figurendarstellungen besitzt oder besaß man 28 Stücke in ungarischen Museen; von 13 Stücken des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien stammen 5 aus Intercisa²⁴. Im Burgenland sind 3 zum Vorschein gekommen²⁵. (Die Stücke aus der Umgebung von Eisenstadt und Müllendorf sind gerippte, karierte Perlen, wie K. Kaus mir freundlicherweise mitgeteilt hat.) Haevernicks (a.a.O. 125) registriert 4 Stücke, die aus Siscia in das Museum nach Zagreb gekommen sind. Das bedeutet insgesamt 40 Stücke aus Pannonien bzw. aus dem benachbarten Barbaricum. Obwohl aus Pannonien mehrere Glashütten bekannt sind²⁶, haben wir keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür, die Herstellung der angeführten Glaskameen mit einer dieser Werkstätten in Verbindung zu bringen. Bedauerlicherweise haben die Materialuntersuchungen, die man diesbezüglich im Kernforschungsinstitut in Debrecen durchgeführt hat, keine auswertbaren Ergebnisse gebracht, da man in den untersuchten Mustern keine lokalen Züge feststellen konnte²⁷.

Es darf keinesfalls unbeachtet bleiben, daß nach Haevernicks Verzeichnis das Museum von Aquileia 19 Glaskameen mit figuraler Darstellung besitzt, und auch das Museum von Triest verwahrt einige. Es läßt sich also feststellen, daß die angeführten Stücke in größter Konzentration hier vorkommen. Da aber Aquileia, wie bekannt, ein Zentrum sowohl des Gemmenschneidens als auch der Herstellung von Glasgemmen

²¹ HAEVERNICK (Anm. 5) 123, 129.

²² M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER: *Cat. raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées II*. Mainz 1976, Nr. 356.

²³ (Anm. 13) Nr. 2520.

²⁴ (Anm. 13) Nr. 2508–2512.

²⁵ HAEVERNICK (Anm. 5) 120 f. Die Stücke aus der Umgebung von Eisenstadt und von Müllendorf haben keine figurale Darstellungen: freundliche Mitteilung von Herrn Dr. K. Kaus.

²⁶ L. BARKÓCZI: *Pannonische Glasfunde in Ungarn*. Budapest 1988. *Stud. Arch.* IX. 27 ff.

²⁷ I. BORBÉLY-KISS, ZS. FÜLÖP, T. GESZTELYI, E. KOLTAY, Á. Z. KISS, GY. SZABÓ: The PIXE-PIGE method for the classification of late Roman glass. In: *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B* 85, 1994, 836–839.



Abb. 5. Glaskameo mit Sklavenmaske. Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs. Photo: Kőhegyi

war, kann die Produktionsstätte dieser Stücke mit vollem Recht hier oder eventuell in Südbanien gesucht werden.

Über die Art und Weise der Herstellung konnte man vor allem auf 9 Glaskameen mit derselben Darstellung aus Sopiana einige Beobachtungen machen. Bei den meisten Stücken fließt die Vorderseite an den Kanten fast halbkreisförmig über die formstabile Rückseite hinaus (Abb. 5). Daraus läßt sich schließen, daß diese Kameen wohl in senkrechter oder zumindest in schiefer Lage hergestellt wurden. Während die Rückseite von irgendeiner glatten Oberfläche und von dem Material, das die Kanäle ausfüllte, zusammengehalten wurde, ist die Glasmasse der Vorderseite vor bzw. während der Einprägung des Siegels etwas ausgelaufen. Das Material, das die Kanäle ausfüllte, hatte eine glatte Oberfläche, in seinem Abdruck ist keinerlei Muster zu entdecken. Ein Muster bzw. dessen Spuren fehlen auf der Rückseite ebenso. Die Einprägung hat man wahrscheinlich mit einer Zange wie bei den Bleisiegeln durchgeführt²⁸. Damit kann auch zusammenhängen, daß die Ebenen der Vorder- und Rückseiten miteinander nicht parallel verlaufen, sondern sanft auseinanderdriften (Abb. 6). Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Rändern des Abdrucks beträgt 1–1,5 mm.

Diese Beobachtungen werfen nun weitere Fragen auf, deren Beantwortung noch aussteht. Was mag z.B. der Grund dafür sein, daß die Glaskameen nicht auf einer waagerechten Fläche hergestellt wurden? Warum bediente man sich dabei der Bulloteria, die sonst beim Plombieren verwendet wurde und mit der man zwar schnelle, aber keinesfalls schöne Arbeit leisten konnte? Das hatte zur Folge, daß diese Glaskameen völlig amorphe Ränder haben, die bei Schmuckstücken überhaupt keinen Vorteil darstellen. Besonders auffällig zeigt sich das bei den Kameen mit Maskendarstellung. Ihre äußere Form und Ausführung erinnern vielmehr an die Ton- und Bleibullen als an die Glasgemmen von Ringen und Medaillons.

²⁸ E. ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL (Anm. 13) 227.



Abb. 6. Seitenansicht einer Glaskamee mit zwei Schnurkanälen.
Janus Pannonius Múzeum, Pécs. Photo: Balogh

Wir halten es also für wahrscheinlich, daß diese Glaskameen, wenn auch nicht in ihrer Funktion, aber durch die Technik und so wahrscheinlich auch durch den Ort ihrer Herstellung doch mit den Bullen zu tun hatten, die man zur Beglaubigung verwendet hatte. Früher hat man die Glasgemmen so hergestellt, daß die Glasmasse in Formtiegel gegossen und der Stempel einfach mit der Hand aufgedrückt wurde, oder sie wurde in einen Formtiegel gegossen, auf dessen Boden das positive oder negative Bild der Darstellung abgebildet war, je nachdem, ob ein Intaglio oder eine Kamee hergestellt werden mußte²⁹. Zur Veränderung dieses hergebrachten Verfahrens kam es offensichtlich an einem Ort, wo die Benutzung der Bulloteria alltäglich war. So können wir vor allem an die Handelszentren, wie z.B. Aquileia, Siscia oder Sopianae denken. Es ist aber äußerst ungewiß, ob die Herstellung dieser Glaskameen in einem einzigen Zentrum zu suchen ist.

Von der neuen Technik der Herstellung konnte auch deshalb Gebrauch gemacht werden, weil die Schmuckproduktion des 3. Jh., die vor allem Massenansprüche befriedigen wollte, sorgfältige Ausführung und höhere Ansprüche stark in den Hintergrund gedrängt hat. An ihre Stellen traten dekorative und/oder gedankliche Aussagefunktionen (z.B. Zauberkraft, Neugeburt).

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²⁹ A. KRUG: Antike Gemmen im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 61, 1980, 158 Anm. 19; G. PLATZ-HORSTER: Die antiken Gemmen im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn, Köln-Bonn 1984, 13 f.

MÁRTA HAMAR

VERGILIUS OF HORACE, *ODE* 4.12 (IS HE THE POET OR A PERFUME-SELLER?)

A WORK OF ART CANNOT BE PUT TOGETHER
FROM PIECES. IT SHOULD BE CREATED IN ITS UNITY
AND IN THE SAME WAY CAN IT ONLY BE PERCEIVED.

LÁSZLÓ SZABÓ SCULPTOR

Why, at what time and chiefly to whom did write Horace *Ode* 4.12? We are facing a mass of question-marks concerning the rise of this poem.¹ The problem is tantalizing: could have been Horace so tactless as to write a *Carmen* in which he invites an otherwise unknown perfume-seller, bearing the same name as his best poet-friend, to a party in Book 4 of his *Odes*? It is not mere chance that opinions in scholarly literature are widely differing concerning both the interpretation of the whole poem and the identification of the addressee Vergilius.² The incertitude in the understanding of the message of *Ode* 4.12 is well reflected even by the titles of its Hungarian translations which appeared during the last sixty years:

1. To Vergilius. (Translated by I. Vas, 1940).
2. To Vergilius, the homonym merchant. (Translated by J. Erdődy, 1946).
3. About the spring. (Translated by I. Vas 1961).

¹ See the commentaries, A. KIESSLING–R. HEINZE: Q. Horatius Flaccus. Oden und Epoden. 12th edition. Dublin–Zürich 1966. 448–452 and I. BORZSÁK: Horatius, Odes and Epodes. Budapest 1975. 485–489 (in Hungarian). I quote Horace from the critical edition Horatius: Opera. Edidit S. BORZSÁK. B. G. Teubner. Leipzig 1984.

² The different scholarly opinions, beginning with R. BENTLEY, are reviewed by G. E. DUCK-WORTH: *Animae Dimidium Meae*. Two Poets of Rome. Proceedings. American Philological Association. Eighty-Eight Annual Meeting and Philological Association of the Pacific Coast Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting. Ed. By JOHN L. HELLER. Vol. LXXXVII. 1956. 313, D. E. BELMONT: The Vergilius of Horace, *Ode* 4.12. TAPHA 110. 1980, 1–20, CL. ZINTZEN: Horaz: Einladung an einen Kaufmann (c. IV 12). Grazer Beiträge 12–13. 1985–86, 131–145, M. C. J. PUTNAM: Artifices of Eternity. Horace's Fourth Book of Odes. Ithaca and London 1986. 205–206, E. LEFÈVRE: Horaz. Dichter im augusteischen Rom. München 1993. 297.

From the earlier scholarly literature, identifying the Vergilius of Horace, *Ode* 4.12 with the poet, see H. MENGE: Die Oden und Epoden des Horaz. Berlin 1899, 413–416, V. USSANI: Le liriche di Orazio. II. Torino 1927, 218–220, N. E. COLLINGE: The Structure of Horace's Odes. London 1961, 75–77. Otherwise, two other researchers also pointed out that the Vergilius of Horace, *Ode* 4.12 can only be the poet: L. A. MORITZ: Horace's Virgil. Greece and Rome 16. 1969, 174–193, D. H. PORTER: Horace. *Carmina*, IV 12. Latomus 31. 1972, 71–87, R. G. M. NISBET–M. HUBBARD also consider this identification possible: A Commentary on Horace: Odes. Book I. Oxford 1970, 40: "In turn Horace wrote for Virgil an *epicedion* om Quintilius (*Carm.* I, 24) and probably an amusing invitation-poem (4. 12)."

4. To Vergilius, the – somewhat miserly – merchant. (Translated by A. Bede, 1989).

All these interpretations, indicated by the titles of the translations, are only based on certain expressions, picked out at random. Accordingly, they are unacceptable from methodological viewpoint. In this context, it is worth referring to that statement of literary semiotics according to which “the idea is held not by individual, even luckily selected quotations but it is expressed by the whole artistic structure” or hinting to Tolstoy in whose opinion “every thought, uprooted from its context and expressed separately, loses its sense and becomes terribly flat”.³ However, *Ode* 4.12 is one of Horace’s deepest poems, full of grave, hardly intelligible messages. Thus it can and may only be interpreted in the framework of its whole artistic structure. Moreover, as regards Vergilius, put in the centre of the *Ode*, we have to take into consideration the opinion of an excellent Horatian scholar: “The enigmatic Vergilius could by no means be an unimportant person, otherwise Horace would not have honoured him by a poem among the addressees of Book 4, nor would have put his name to the central place of the *Ode*, to the beginning of the central stanza”.⁴

Without doubt, the qualification of Vergilius, addressed in the poem, as a perfume-seller is based not on the intellectual message of the *Ode* 4.12 but only on some phrases which can also be interpreted in other sense in the context of the whole poem. Taking into consideration the principles, mentioned above, and rereading the poem many times,⁵ we become persuaded that the Vergilius of *Ode* 4.12 cannot be any other person but the best friend of Horace, the poet of the *Aeneid* whom he lost for ever in 19 B.C. Let us attempt to understand and interpret the intellectual message of the poem in a broader context.

The two poets were almost of the same age: Horace was younger by five years than Vergilius. These five years can be very much and can also be very few. This difference of age can be beneficent, helpful or an elegant refusal of help. Here revealed itself the human and friendly greatness of Vergilius towards Horace. Without bearing this in mind, it is impossible to understand the poem. None of them was pampered by destiny in their childhood and youth. It is true that they received compensation in their manhood. They became highly praised, admired poets. But can the honour and the appreciation, coming late, compensate sensitive personalities? Were they able to forget the humiliations without any injury of their souls? How can the origin *ex humili loco* be suffered with honour and without compromise? Horace was the son of a *libertinus* while Vergilius, expelled from his little estate, was of peasant origin but they were friends on the basis of their common fate and their strong characters.

³ J. M. LOTMAN: Text – Model – Type. (Hungarian translation). Budapest 1975.21. Tolstoy is quoted on page 20.

⁴ I. BORZSÁK: (n. 1) 485.

⁵ It is worth quoting LOTMAN (op. cit. 49) in this context: “The artistic text also has another quality: it offers differing informations to different readers, to everybody according to the degree of his capacity for understanding, it furnishes such a language to the reader with which the ensuing portion of information can be treated during the repeated reading. It behaves in such a manner as some living organism which has a feed-back relationship with the reader and instructs the reader.”

True friendship is eternal. That can come to an end by order or from own decision, such friendship was never a true one. As a Hungarian parallel, I should like to mention the friendship between Petőfi and Arany, the two great poets of the 19th century. The one between Horace and Vergilius was similar to theirs as I want to point out. The fate did not granted the former to follow the poetic activity of one another with attention in their manhood as well. Arany could only feel the flaming spirit of his friend who died immaturally but they could not put right the lute-playing fingers of one another with artistic care as Horace and Vergilius could do it. If, however, the friendship of the two poet-giants of the Golden Age was a true one, then the question can rightly be raised whether Horace could become disloyal to Vergilius either in his life or after his death, whether he could forget the poet who was "en quête de la connaissance essentielle des secrets du cosmos".⁶ They both were aware of many secrets. Vergilius could not be forgotten and Horace never became disloyal to him. After such legendary friendship, it can hardly be presumed that he would have written *Ode* 4.12 not to his poet-friend but to a perfume-seller or to a miserly merchant.

It is difficult to establish with certainty at what time (*viz.* in the life of Vergilius or after his death) the poem was written. Surely, this *Ode* became fitted in Book 4 ending the poetry of the *Odes* of Horace who had already taken stock of both life and death. Even if he would not have been sincere during his whole life, what could be the reason to deny the former friendship and the memory of Vergilius in such a spectacular and tasteless manner before the preparation for the last great journey (*Ode* 2.17)? Otherwise, it is a characteristic feature of Horace's poetry that his experiences and connections, determining his life, only received expression sometimes much later. The best example for this phenomenon is furnished by the case of Cinara, Horace's single great love: he only mentions his affection and feelings towards Cinara after her death in two *Odes* (4.1 *non sum qualis eram bonae sub regno Cinarae*, 4.13 *sed Cinarae breves annos fata dederunt*). Nothing speaks, therefore, against the idea that we regard *Carmen* 4.12 as a shocking, pityful commemoration of his best poet-friend, Vergilius whose loss was never forgotten by him. Even towards the end of his life, Horace still recalled his tragic sentiment because of the death of Vergilius and the merry, amusing pleasures of their youth. Philological research rightly pointed out already earlier that the second part of the poem (beginning with stanza 4) reminds of the tone of Catullus.⁷

Were Horace and Vergilius true friends? Yes. Perhaps, they did not declare but they made feel it with each other ever when it was necessary. What is friendship? We may quote from the philosopher Béla Hamvas: (the friendship is) "heroic, intimate, intellectual and playful". The true friendship unites, however, all the four characteristics, these are the four dimensions of friendship: "The heroic (friendship) sig-

⁶ J. THOMAS in J.-Y. MALEUVRE: *La mort de Virgile d'après Horace et Ovide*. Paris 1992, p. IV. Vergilius was also described as a man "aware of all secrets" by T. ADAMIK in a paper on Minutius Felix, read on the 11th September 1996.

⁷ Cf. I. BORZSÁK: (n. 1), 485, D. E. BELMONT: (n. 2), 12, 19, M. C. J. PUTNAM: (n. 2), 203, E. LEFÈVRE: (n. 2), 297.

nifies that I sacrifice my life for him, the intellectual one means that it is the world of spirit where I am together with him, the playful means that I play with him so merrily as a child, the intimate one that I open myself.” In this *Ode*, the last two features of friendship manifest themselves with elementary force. The poem can be understood with difficulty because Horace concealed Vergilius behind the words by his magic, he only remembers *flebiliter gemens* his friend whom it was *desipere dulce* with. Thus had Horace once consoled Vergilius for the death of Varus: *multis ille bonis flebilis occidit* (*Carmen* 1.24). This characteristic phrase of the epitaphs, too, helps us to understand the poem.

We know that Horace came into contact with Maecenas and Augustus exactly by the help of Vergilius and they both were living in the same complicated social structure of relationships. Their youth was pure from moral viewpoint and their talents were still free to realize themselves. As they were connected by their original social position, in the same way they had later common obligation to the expectations of the literary policy, represented by Maecenas (and Augustus) which to the contrary – as it is well-known – they both had their reserves.

The literary life of Rome, however, became transformed fundamentally in their age. Those possibilities of independence in the literary activity, still given to Catullus, existed no more for them whose subsistence and appreciation depended upon the Augustan social elite, even of those who belonged to the circle of Asinius Pollio⁸ (to where both Horace and Vergilius had admission). The poets were compelled to make some compromises. To this very phenomenon refer the expressions *nobilium iuvenum cliens* on the one hand and *studium lucri* on the other hand in *Ode* 4.12. As concerns the former phrase, it is to be noted that the Latin term *iuvenis* denotes a man between 30 and 45 years, *i.e.* the very generation of the Roman elite which supported Vergilius, Horace and the other excellent poets of their age. It is well known that Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus and Cornelius Gallus were the *nobiles iuvenes* whose *cliens* was Vergilius. In the expression *studium lucri* the sense of the word *lucrum* may be the same as in the phrase *de lucro vivere* (Cicero, *fam.* 9, 17) ‘to live by the favour of somebody’. Obviously, Horace alludes to the fact that both he and Vergilius were *convictores* of Maecenas, they belonged to his *cohors amicorum* and boarded at his *parasitica mensa* as it was called by Augustus in his letter written to Maecenas (Suetonius, *Deperditorum librorum reliquiae*. Roth p. 297₂₁).

The friendship, between Horace and Maecenas, is mentioned in the scholarly literature much more times than the friendly relation between Vergilius and Horace. Surely, the reason for this may be the important role of literary-political character played by Maecenas in the development of Horace’s poetic life-work. Probably, their friendship did not without personal elements either. However, Horace’s friendly relation to Vergilius had other character: it was deeper, more personal and completer. In his well-known *Ode* 1.3 which bids farewell to Vergilius sailing to Greece, Horace calls his friends “half of his own soul” when he begs the ship: *serves animae dimidium meae*. Accordingly, Horace gave the half of his own soul to Vergilius, the other

⁸ For Asinius Pollio’s circle, cp. E. BICKEL: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Heidelberg 1937, 168–169.

half remained to himself. Two halves make a whole, thus their friendship becomes full. At the same time, in *Ode* 2.17, the great astrological poem,⁹ Horace names Maecenas “part of his own soul”: *a, te meae si partem animae rapit / maturior vis quid moror altera*. Being aware of the high-class consciousness of Horace’s poetic language, we can hardly consider the choice of the phrases *animae dimidium meae* and *meae pars animae* fortuitous. The expression *animae dimidium meae* has a semantic surplus-value, it is clear, unmistakable while in the case of the phrase *meae pars animae* – (*pars*) *altera*, the possibility of a similar interpretation only exists.¹⁰

If we consider that Horace was well informed about astrology and Maecenas even believed in it, then *Ode* 2.17 makes the impression of an interesting, devoted, wooing poem. Horace told what Maecenas expected of him, he did him a favour: “We shall die together”. True friendship survives death but to pass away together does not represent the deepness and fullness of friendship by all means. Deep friendship existed between A. Tennyson and A. Hallam in the 19th century but the envy of the heaven – an accidental shipwreck – put a quick end to this friendship. The waves did not preserve the “half of the soul” of the poet and did not return him to the coast. Tennyson bid farewell to his friend, the “half of his own soul” in a grandiose bewailing poem. Such recalling, remembering farewell-poem can be considered the gloomily joking *Ode* 4.12 as well. The substance of “half” and “part” affected the great Hungarian poet Babits, too. In one of the versions of his “Psychoanalysis Christiana”, he muses in the following way: “One half of us? One part of us? It pays compliments to the world. On the other (*viz.* half) the eyes can only see darkness.” Finally, this attempt was left out from the definitive version of the poem. On the other hand, Horace decided: Vergilius is the “half (*dimidium*) of his own soul”.

On the basis of these interconnections, let us examine the intellectual message of *Ode* 4.12, at first in analytic way:

1. Arrival of the spring (*ver*).
2. Curious mythological image, with allusions. Seemingly, it does not fit the poem (*infelix avis*).
3. Pastoral idyll.
4. Vergilius is addressed in central place.
5. Exchange of nard-oil for wine which drives all cares away.
6. Hospitality with exchanges and jokes.
7. Absent-mindedness in the shadow of the death, delightful alleviation.

1. *Ver* (‘the spring’) is a word evoking positive feeling but what kind of spring does Horace actually describe here? If we compare the spring, represented here, to the other descriptions of spring by Horace, we receive the impression that a severer spring appears us than in *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7. While there the spring is brought by the

⁹ Cf. F. BOLL: *Sternenfreundschaft. Ein Horatianum. Wege zu Horaz*. Darmstadt 1980. 1–13, G. E. DUCKWORTH: *op. cit.* 282, D. R. DICKS: *Astrology and Astronomy in Horace*. *Hermes* 91. 1963, 60–73, E. A. MC-DERMOTT: *Horace, Maecenas and Odes* 2.17. *Hermes* 110. 1982, 211 foll., esp. 225 foll., D. A. KIDD: *Astrology for Maecenas*. *Antichthon* 16. 1982, 88–96, E. LEFÈVRE: (n. 2) 174–176, J. BOLLÓK: *Horace and the Astrology*. *Acta Classica* USD 29. 1993, 11–19.

¹⁰ Cf. G. E. DUCKWORTH: *op. cit.* 283.

tepid breezes *Favonius* and the *Zephyri*, here by the cold Thracian winds (*animae Thraciae*), blowing from the north. While here the fields only just melted from the frost, there – in *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7 – the grass and the leaves of the trees are already growing, the weather is so mild that Venus already directs the dances of the choirs and Gratia together with her sisters and the Nymphes dance even naked. On the contrary, the description of the spring in *Ode* 4.12 does not evoke the feeling of the spring in the reader.

2. The second stanza would not fit an introduction suggesting a mild spring at all because Horace alludes to a cruel mythological story therein which cannot be tamed into an amusing story evoking the feeling of spring even with the best intention. An unfortunate bird appears which although builds a nest but is sighing and weeping. It bewails its son, Itys. Who was Itys? This is an essential question because the “everlasting shame” (*aeternum opprobrium*) can only be understood in this way. What revenged (*ultra est*) the bird? Barbarian passions of kings (*barbaras regum libidines*).

Let us consider the story! The Thracian king Tereus (cf. Thracian winds) raped Philomela, the sister of his wife Procne. Then, in order that she could not complain her immense injury, he cut out her tongue and instead of conducting her as a guest to her sister, *i.e.* to his own wife, he lied at home that she died. The two sisters were the daughters of Pandion, the king of Athens. Nevertheless, the raped woman, describing her injury by weaving it into a cloth, sent a message to her sister. The two women revenged themselves. They killed Itys, the son of the Thracian king, born from Procne, cooked him and served up to his father. The king ate his own son. This story bursts the framework of the philological analysis of the poem. This case is a psychopathological one, a dreadful story, madness, insanity. A peculiar revenge! To kill her own blood? We can only guess what Horace’s intention was here. Where is the spring here? Can it be spring at all? A mother turning into a monster appears here, uninhibited Medea’s rave in a wild manner. What kind of poetic message was sent by Horace hereby? Perhaps the same as the one in *Epode* 16 (*inopia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas*) but in mythic form?

3. It seems as if the “idyllic” spring would arrive with the third stanza:

*dicunt in tenero gramine pinguum
custodes ovium carmina fistula
delectantque deum cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiae placent.*

Fat sheep graze on the tender grass, shepherds delight the god who loves exactly the black hills of Arcadia with their music. In this text, the appearance of the phrase *nigri colles* is striking and its interpretation is difficult. The difficulty derives partly therefrom that the semantic structure of the word *niger* is extremely complicated, partly thereby that it can be understood through double semiotic code.¹¹ Horace also uses the word *niger* in connection with the terms *ilex*, *silva*, *ignis*. Surely, in connection with the two first terms, we can think of the basic semantic structure

¹¹ According to R. JAKOBSON’S theory, cf. J. M. LOTMAN: (n. 3), 23.

(‘some dark colour’) of the word. In connection with *lucus*, belonging to the same lexical system as the word *silva*, Horace also uses the expression *umbrosus* ‘shady’ (*Ode* 1.4,11). These semantic structures are less probable in connection with the word *ignis* and *collis*. We can rather think of the secondary semantic structure of the word *niger* (‘sad, sorrowful’ etc.). The shepherds pasture the sheep on hill-sides, covered with ‘tender grass’ where there are no dark, shaded woods. Nor matches the attribute ‘dark-coloured’ the tender spring-grass. Therefore, we have to look for the sense of the expression *nigri colles* within the framework of the secondary semantic structure of the word *niger*.

But why are the hills of Arcadia sad? The 3rd stanza of the poem unmistakably refers to Vergilius’ *Eclogues* and, thus, to Vergilius himself. The reference to Vergilius began already in the 2nd stanza with the story of the Thracian king Tereus. This story was namely written up also by Vergilius in his well-known Silenus-*Eclogue* (= 6. *Eclogue*). Lines 78–81 of this poem deal with Tereus who was transformed into a bird and with Philomela who prepared the terrible feast for him:

Line 78 ... ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus
 79 *quas illi Philomela dapes, quae dona pararit,*
 80 *quo cursu deserta petiverit, et quibus ante*
 81 *infelix sua tecta super volitaverit alis*

Here, the king appears as *infelix avis* even though Vergilius does not use the word *avis* itself. He quote the story in such form as it was sung by Gallus. In lines 64–86 Silenus sings about Gallus (*tum canit ... Gallum*) whom the Muses presented with the pan pipe of Hesiodus on Mount Helicon that he may sing his poems with it. Accordingly, referring to Gallus, Vergilius tells the same story in his 6th *Eclogue* while Horace only touches it in the 2nd stanza of *Ode* 4.12 with enigmatic allusions. These lines of Horace speak, therefore, of Gallus whose talent ensured him a splendid political and military career and who was the first prefect of Egypt. By his royal behaviour, however, he aroused the jealousy of Octavianus and escaped into suicide from before the criminal procedure instituted by the senate against him.

To this Gallus, still enjoying the confidence and friendship of Augustus at that time, addressed Vergilius his renowned 10th *Eclogue*¹² which begins as follows:

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem:
pauca meo Gallo, ...
carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?

Probably, Vergilius had not yet to deny the song to his friend at that time. Later, however, when Gallus was driven to death by Augustus, even Vergilius was compelled to cancel that part of his *Georgics* which praised the military successes of

¹²The finest appreciation of this *Eclogue* was no doubt offered by F. PLESSIS and P. LEJAY: *Œuvres de Virgile*. Paris 1928. 79: “Telle est cette pièce, une des plus belles, des plus passionnées et des plus touchantes qu’on ait jamais écrite, élégiaque par le sentiment et le ton général, bucolique cependant, non par le cadre seulement, mais par l’esprit qui la pénètre, l’amour de la nature et de la vie champêtre.”

Gallus and to replace it with the story of Aristaeus.¹³ Thereafter, Horace would have fallen out of favour if he would have written of Gallus openly. Thus, he wrote about his former poet-friend in "the language of flowers". Borrowing from Vergilius and referring to him, he also commemorated Gallus. In similar situations, great artists use such solutions. Thus quoted Kodály, the great Hungarian composer, the "Appeal" of Vörösmarty when it was impossible to utter openly "Be true to your fatherland steadfastly, oh Hungarian". Great artists and great works of art send their message in such a manner in hard times them to whom they want to speak.

Vergilius' presence in *Ode* 4.12 of Horace will be rendered even more indisputable by the comparative semiotic study of the lexical elements of *Eclogue* 10 and the 3rd stanza of Horace's *Ode* 4.12.¹⁴ The methodological basis for this comparison will be assured by the consideration that the lexical elements of *Eclogue* 10 function as code when we compare the text of Horace's *Ode* 4.12 with them. Thus the referential function of the latter comes into being and elucidate their connection and the relationship between their poetic messages.¹⁵ From among the 14 lexical unites of the 3rd stanza, 11 also occur in *Eclogue* 10.

	Vergilius' <i>Eclogue</i> 10	Horace's <i>Ode</i> 4.12
Line 3	<i>carmina sunt dicenda</i>	<i>dicunt ... carmina</i>
7	<i>tenera ... virgulta</i>	<i>in tenero</i>
27	<i>gramina</i>	<i>gramine</i>
36	<i>custos gregis</i>	<i>custodes</i>
16	<i>oves</i>	<i>ovium</i>
34	<i>fistula</i>	<i>fistula</i>
26	<i>Pan deus</i>	<i>deum</i>
17	<i>nec te paeniteat pecoris</i>	<i>pecus</i>
39	<i>nigrae violae</i>	<i>nigri colles</i>
26	<i>Pan deus Arcadiae</i>	<i>Arcadiae</i>
63	<i>placent</i>	<i>placent</i>

On the basis of this comparison, there can be hardly any doubt concerning the person of the Vergilius of Horace's *Ode* 4.12. Perhaps Vergilius wrote of the living Gallus while Horace reminded of the period when they were still young and Vergilius, Gallus, Catullus were still living. Riddlingly, in a surrealistic manner but not indecipherably wrote Horace about all the three, even through them also about all

¹³E. NORDEN: *Orpheus und Eurydice*. SPAW 1934. 1 foll. and *Die römische Literatur*. 5th edition. Leipzig 1954.62, E. BICKEL: op. cit. 452, D. KIENAST: *Augustus*. Darmstadt 1982. 219, E. LEFÈVRE: *Die laudes Galli* in *Vergils Georgica*. W.S. NF 20. 1986, 186 foll., U. SCHMITZER: *Zeitgeschichte in Ovids Metamorphosen*. Stuttgart 1990. 219.

¹⁴The Vergilian echoes were already noted by G. E. DUCKWORTH: (n. 2) 313. He stated that "Book IV (viz. of Horace's *Odes*) is very considerably a Vergilian book also". Cf. also D. E. BELMONT: (n. 2), 10–11, R. MINADEO: *Vergil in Horace's Odes* 4.12. CIJ 71. 1975–76, 161 foll. The study by J. T. KIRBY: *Vergilian Echoes in Horace Carm. 4.12: A Computer Study*. Vergilius 31. 1985, 30–39 was not accessible to me.

¹⁵Cf. R. JAKOBSON: *Sound – Sign – Verse*. (Hungarian translation). Budapest 1972. 14, 234 foll., 237 foll.

those with whom they enjoyed together whenever they were feasting. Such a thing cannot forget and deny a poet who was a true man and a true friend. Horace did not it either. The Thracian king could cut out the tongue of Philomela, nevertheless she found the possibility to send message. Horace was also able to send message and to recall his poet-friends, their fate, the great bloodshed.

In this context the question may be raised why Horace had to recall the memory of Vergilius in such a coded manner. It is a striking phenomenon, stressed by recent research that nobody from among the members of Maecenas' circle had written a farewell-poem and commemorated Vergilius.¹⁶ This fact is all the more remarkable because Vergilius stood in general esteem and affection and was universally respected among the poets of Maecenas' circle (cf. Donatus Auctus, p. 34–35 Diehl: ... *quisque illum non diligeret modo, sed amaret* and ... *coevos omnes poetas ita adiunctos habuit, ut ... illum una omnes colerent*). Recent research pointed out, however, convincingly that Augustus exercised severe control on the literary activity of the poets and he prohibited to write about some personalities, and removed many literary works from the *Atrium Libertatis* and burned those which he did not like.¹⁷ Apparently, like Gallus, Vergilius also belonged to that category of poets whose decease must not be remembered.

Accordingly, there can be no doubt about the person of the addressee of *Ode* 4.12. On the basis of the whole intellectual message of the poem, it is only Vergilius, the poet-friend already dead who can be the addressee of *Ode* 4.12 but beside him the personality of Gallus and that of Catullus are also perceptible indirectly and secretly. As mentioned above, the phrases *iuvenum nobilium cliens* and *studium lucri* do not speak in favour of the theory that the Vergilius addressed in *Ode* 4.12 was a merchant. It was one of the best Horatian expert who pointed out that the funny invitation *cum tua ... merce veni* is addressed not to some *mercator* but to a member of a circle of friends.¹⁸ In the same context can be interpreted the occurrence in the poem of the nard-oil, carried in an onyx jar. It was a custom in Rome that the members of a circle of friends contributed to the common meal on the one hand¹⁹ and that the feasters made themselves fragrant with nard-oil (Horace, 2.11,16 *Assyriaque nardo potamus uncti*, Tibullus, 3.6,63 *Syrio madefactus tempora nardo*) on the other hand. Thus, in final analysis, no basis remains in the poem for the assumption, going back to rather late commentaries that the Vergilius addressed in *Ode* 4.12 is not the great poet-friend of Horace but an unknown perfume-seller.

The poem is made hardly intelligible and exceptional thereby that Horace recalls his dead poet-friends in it. Vergilius by name but indirectly Gallus and Catullus as well. Therefore, the mood of the poem and that of its first part in particular is gloomy but even in its second part, recalling the tone of Catullus, the dark colours are prevailing. Accordingly, *tempora* giving reason for thirst, has at least double meaning. The severe spring hardly gives reason for oblivion by wine-drinking, it is

¹⁶ Cf. J.-Y. MALEUVRE: (n. 6), 3 and note 3.

¹⁷ Cf. D. KIENAST: (n. 12), 218–220, U. SCHMITZER: (n. 12), 228.

¹⁸ I. BORZSÁK: (n. 1), 488.

¹⁹ I. BORZSÁK: (n. 1), 488.

all the more motivated by the hard times, the dark phenomena of the epoch. The onyx jar and the nard-oil are particularly remarkable. Even though the presence of both is well understandable at the feast of a circle of friends in Rome at that time, nevertheless, in certain respect, they emphasize the dark colours which can be perceived even in the second part of the poem.

We have to consider the occurrence of the nard. It was always a peculiar oil, ointment in the hospitable house of Maria and Martha where its use already alludes to the death of Jesus as well. It is a perfume of great value: 220,5 pounds of dried root are necessary for the production of 2,205 ponds of volatile oil. It is a certainty, based on experiences that the nard renders refreshment in the fulfilment of tasks, demanding great strength of mind.

We have also to consider the colour of the onyx. According to the experts in precious stones, its colour is mostly black. Thus, the black colour again appears in the poem. It indicates not only solemnity but suggests the mourning as well. The active force of the black onyx helps the Ego to rise above grief and pain to the eternal truths. According to the belief of the Ancient World, some precious stones disposed of supernatural force. The scholars of the Ancient East had written manuals about the supernatural peculiarities of the precious or semiprecious stones. It was P. Pelliot who has found a Sogdian text in Central Asia which described the active force of 10 sorts of semiprecious stones. This text writes about the sixth stone: "The sixth stone should be such sort that it is black by itself ... Who discovers this stone that should not give it as a present to anybody but his family. Because, for the people, this stone is a medicament with great effect against poison."²⁰ Perhaps, this semiprecious stone was the onyx.

It seems that Horace, remembering their youth, joking teases in the lines, describing the hospitality (lines 21–24) in order to make the warning in the last stanza even more effective. Wine helps us overcome the restricting consciousness: it is more advisable to be or to appear *stultus*. Of the physical death, inevitable contrary to the freedom of the soul, remind the *ignes nigri* which still eclipse the occasional, seemingly *dulce*, carefree merriness. The joke also became dark in a minute. Such man can only experience this and if he is a poet, trans-substantiate into a poem who lost a very close friend or fellow. If the lost persons (Vergilius, Gallus, Catullus) were very intimate to the living one, he feels as he progresses in age as if they would be again together, together but as young men. Thus functions the mind. Horace also feels his friend close to himself, he again relives the difficult period which they went through, before they became notabilities. That is already the past. The words of his friend resound to Horace:

Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus (Aeneid 2.324)

For Vergilius already arrived the *summa dies* while Horace feels and suspects:

²⁰E. BENVENISTE: Textes sogdiennes. Paris 1940. 62–63. Kind information by Professor J. HARMATTA for which I express my gratitude here.

“The life being far, the death being near,
Nothing conceals foolishness and evil.”

Thus were Vergilius' thoughts redreamed by the poet Gy. Juhász in his poem “*Venit summa dies*”, conjuring up the man, the poet of crystal-clear character before us without resorting to any artificial means.²¹

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²¹ I would here like to thank Professor T. ADAMIK for his help in procuring the scholarly literature necessary for this study.

LÁSZLÓ HAVAS

BEMERKUNGEN ZUR REZEPTION DES FLORUS

Das florianische Lebenswerk, das in der vielseitigen rhetorischen Bildung und einer der Wirklichkeit des Niedergangs Rechnung tragenden Geschichtsauffassung wurzelt, schien, auch wenn es eine solche Tiefe wie das von Tacitus¹ nicht erreichte und inhaltlich nicht so reich wie das von Plinius Maior² war, deren reiche Wirkungsgeschichte auch durch ihr geistiges Gewicht erklärbar ist, bedeutsam und charaktervoll genug, um seinen Stempel dem Werk solcher Autoren heidnischen Geistes aufzudrücken wie Appianos, L. Ampelius, Rufius Festus, Pseudo-Victor, Ammianus Marcellinus oder Macrobius, bzw. um die Geschichtsauffassung solcher christlicher Autoren zu beeinflussen, ihnen auch Beispiele liefernd, wie Tertullianus, Minucius Felix, Augustinus, Hieronymus, Orosius, Isidorus Hispalensis oder Iordanes³.

Die in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter durchgehend spürbare geistige Ausstrahlung des Florus scheint erst zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jhd. n. Chr. und dem Anfang des 9. Jhd. n. Chr. unterbrochen zu werden, es scheint nämlich offensichtlich zu sein, daß Paulus Diaconus, der in seiner 781 abgeschlossenen *Historia Romana* einige Florus-Daten zu verwenden scheint, in Wirklichkeit auf den Text des Iordanes zurückgreift, denn alle seine „Florus-Zitate“ folgen in jeder Hinsicht dem Iordanes-Text. Als Landolfus Sagax um 1000 die Arbeit des Paulus ergänzt, ändert er nichts an dieser Formulierung, entweder, weil er sich über den Ursprung des Paulus-Textes nicht im Klaren war, oder aber, weil auch ihm nur Iordanes zur Verfügung stand und er den florianischen Ursprung nicht kannte, obwohl das zu

¹ Im Zusammenhang mit ihm in rhetorischer Beziehung vgl. zuletzt: TH. KÖVES-ZULAUF, Reden und Schweigen im tacitischen *Dialogus de oratoribus*, RhM. 135, 1992, pp. 316–341 mit weiterer Literatur.

² Siehe dazu mehrere vorzügliche Plinius-Aufsätze von TH. KÖVES-ZULAUF wie z. B.: Plinius über den Untergang der Stadt Pometia, RhM, 106, 1963, pp. 30–61 = Kleine Schriften, Heidelberg, 1988, hrsg. von A. HEINRICHS, pp. 316–341; Die Vorrede der plinianischen „Naturgeschichte“, KISchr., pp. 148–198 = Die Vorrede der Naturgeschichte des älteren Plinius, WSt., 86, 1973, pp. 134–184; Plinius der Ältere und die römische Religion, ANRW, II 16.2, 1978, pp. 187–288.

³ Siehe dazu L. HAVAS, Textgeschichte des Florus von der Antike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit, Athen, 80, 1992, pp. 433–469.

seiner Zeit schon eher möglich gewesen wäre, da in dieser Zeit sowohl die **c**- als auch die **a**-Variante der historischen Arbeit des Florus dokumentiert sind (siehe unter den florianischen Kodices **N** und **B**)⁴.

Daß Florus im mittelalterlichen Europa damals schon wieder direkt bekannt gewesen sein kann, bezeugt auch die *Chronica* des Freculphus, allerdings in einer ziemlich problematischen Form. Obwohl Manitius⁵ Freculphus eindeutig zu den Florus-Benützern gezählt hat, bin ich, als ich die Frage selbst das erste Mal untersuchte, zum Schluß gekommen, daß der Bischof von Lisieux⁶ entweder eine Florus-Handschrift der **a**-Variante verwendet oder einen Teil seiner Beispiele ganz einfach aus dem Iordanes übernommen haben muß. Diese zweite Lösung scheint mir plausibler, denn ich habe keine an Florus angelehnte Stelle bei Freculphus gefunden, die nicht auch bei Iordanes vorhanden ist, demzufolge ist eine unabhängige Florus-Kenntnis nicht bewiesen. So kann ich im Grunde genommen mit einem unlängst erschienenen Aufsatz von Reeve einverstanden sein, nach dem Freculphus Iordanes als Quelle verwendet habe⁷. Ich bin aber der Meinung, daß Reeves Standpunkt in hohem Maße einer Differenzierung bedarf, denn viel weniger begründet erscheint die Behauptung des Autors, sogar noch für das 9. Jhd. sei eher die Rezeption des Iordanes als die des Florus selbst zu beweisen. Es steht nämlich fest, daß die ältesten Handschriften des Florus gerade aus der Zeit stammen. Noch dazu ist eine von ihnen, **N**, an dem Ort entstanden, von wo Freculphus kommt, d. h. auf deutschem Gebiet: der *Codex Nasarianus* ist in Lorsch abgeschrieben worden⁸. So kann unter der Lektüre des Bischofs von Lisieux in Wirklichkeit auch die ursprüngliche historische Arbeit von Florus zu finden gewesen sein, wie das durch eine eingehende Untersuchung des Textes der *Chronica* bewiesen werden kann.

Eine der offensichtlichsten Stellen, die bei Freculphus letzten Endes auf eine Florus-Wiedergabe zurückzuführen ist, ist 1,3,12, d. h. das *caput* über Romulus (**PL**, col. 981). Hier reproduziert der Bischof von Lisieux mit einigen Auslassungen den Teil, der in **Flor.** 1,18ff. zu finden ist und in der *Romana* des Iordanes Ende 89 anfängt (ed. Mommsen, p. 10, 24). Die Formulierung des Freculphus weist hier auffallende Ähnlichkeiten mit der des Iordanes auf. Das veranschaulichen folgende Entsprechungen: *transilivit* (post *salu*) add. **IFrec.** ~ *transiluit* **B** (om. **c**); *locus* hab. **IFrec.** ≠ *lucus* hab. **Bc** /9.§/; *quidam* (post *pastores*) om. **IFrec.** (**JAL**'s Apparat

⁴ Zu den Florus-Handschriften siehe meine neu erschienene Textausgabe: P. Annii Flori *Opera quae exstant omnia*, Debrecini, 1997.

⁵ M. MANITIUS, Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen (bis 1300)..., RhM. N. F. 47. Ergänzungsheft, F. a. M., 1892, p. 71 und Anmerkung 4. Er äußert sich zurückhaltend über die Bekanntheit des Florus und die Häufigkeit, mit der er zitiert wird.

⁶ Zu seiner Tätigkeit siehe zwei Dissertationen (Manuskript): B. SCHELLE BRUNHÖLZL, Freculphus von Lisieux, München; CH. F. NATUNEWICZ, The Chronicle of Freculphus: A Study of the Textual Tradition, Yale Univ. (PhD, 1957).

⁷ M. D. REEVE, Freculphus of Lisieux and Florus, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 19, 1989, pp. 381–390; vgl. auch CH. F. NATUNEWICZ, Freculphus of Lisieux. His Chronicle and a Mont St. Michel manuscript in: *Sacris Erudiri*, 17, 1966, pp. 90–139 (im folgenden: Freculphus ...). Letzterer hält es für möglich, daß Freculphus auf seiner römischen Reise von 824–825 n. Chr. sich zahlreiche Handschriften beschafft und mitgenommen hat (p. 105), unter denen sich unseres Erachtens auch Iordanes befunden haben kann.

⁸ Vgl. B. BISCHOFF, Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften, München. 1974, pp. 31, 66, 96).

weist hier keine von *codd.* abweichende Lesung von **I** auf.); *et* (ante *haec*) om. **IFrec.**, add. **Bc** /10. §/; *funeribus* hab. **IFrec.** (*furentibus B*, *saevientibus C* /13. §/).

Trotz der Tatsache, daß bei coll. 981–982 Freculphus sich eng an **I** und dadurch an die **a**-Tradition hält, gibt es Teile, wo der Text der *Chronica* nicht mit **I** (und **a**), sondern mit dem **c**-Text zusammenfällt. So lesen wir bei Freculphus einerseits *dirutum est*, was der **c'** (+ $\alpha\gamma$ **Ver.**)-Tradition entspricht, im Gegensatz zu **BI** *direptum est*, bzw. **c''** *dirutum* (Flor. 11. §); andererseits schreibt Freculphus in Anlehnung an **c** *vocabantur* dort, wo bei **BI** *vocabatur* steht.

Diese zwei Übereinstimmungen zwischen Freculphus und der florianischen **c**-Tradition könnten natürlich auch Zufall sein, denn der Text der *Chronica* folgt Iordanes nicht mit sklavischer Treue, sondern der Bischof von Lisieux hat ihn seinem Geschmack, seiner Einstellung und dem Kontext entsprechend umgestaltet. Als solche Stilisierungen des Freculphus sind folgende Abweichungen (die Aufzählung könnte beliebig fortgesetzt werden) zu betrachten: *vero* (post *Ad tutelam*) add. **Frec.** (om. **Flor.**); *qui* **Frec.** /col. 981/ (dubium an **IFlor.**); *urbis* (post *victima*) add. **Frec.**; *Romulus, sed* (post *fecerat*) **Frec.**; usw.

Da bei Betrachtung dieser Stellen die Frage offen bleibt, ob tatsächlich mit dem Einfluß der florianischen **c**-Tradition zu rechnen ist oder die gezeigten Abweichungen den selbst vorgenommenen Änderungen des Autors der *Chronica* zu verdanken sind, ist es notwendig, auch andere, zwischen Freculphus und Iordanes bzw. Florus Ähnlichkeiten aufweisende Stellen zu untersuchen.

Letzten Endes läßt sich auch ein Teil von **Frec.** 1,3,13 auf **Flor.** 1,1/2/ zurückführen. *Ianumque bifrontem* weist unverkennbar auf Iordanes zurück, denn alle Varianten der florianischen Handschriften (**Bc**) schreiben *Ianumque geminum* (1,1/2/,3). Zugleich übernimmt aber Freculphus *descripsit* in seinen Text, während in **I** *discripsit* steht. In diesem Fall folgt also Freculphus den Texttraditionen der florianischen Manuskripte und weicht von Iordanes ab. Diese Annahme unterstützt auch, daß Freculphus, im Gleichklang mit den Florus-Kodices, *custos* statt des *custus* des **I** schreibt. Das alles legt schon nahe, daß Freculphus außer Iordanes auch den florianischen Text gekannt hat, auch wenn auch in dieser Hinsicht mit selbst vorgenommenen Änderungen zu rechnen ist. Der Bischof von Lisieux ersetzt nämlich **IFlor.** *ille* durch *qui*, *in primis* durch *primus* und verändert an einer Stelle auch die Wortfolge.

Völlig eindeutig ist die Kenntnis der florianischen **c**-Version seitens der *Chronica* bei **Frec.** 1,3,14, wo anders als **IB** (*cuius*) die richtiger erscheinende Variante aus **c** (*cui*) zu finden ist. Eine ausgesprochene **c''**-Lesart haben wir in Freculphus' Ausführungen über Ancus Marcius (1,3,15), wo im Text der *Chronica* ein *hic* vorkommt. Dieses Pronomen fehlt in **IBc'**, ist aber in allen Typen der **c''**-Handschriften vorhanden. Auffallend ist weiters, daß bei **Frec.** 1,3,16 genauso *quamvis ... prohibeat* erscheint wie in einem Teil der florianischen Handschriften (vgl. $\psi K + Aed.\alpha\eta\gamma S\Sigma\mu^2 T\beta\delta$, außerdem: **edpr.**), während bei **IBc** ursprünglich *quatenus ... prohibebat* steht. **Frec.** 1,3,17 steht eindeutig mit der **m/e**-Gruppe der florianischen Manuskripte in Einklang, indem hier (statt *in tempus*) *ad tempus*, (statt *in classes*) *in classem*, und (statt der tadellosen Lesart *in tabulis*) *in tabulas* zu finden sind. In

1,4,17 läßt Freculphus, wie **c''**, *nec non* im Einführungsteil weg und ändert das richtige *qui* vor *incensam* in *quae* (vgl. **IBNpp''** + ψη). Auffallend ist auch, daß Freculphus, sowohl in 1,4,19 als auch in 1,4,28 die gleiche Formulierung von **I** und **B** *et bello et pace et foris* außer Acht läßt und konsequent *bello et pace foris* schreibt, was für die **c**-Tradition charakteristisch ist. Nach all dem überrascht einen gar nicht mehr, daß in **Flor.** 1,22/2,6/23–25 **Frec.** 1,5,7 folgend nicht die **IB(=a)**-Variante *privatorum opes* steht, sondern *privatae opes* wie in der **c**-Tradition zu finden ist.

Eine oberflächliche Untersuchung könnte sogar **Frec.** 1,7,16 auf **Flor.** 2,21/4,12/ bzw. 2,30/4,12/22 zurückführen, was dadurch seine besondere Bedeutung erhält, daß diese Teile im Iordanes fehlen. Die Wahrheit ist aber, daß hier Freculphus fast wortwörtlich den Orosius verwendet, der in 6,21,14 sqq. tatsächlich auf Florus zurückgreift, worauf bereits Zangemeister in seinen Aufzeichnungen (p. 424) aufmerksam macht. Aus Zangemeisters kritischem Apparat geht auch hervor, daß Freculphus hier jener Tradition folgt, die für die I. oder II. Klasse der Orosius-Handschriften typisch ist, wo die auch in der *Chronica* auftretenden Formen *Sosipetes* oder *Susipetes* statt des richtigen *Usipetes* stehen. Unseres Erachtens ist hier in erster Linie mit der Kenntnis der II. Orosius-Klasse zu rechnen, denn zu dieser Klasse gehört auch **P** (Palatinus 829), das einst genauso in Lorsch abgeschrieben worden war wie der möglicherweise auch für Freculphus in Frage kommende berühmte Florus-Kodex **N**. Unsere Annahme bestärken auch andere Freculphus-Stellen, die ebenso mit der **P(R)**-Orosius-Tradition übereinstimmen wie z. B. **Chron.** 1,7,9 (col. 1099), wo ähnlich wie in **P** *Pompeianae* und *regem petentibus* stehen, obwohl in anderen *classis* des Orosius-Textes *Pompeiana* bzw. *petentibus regem* stehen. Trotz der erwähnten Übereinstimmungen ist es aber sicher, daß Freculphus doch nicht genau **P** verwendet hat, denn der Autor der *Chronica* zitiert Orosius ab und zu anders als **P**. An der hier untersuchten Stelle schreibt nämlich der Bischof von Lisieux *viginti milibus*, während in **PR** *viginti milia* steht. Dadurch scheint es möglich, daß Freculphus Orosius aus einem zu der II. Klasse gehörenden und **P** nahestehenden Exemplar gekannt hat, in dem bestimmte Lesarten der I. *classis* aufgezeichnet waren.

Ähnliches gilt wohl auch für Freculphus' Iordanes-Handschrift. Es kann nämlich kaum bezweifelt werden, daß der Autor der *Chronica* Florus im Text seiner Arbeit nur vermittelt über Iordanes verwendet hat, aber dieses Iordanes-Exemplar muß eines gewesen sein, an dessen Rand bereits Lesarten der **c'**- und **c''**-, sogar einige der **e**-Handschriften auftauchen, sowie von **I** abweichende **a**-Varianten, die man heute nur noch aus **B** kennt. Das von Freculphus benützte **I**-Manuskript muß zur I. Klasse der Iordanes-Kodices gehört haben, denn in **Chron.** 1,3,15 ist *pontem* statt des für die florianische Tradition typischen, richtigen *ponte* zu finden, das nur einige Stücke (**PL**) in der I. Klasse von **I** durch das auch bei Freculphus zu findende *pontem* ersetzen. Von dieser Iordanischen **P**(alatinus)-Handschrift wissen wir aber, daß sie aus dem 9. Jhd. aus Lorsch stammt, genauso wie die schon mehrmals erwähnte florianische **N**-Handschrift. So hat Freculphus wohl im Verlauf seiner Arbeit, wenn schon nicht **P** selbst, so doch eine mit dieser nahe verwandte Handschrift studiert. Sicher ist aber, daß dieses, zur I. Klasse der Iordanes-Manuskripte gehörende Exem-

plar vom Text der *Monacensis Pollingensis* abweicht, der erst im 12. Jhd. entstanden sein dürfte und wahrscheinlich Johannes Saresberiensis als Muster diente.

Die mit Florus-Lesarten ausgestatteten Eintragungen des I-Exemplars können freilich auch vom Autor der *Chronica* selbst stammen, der dann irgendwann auch Florus studiert haben muß, entweder in einem Exemplar, in dem die verschiedenen c-Traditionen noch nicht getrennt voneinander erschienen, oder aber Freculphus muß früher schon mehrere Florus-Varianten studiert haben. Unserer Ansicht nach ist die letztere Möglichkeit die wahrscheinlichere, woraus freilich auch folgen würde, daß sich zu Beginn des 9. Jhd.s nicht nur die c'-Tradition herausgebildet hatte, sondern auch die c'', von der uns heute nur noch spätere Abschriften zur Verfügung stehen. Auf Grund des Gesagten muß sich zu einem gewissen Grad auch schon e von c'' abgespalten haben. Zu letzterem Text kann Freculphus in Paris Zugang gehabt haben, denn er hielt sich in dieser Stadt auf, was nach dem Zeugnis der Handschriften bei der Gestaltung des e-Textes wohl eine Rolle gespielt hat⁹.

Nach all dem ist es unvermeidlich, folgende Frage zu stellen: Kann man in Freculphus' Anschauung die Spuren einer über Iordanes hinausweisenden, typisch florianischen Geschichtsauffassung entdecken? Denn das könnte endgültig beweisen, daß der Bischof von Lisieux Florus in der Tat auch direkt studiert hat. In der *Chronica* gibt es offensichtlich auch Zeichen dafür, daß der Autor ein dem des Florus ähnliches Werk schaffen wollte, indem er selbst auch ein epitom-ähnliches Werk zusammenstellte. Die Widmung der *Chronica* ist nämlich so formuliert: *Haec cecini breviter*, was mit der bekannten Bestimmung der florianischen *praefatio* vergleichbar ist: *In brevi quasi tabella totam eius (sc. populi Romani) imaginem amplectar* (3. §).

Was aber eine noch offensichtlichere Berührung zwischen den Geschichtsauffassungen von Florus und Freculphus zeigt, ist folgende Tatsache: Wie Florus, wahrscheinlich nach Varro, der Meinung ist, daß nach 700 Jahren *populus Romanus* die Herrschaft des Augustus eine Art Epochengrenze in der Geschichte des Reiches darstelle, da sie am Übergang von Mannesalter zum Greisenalter eine Festigung der Gesundheit mit sich gebracht habe, der aber wegen der *inertia Caesarum* eine Art krankhafte Vergreisung gefolgt sei, obwohl von Traianus an eine vorübergehende neuerliche Erstarkung feststellbar sei (*revirescit*, vgl. **praef.** 8), so kommt auch Freculphus selbst, indem er aus dem Gedankengang seines Vorfahren als Geschichtsschreiber schlußfolgert, auf folgende Feststellung: Das weströmische Reich (das zuerst Augustus beschafft hatte, im 709. Jahr der Gründung der Stadt, d. h. 44/43 v. Chr. nach Caesars Tod, ungefähr in der Zeit des 2. Triumvirats, wo Florus das Ende des Mannesalters und den Anfang des Greisenalters Roms ansetzt) sei im 522. Jahr der Vorfahren und Vorgänger des Herrschers mit (Romulus) Augustulus untergegangen. Daraufhin seien die westlichen Teile des römischen Staates, der bisher die Völker befehligt habe, stöhnend vor den Königen der (heidnischen) Völker in die Knie gegangen (2,5,17 col. 1249). D. h. – wie Florus bereits ahnte – am Ende der *se-nectus* des römischen Volkes tritt notwendigerweise der Zustand des Todes ein, d. h. der Verfall (vgl. *periiit*), und an die Stelle des *imperium Romanum* treten die *regna*

⁹ Vgl. CH. F. NATUNEWICZ, Freculphus ..., p. 104.

gentium im Zeichen der *translatio imperii*, deren Theorie Freculphus, aus anderen Quellen, vor allem Orosius schöpfend, schon am Anfang seines Werks erklärt, indem er die Abfolge der assyrischen, medischen, persischen (oder griechischen) und römischen Reiche feststellt, denen – dem vorigen Zitat nach – der Reihe nach die Königreiche der heidnischen Völker folgen. Daraus folgt, daß nach unserem Wissen Freculphus der erste war, der – indem er sich wahrscheinlich auch auf Florus' organische Konzeption stützte – die Schlußfolgerung zog, daß es 476 n. Chr. tatsächlich zum Untergang des westlichen *imperium Romanum* und damit zur Entstehung neuer Königreiche gekommen sei¹⁰. Aber diese Staaten seien auch nur den Gesetzen des Lebens unterworfenen Organismen gewesen wie die früheren Reiche. Ein Beispiel dafür sei das gotische Königreich, seien doch auch seine Kräfte, genauso wie die des römischen Reiches, ausgegangen (2,5,22 col. 1255). So sei es möglich geworden, daß *Narses patricius* die Goten besiegt, Italien vom Feind befreit hat und die appenninische Halbinsel wieder in den oströmischen Staat eingegliedert (*Italiam corpori rei publicae restituit*), Mediolanum und die anderen zerstörten italischen Städte wiederaufgebaut hat (2,5,23 col. 1256). Auf diese Weise glaubt Freculphus vielleicht doch an eine Art Wiedergeburt, die zum Teil mit der Hilfe des Oströmischen Reiches, zum Teil mit der Umformung der *regna gentium* in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann. In dieser vieldiskutierten Frage¹¹ können wir kaum unangreifbar Stellung beziehen, so viel scheint aber auf jeden Fall sicher, daß die floriansche organische Geschichtsauffassung, gepaart mit den Vorstellungen anderer frühmittelalterlicher Autoren, unter ihnen Orosius und Iordanes, auch bei Freculphus zu einer charakteristischen und in ihrer Bedeutung nicht zu unterschätzenden, auf Naturprinzipien beruhenden christlichen Geschichtsinterpretation führte.

CH. F. NATUNEWICZ nimmt sogar an, daß Freculphus eine Periodisierung der Geschichte in Weltaltern akzeptiert habe, wie sie auch in Augustinus' *de civitate Dei* vorkommt und die zum Teil auf die Geschichtseinteilung aufgrund von Lebensaltern des Florus, zum Teil auf die von Lactantius/Seneca zurückzuführen ist. Nach dem Hl. Augustinus dauert die *infantia* der Menschheitsgeschichte von der Erschaffung bis zur Sintflut, es folgt die *puertia* von der Sintflut bis zu Abraham, dann kommt die sich von Abraham bis David spannende *adulescentia* sowie die *iuventus*, die von David bis zur babylonischen Gefangenschaft reicht. Die letzten beiden Perioden benennt der Kirchenvater nicht mehr metaphorisch. Natunewicz meint, Freculphus habe im vollständigeren Text der *Chronica* diese sechs Perioden angewandt, denn die *Annales Hirsangenses* sagen folgendes über Freculphus als Verfasser des ersten Buches der *Chronica*: *scriptis inter caetera: ingenii sui monumenta ad Helisachar abbatem suum insigne volumen quod De sex mundi aetatibus praenotavit* (1,15). Diese Einteilung des Freculphus kann aber auf Grund des heute bekannten kürzeren Textes nicht eindeutig bewiesen werden, in der überlieferten *Chronica* gibt es näm-

¹⁰Die epochale Bedeutung dieser Auffassung von Freculphus hat schon L. TRAUBE hervorgehoben – Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Bd. II: Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, hrsg. v. P. LEHMANN, p. 141 –, so auch CH. F. NATUNEWICZ, vgl. Freculphus ..., pp. 114–118.

¹¹Vgl. CH. F. NATUNEWICZ, Freculphus ..., pp. 114–115 und Anmerkung 80; M. JÄNSEN, Historiographie und Quellen der deutschen Geschichte bis 1500, in: Grundriß der Geschichtswissenschaft, Ser. I, VII² 34.

lich nur Hinweise auf die ersten zwei Perioden, ohne daß daraus eine Einteilung nach Lebensaltern, die auf der angenommenen organischen Geschichtsauffassung basiert, hervorgeht, vgl.: *quidquid de primo saeculo quod ante generalem fuerat cataclysmum, sive de secundo quod fuit post diluvium usque ad nativitatem Abrahæ* (praef. col. 917). Diese mangelhafte Formulierung kann sich teils aus der Bruchstückhaftigkeit des Textes oder auch daraus ergeben, daß Freculphus das augustinische System geändert hat, indem er die ersten zwei Perioden als dem Reich vorausgehende betrachtete und den Standpunkt einnahm, daß das Reich mit den Assyern geboren worden (*infantia*), mit den Medern zu seiner *adulescentia* gekommen und mit den Persern und Griechen seine *iuventus* erreicht habe, was bedeuten würde, daß das *imperium Romanum* und die *regna gentium* beide schon die *senectus* auf dem Weg der Menschheit zum Heil darstellten. Wie wir vorher schon gesehen haben, findet man bei Freculphus tatsächlich eine Art Verbindung zwischen dem persischen und dem makedonischen Reich auf der einen Seite und zwischen dem *imperium Romanum* und den *regna gentium* auf der anderen Seite, wir können nur nicht recht überzeugend beweisen, daß in all dem tatsächlich die Einteilung nach Lebensaltern die bestimmende Rolle gespielt habe, wie Natunewicz das ahnen läßt. Es steht aber außer Zweifel, daß in der Anschauung der *Chronica* tatsächlich die organische Auffassung zu finden ist und in ihrer Gestaltung auf jeden Fall indirekt (vor allem über Iordanes, aber auch über Orosius und Augustinus), vielleicht aber auch direkt die florianische Geschichtsauffassung eine Rolle gespielt hat. Das haben wahrscheinlich manche in der Überlieferung des Freculphus-Textes bemerkt, was erklären würde, daß in einigen Handschriften der *Chronica* (A und Pa – siehe dazu: CH. F. Natunewicz, Freculphus ..., 127–132) als Name des Autors *Iulius Florus* erscheint, wie auch im *codex Bambergensis* und teilweise auch im Kodex des Pelpliner Seminars vom Typ c^o, der inzwischen abhanden gekommen oder unzugänglich geworden ist, wo hinsichtlich des *epitoma*-Autors diese Namensvariante vorkommt. Reeve und andere schätzen dieses Rätsel um den Autor der *Chronica* als beinahe unlösbar ein. Außer der oben zusammengefaßten Erklärung, die sich hauptsächlich auf Natunewicz Feststellungen stützt, könnten wir noch zur Lösung des Rätsels beitragen, daß Freculphus in seinem Text, wenigstens am Rand, angeführt hat, daß er außer Iordanes auch noch Florus verwendet hat, und er den Namen des letzteren der a-Tradition entsprechend schreibt, d. h. nicht *L. Annaeus Florus*, sondern *Iulius Florus*.

Spätere Kopisten haben wahrscheinlich diese Randnotiz mißverstanden und die *Chronica* dann fälschlicherweise nicht Freculphus, sondern Iulius Florus zugeschrieben. Was immer aber die Lösung sein mag, die *Chronica* des Freculphus gehört auf jeden Fall zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Florus, zusammen mit den Fragen der Textüberlieferung. Freculphus' Florus-Kenntnis ist zwar viel komplizierter als E. GRUNAUER¹² im letzten Jahrhundert und ihm folgend Manitius¹³ angenommen haben, aber das berechtigt einen noch nicht, Florus' Einfluß auf das kulturelle Leben des 9. Jhd.s abzustreiten, ist doch die Überlieferung der Handschriften des Geschichtsschreibers aus dem 2. Jhd. sowohl in Norditalien (B) als auch nördlich der

¹² Vgl. De fontibus „Historiae“ Freculphi, Zürich, 1864

¹³ Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, München, I, 1911, 489–490.

Alpen (N – Lorsch) nachweisbar. Der viel reisende, belesene Freculphus muß jedenfalls irgendwo in Florus hineingelesen haben, er hat vielleicht seine eigene, viel verwendete Iordanes-Fassung selbst durch dessen Manuskript-Varianten ergänzt. All das steht mit M. L. Laistners Feststellung im Einklang, nach der Freculphus mehrere solche *auctores* kennt, die vorher längere Zeit nicht gelesen worden und keinesfalls einem breiteren Kreis bekannt gewesen waren¹⁴.

Unsere Untersuchung hat mit der üblichen Quellen- und Überlieferungsanalyse begonnen. Wenn wir von hier ausgehend mindestens eine teilweise Feststellung und Erklärung der Geschichtskonzeption eines bedeutenden mittelalterlichen Autors erreicht haben, dann ist es mir gelungen, der Arbeitsmethode meines ehemaligen verehrten Meisters, die er so oft selbst erfolgreich angewandt hat, treu zu bleiben.

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¹⁴M. L. W. LAISTNER, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500–900*, rev. ed., p.266: „Freculph's familiarity with Florus, the *Epitoma* of Aurelius Victor and Iordanes is of some interest, since these authors up to that time seem to have been little known in Western Europe.“

DOLORES HEGYI

THE CULT OF SINURI IN CARIA

Not far from the city Milas in Turkey, near the village Kalin Agil, Philipe Le Bas copied some Greek inscriptions in 1847. Little attention had been paid to the site where the inscriptions were found until 1935, when on Louis Robert's initiative, the excavations directed by Pierre Devambez, member of the Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul started on a tepe west from Kalin Agil.¹

The site, situated in a remote mountaneous zone, was about three hours' walk from the ancient Mylasa. "Le sanctuaire de Sinuri est presque également distant de trois villes: au Sud-Ouest Hydisos, au Nord-Est Stratonicee, au Nord-Ouest Mylasa."²

On the surface, the ruins of a Byzantine church could be seen. The excavations revealed some wall remains of an ancient building and a rock-altar. The ceramic evidence was very scanty, and indicated that the building was used from the eighth century B.C. until the end of the first century B.C. The Greek Geometric, Fikellura and Black Figure pottery proved that there was a close link between the Carian cult-place and the inhabitants of the neighbouring Greek settlements already in the Archaic period.

Greek inscriptions were built into the walls of the Byzantine church and those of the neighbouring modern houses some of them bearing the name of the Carian god Sinuri. His name had been found earlier on the inscriptions from the cities, Mylasa and Hyllarima, too. The ancient building, consequently, could be associated with the Carian god, Sinuri.³

The location of the site reminds us to that of those "rural sanctuaries" which "are found more or less at the centre of a regional or local network of settlements".⁴

¹ L. ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa. Première partie. Les inscriptions grecques.* Paris, 1945, 1–3. P. DEVAMBEZ–C. H. E. HASPELS: *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa.* Paris 1959.

² ROBERT, *La sanctuaire* p. 29. Hydisos now Karaç Hisar.

³ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire* p. 8.

⁴ FR. DE POLIGNAC, *Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece.* In: S. E. ALCOCK–R. OSBORNE (ed. by), *Placing the Gods.* Oxford 1994, 1996 5. Df. idem, *La naissance de la cité grecque.* Paris 1984, 31–34 and passim.

The sanctuary was probably established at a place where the local population could meet, exchange goods and offer sacrifices on the altar.

It is surprising that the name of the god is not even mentioned by the Greek authors who were otherwise well informed about Carian cults. Before explaining the reason for this let us have a look at the problems concerning the origin and the history of the sanctuary.

First we have to deal with the origin of the name of Sinuri. The name of Sinuri in the inscriptions is always used in Genitive or Dative form. The form Sinurei is miswritten and shows the influence of itacism.⁵

A. W. Persson linked the name of Sinuri to the name of the Babylonian Moon-god Sin.⁶ Laumonier, accepting the suggestion of Persson, pointed out that the sanctuary could have been established by the Babylonians or Assyrians. He cites the report of Stephanos Byzantios, who says that the old name of Aphrodisias was Ninoe, a variant of the name of the Assyrian city, Ninive.⁷

Laumonier could not explain the second element of the name of Sinuri. The origins of this element should be sought in one of the Anatolian languages. In the Hittite language the word "uri" means "great" and is used in Archaic Hittite compositions as "tuppalanuri" "grand des scribes", too.⁸

I believe that the name of Sinuri contains the epithet "great", which might be suitable to a god. Whatever the origin of the first element of the name Sinuri is, this form of the name probably developed in the Late Bronze Age or earlier, in an Anatolian dialect. Sinuri, accordingly, was an Anatolian god.

Concerning the function and the history of the cult-place our main sources are the Greek inscriptions found in this territory. The Greek inscriptions use the Macedonian Calendar, so they originate from the Hellenistic period; most of them date from the second century B.C.⁹ The fact that the eponymos magistrate on the Greek inscriptions is the stephanephoros of Mylasa shows that there was some link between the city and the sanctuary of Sinuri.

One of the Greek inscriptions, however, is dated from the seventh year of a certain Pleistarchos.¹⁰ In this period, we know of only one Pleistarchos, the brother of Kassandros who was the governor of Cilicia between 301 and 299 B.C.¹¹ The identification is problematical because in these years Caria was not controlled by the governor of Cilicia, but by the king Lysimachos.

Stephanos Byzantios¹² informs us that, later on, Pleistarchos received Heracleia in the northeastern part of the Gulf of Latmos and Heracleia was named Pleis-

⁵ A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*. Paris 1958, 459.

⁶ A. W. PERSSON, *Inscriptions de Carie*. BCH 1922, 399-400.

⁷ Stephanos Byzantios s.v. Aphrodisias. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes* 459. V. SHEVOROSHKIN (On Carian. RHA XXII, 1964, 33.) thinks that the name Sinuri means "belonging to *Sinura", but we do not know such a place-name in Anatolia.

⁸ E. LAROCHE, *Études de linguistique anatolienne I*. RHA XXIII, 1965, 37-40.

⁹ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire* p. 8.

¹⁰ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire*, no. 44. cf. p. 54-57.

¹¹ Plut. Demetrios 31; Paus. I, 15, 1.

¹² s.v. Pleistarcheia.

tarcheia (now Kapikerren) after him. Although none of our written sources support this information, the archaeological finds from Heracleia at Latmus confirm it. The remains of a fortress with towers built between 300 and 287 B.C. came to light at Heracleia.¹³

This building activity can most likely be linked to an ambitious dynastes. I think that this dynastes can be identified with Pleistarchos mentioned by Stephanos Byzantios and with the former governor of Cilicia. The Pleistarchos-inscription, as we will see later, marks a chronological break between two periods in the history of the sanctuary of Sinuri.

The inscriptions discontinue in the second half of the first century B.C. The events behind this break are well documented.

After being sent by Brutus and Cassius as a delegate to the Parthian king Orodes, Labienus remained in Parthia after the battle at Philippi and took part in the campaign of Pakoros against Syria and Asia Minor. It was Labienus, who in 40 B.C. attacked Mylasa with Roman and Parthian troops and devastated the city. The leader of the resistance of the Mylasians, Hybreas, the rhetor, first escaped to Rhodos, but later "he came back and rehabilitated both himself and the city".¹⁴ As shown by the coins of Mylasa, Hybreas later became the pontifex of Dea Roma and Augustus by the name Gaius Julius Hybreas.¹⁵ The sanctuary of Sinuri must have been destroyed during these events. Later a Christian basilica was built on the ruins of the Carian sanctuary.

The organization of the sanctuary is known from several inscriptions found in it. The cult-place was administered by a syngeneia (a social group similar to the Athenian phratry). In the middle of the fourth century B.C. when this territory was controlled by the Carian satraps, this was the syngeneia of Pelekos, and later, from the first third of the third century B.C. by the syngeneia of Pormunos.¹⁶

It is obvious that something happened in the history of the sanctuary around 300 B.C. The dynasteia of Pleistarchos fits into the chronological break between the activity of the two syngeneia, in the first decades of the third century B.C. The epigraphic material of some cities in southwestern Asia Minor suggests that this territory belonged to the Lagids already at the beginning of the rule of Ptolemaios II (282–246 B.C.).¹⁷ The appearance of a new syngenia in the sanctuary of Sinuri can be associated with the expansion of Hellenistic Egypt in Caria.

According to Laumonier the fact that there was no close link between the cult of Sinuri and one of the Carian syngeneiai suggests that the cult of Sinuri was originally not a Carian cult, but an imported one.¹⁸

¹³ D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. Princeton 1950, II. 882 and passim.

¹⁴ Strabon 14,2,24 C 660. Velleus 2,78.

¹⁵ A. AKARÇA, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa*. Paris 1959, 28 n. 2. L. ROBERT, *Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias. L'antiquité classique* 35, 1966, 2^{me} fasc. 419–420.

¹⁶ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire* no. 73.

¹⁷ G. HÖLBL, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*. Darmstadt 1994, 35, 287 n. 10.

¹⁸ LAUMONIER, *Les cultes* 183.

The syngeneia was open; everybody rendering the sanctuary a service could be admitted to the syngeneia.¹⁹ It is not clear whether all the magistrates of the sanctuary belonged to the syngeneia or not. Only in the case of the four ergodotai, responsible for the building in progress, are we informed by the inscriptions of the sanctuary of Sinuri that they were members of the syngeneia.²⁰

Neither is it clear whether the ktematones managing the purchasing of lands, the ekdikos taking legal proceedings and the board of the seven tamias performing the economic administration of the sanctuary belonged to the syngeneia or not.²¹ It would be strange if they did not. If they did, why does our document emphasize only in the case of the ergodotai that they are members of the syngeneia?

Little is known about how the priests of the sanctuary were elected. We have an inscription with a list of priests (hiereis) as follows:

Pellekos, Thyssos, Hyssollos, Arteimes, (P)el(leko)s, ?, Menippos, Iatrokles, Hiereus, Iatrokles, (Men)ippos, (Hier)onymos, Menippos, Aristetas, Demetrios, Menippos ... *vacat*.²²

Fifteen names can be read on the inscription. There are five Carian names at the beginning of the text, followed by ten Greek names. L. Robert suggested that this was a priestly clan whose members held their offices for life. He thinks that the office sometimes was not inherited by a son, but by a brother, as it happened in some Greek sanctuaries. Since the Sinuri-priests Pixodaros, Hybreas and Thargelios mentioned on the inscriptions of the city Mylasa held their offices from the last third of the second century B.C. and it is unlikely that there had been another sanctuary of Sinuri in Mylasa. Robert ascribes this priest-list to the second half of the second century B.C. Robert has suggested that this priest-clan might have died out at this time and this inscription perhaps records this event. Consequently, the first hiereus must have been elected in the fourth century B.C.²³

This explanation raises some questions. If there was a priest-clan, why is the patrymonikon missing? What is the link between the two syngeneiai and the hiereis? Why are the Carian names followed by Greek names?

As regards the election of the hiereis, Strabon says that in the sanctuary of Zeus Labrandeus belonging to Mylasa "The priestly offices are held by the most distinguished of the citizens, always for life".²⁴

I do not believe that the procedure for electing the priests in the two sanctuaries, both administered by the Mylasians, differed much from each other. The procedure, mentioned by Strabon, can explain the absence of the patronymikon in the priest-list and the appearance of the Greek names at the beginning of the Helle-

¹⁹ ROBERT, Le sanctuaire no 44.

²⁰ ROBERT, Le sanctuaire no. 9.

²¹ ROBERT, Le sanctuaire no. 2.

²² ROBERT, Le sanctuaire no. 5.

²³ ROBERT, Le sanctuaire p. 13 and 25.

²⁴ Strabon 14,2,23 C 660. Transl. by H. L. JONES (Loeb).

nistic period.²⁵ Still, the reason for the compilation of the priest-list remains uncertain.

The cult itself is not well described in the inscriptions which are mostly concerned with economic affairs. The main sacrifice, the *buthysia* was offered to Sinuri in the month *Loios* of the Macedonian Calender, i.e. around July. Each member of the *syngeneia* received a portion from the meat of the sacrificial animal, "not less, than a mina".²⁶

In the sanctuary of Sinuri, other gods like the *Theoi Soteres* and the "*Progonikoi Theoi*" were worshipped, too. Laumonier suggested that the "*Progonikoi Theoi*" were the old, local gods, worshipped there before the introduction of the cult of Sinuri.²⁷

The sanctuary had an intensive economic activity, too. The income belonged "to the god and the Community". The land belonging to the god was leased to tenants obliged to pay 200 drachma and certain quantity of oil a every year.²⁸ If a tenant was incapable of paying, the lease was taken over by a new man (*anamisthosis*). In the last third of the third century the sanctuary apparently had economic difficulties. The sanctuary of Sinuri seems to have been forced to sell a part of its land. Namely, *Olympichos*, the Carian dynastes, *strategos* of *Philippos V* made a dedication of lands to *Zeus Osogo*, among others a sacred (*hieros*) land originally belonging to Sinuri, which he had bought from queen *Laodice*.²⁹

The economic situation of the sanctuary was again consolidated in the second century B.C. The *ktematonai* bought new lands with fig trees, vines, oil trees and other trees.³⁰ In the contracts of sale, a village, *Hiera Kome* is mentioned, perhaps the old name of *Kalin Agil*. The remains of a small *akropolis*, probably those of *Hiera Kome*, can be seen to the north of the sanctuary.³¹

The sanctuary possessed several farms (*aulai*), "towers" (*pyrgoi*) and an oil-press (*elaistérion*).³²

The epigraphic material from the sanctuary of Sinuri shows that the cult-place enjoyed a high reputation in the Hellenistic period. Although the sanctuary had some economic problems in the third century B.C. it recovered by the second century B.C. The reason for this might have been the Peace of *Apameia* (188 B.C.) when *Caria* was given to *Rhodos* by the Romans and *Mylasa* retained the status of a city free from taxes.³³

²⁵ Concerning the hellenization of Caria see Strabon 14,2,28 C 662.

²⁶ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire* no. 11., 25., 29.

²⁷ ROBERT no. 8. *Theoi Soteres* may be the *Dioskuroi* or the *Kabeiroi*. In the city *Mylasa*, they had their own priests. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes* 459.

²⁸ ROBERT n. 46. and 47.

²⁹ J. CRAMPA, *Labraunda III/1*. The Greek Inscriptions. Lund 1969. no. 8. p. 52–67, 81.

³⁰ ROBERT, *The sanctuary* no. 47a, 47b, 48, 49, 50a, 53, 56, 57.

³¹ ROBERT, *Le sanctuaire* p. 78.

³² ROBERT, no. 50b. Concerning the meaning of the *pyrgoi* see S. ISAGER–J. E. SKYDSGAARD, *Ancient Greek Agriculture*. London 1992, 1995, 68.

³³ Pol. 21,46,4. Liv. 38,39,8. Under the Roman rule *Mylasa* is *oppidum liberum*. Plin. Nat. hist. 5,108.

Did this important sanctuary really escape the attention of the Greeks? Let us review the reports of the Greek authors concerning the cult-places belonging to Mylasa. Herodotos, who does not give the exact location of the sanctuary of Zeus Karios, writes as follows: "The ancient temple of Zeus Karios is at Mylasa, the use of which is shared by Mysians and Lydians as brother races."³⁴

Writing about the precinct of Zeus Stratios at Labraunda, which was a holy grove of plane-trees, he notes that "The Carians are the only people known to us who offer sacrifices to Zeus by this name".³⁵

Strabon provides the most information about the sanctuaries: "The Mylasians have two temples of Zeus Osogo, as he is called, and Zeus Labrandenus. The former is in the city, whereas Labranda is a village far from the city, being situated on the mountain near the pass that leads over from Alabanda to Mylasa. At Labranda there is an ancient shrine and statue of Zeus Stratios. It is honoured by the people all about and by the Mylasians; and there is a paved road of almost sixty stadia from the shrine to Mylasa, called the Sacred Way, on which their sacred processions are conducted. The priestly offices are held by the most distinguished of the citizens, always for life. Now these temples belong peculiarly to the city; but there is a third temple, that is of the Carian Zeus, which is common possession of all Carians, and in which, as brothers, both Lydians and Mysians have a share. It is related that Mylasa was a mere village in ancient times, but that it was the native land and royal residence of the Carians of the house of Hecatomnos. The city is nearest to the sea at Phycus; and this is their seaport."³⁶

Strabon mentions another Carian cult-place, too: "Near the city is the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus, the common possession of all Carians, whether they gather both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common interest. Their League which consists of villages is called Chrysaorion."³⁷

Pausanias records a curious story, namely that in the precinct of the Carian Mylasa Zeus Osogo broke up the wave of the sea, although the sea was at a distance of 80 stadia from the shrine.³⁸ Pausanias knows neither Zeus Karios nor Zeus Labrandeus any more. Aelianus is mistaken in identifying Zeus Karios with Zeus Labrandeus.³⁹

The Carians also had their own cult-place, the Chrysaoreion near Stratonikeia, and another one, the temple of Zeus Karios, shared with Lydians and Mysians.

The location of the sanctuary of Zeus in Labranda, in the suburb of Mylasa and that of the temple of Zeus Osogo at the foot of the Sodra Dag are well known.⁴⁰

³⁴ Her. 1,171.

³⁵ Her. 5,119.

³⁶ Strabon 14.2,23 C 660.

³⁷ Strabon 14.2,25 C 661.

³⁸ Paus. 8,10.4. Zeus Osogo in Mylasa: PH. LE BAS-W. H. WADDINGTON, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure*. Paris 1847-1870. T. III. Les inscriptions no. 400. L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*. Paris 1937. Reprint: Amsterdam 1970, 527. CRAMPA, *Labraunda* III/1. no. 6, 8, and 9.

³⁹ Aelianus 12. 30. Stephanos Byzantios (s.v. Torrhebos) mentions a sanctuary of Zeus Karios at Torrhebos in Lydia on mount Karion. Herodotus records that the relatives of the Athenian Isagoras offered sacrifices to Zeus Karios. Her. V. 66.

⁴⁰ LAUMONIER, *Les cultes* 105.

Only the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Karios is uncertain. J. M. Cook noted that "the position of the temple of Zeus Karios is in fact an enigma of long standing, and attempts to locate it on the ancient site at Milâs have met no success. These difficulties are at once resolved if we place the temple of Zeus Karios on the platform at Peçin".⁴¹

Cook suggests that the akropolis of Mylasa stood on the rock at Peçin in the age of Herodotos and that the massive stepped foundation, excavated here, may be the remains of the old temple.⁴² He also noted that "the abandoning of the old citadel for a more extensive situation in the plain is characteristic of the new hellenizing movement".⁴³

The settlement, accordingly, was abandoned in the fourth century B.C., yet the sanctuary of Zeus Karios was visited by Strabon, who was born in Amasea and moved to Rome from Asia Minor in 44 B.C. Consequently, the problem of the location of the sanctuary has not been solved.

On the one hand, we have an important sanctuary, mentioned by the Greek authors, which we could not localise, and on the other hand there is another one, whose site is known but is not mentioned by our sources. It is interesting that the Greek authors fall silent on Zeus Karios at the same time as the settlement and the sanctuary of Sinuri was falling into ruins.

Were it possible that Sinuri was nothing else than the Carian name of Zeus Karios?

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⁴¹ J. M. COOK, Some sites of the Milesian territorium. *ABSA* 56, 1961, 90–101. Citatum 100. Cf. M.-H. GATES, Archaeology in Turkey. *AJA* 101, 1997, 283.

⁴² COOK fig. 99.

⁴³ COOK 101.

LÁSZLÓ HORVÁTH

THE LOST MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT OF HYPERIDES

“...VEREAR NE POSSIMUS ULLO UNQUAM
TEMPORE VIDERE AUT CONSEQUI”

BRASSICANUS

All that we have of the Hyperidean corpus is preserved on papyri. The medieval tradition is completely missing except for two dubious and very questionable references. Both of them relate to the 16th century and to Hungary. In the present paper I would like to investigate this matter.

Alexander Brassicanus was a 16th century humanist and professor at the university of Vienna; among his works was an edition of Salvianus in 1530.¹ In the introduction he emphasizes the importance of great libraries and their influence on general educational and cultural standards. This is the starting point for him to remember and deplore the loss of the famous library of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary: a magnificent library, in which he had been able to see in 1525 a manuscript of Hyperides:

... et oculata fide vidimus integrum Hyperidem cum locupletissimis scholiis, librum multis etiam censibus redimendum.²

‘... and we have seen with a confidence beyond belief a complete Hyperides with numerous marginal notes, which had to be bought at great expense.’

His account became a commonplace and until recently was regarded as trustworthy.³ However, among modern scholars serious doubts have arisen concerning Brassicanus’ accuracy, not only in this specific case, but also in general.

¹ D. Salviani Massyliensis episcopi De Vero Iudicio et Providentia Dei, ad S. Salonium Episcopum Vienensem Libri VIII, cura Io. Alexandri Brassicani Iureconsulti editi, ac eruditis et cum primis utilibus Scholiis illustrati (Basel, 1530).

² Quoted in this form by MARTIN HOSE, ‘Brassicanus und der Hyperides-Codex der Bibliothek des Matthias Corvinus’ *Prometheus* 16, 1990, 186–8.

³ Cf. CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB JÖCHER, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*. Leipzig 1750, II, 1798, s.v. Hyperides, J. E. SANDYS, *A History of Classical Scholarship*. Cambridge 1908, II, 275.

First Wilson⁴ has questioned the possibility of an extant and complete Hyperidean manuscript. Though theoretically one single codex could contain all his known speeches – according to Wilson’s opinion – it seems very unlikely that there would not be any trace of its existence in Byzantium.

Secondly, it is very odd that Brassicanus speaks about *scholia* since Hyperides was never a school-author whose text would have been enriched by marginal comments to facilitate the work of students.

Moreover, Wilson’s scepticism over Brassicanus’ report is strengthened by the belief that Hyperides was already missing when Photius composed his *Bibliothēke* and that the patriarch’s information does not rely on direct acquaintance with the corpus.⁵

Hose basically agrees with Wilson’s scepticism.⁶ However, he refers to the fact that Didymus composed *Hypomnemata* to Hyperides, which in later, Byzantine times could have been joined to the main text. Nevertheless, he puts forward a splendid hypothesis. The commented copy of ‘Hyperides’ could really be a manuscript of Himerius, whose first declamation begins: Ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους Ὑπερίδου and could easily be identified by a superficial observer as the Hyperidean corpus. Brassicanus had not had enough time for a real look and his claim to have seen all the books – *inspexi libros omnes* – in the library discredits him totally.⁷ On the other hand, as the tradition shows, Himerius manuscripts contain inserted *glossae* which at a certain stage could have entered the margin as *scholia*. Hose admits that the library of Corvinus did not, as far as we know, possess a Himerius codex.

With respect to these judgments I would like to mention only a few points in defense of the discredited Brassicanus, which may not shake a general scepticism, but which may represent the other side of the coin. The weaknesses of some less convincing arguments are indicated by Hose himself. Here I will only focus on the text of Brassicanus’ account.

Generally – we might say – the introduction is intended to be a rhetorical masterpiece in Ciceronian style, with a full arsenal of rhetorical techniques: *anaphora*, *accusativus exclamationis*, etc., and this approach sometimes makes the form take precedence over the content.

1. *Lines 9–18*: Brassicanus was the companion of Wilhelm Eberstein, legate of the Habsburg emperor. While Eberstein was dealing with diplomatic questions – i.e. during the hours of the actual audience at the palace of the king, Lajos – the court in the name of Queen Mária proposed for his associate a suitable programme, a visit to the Corvinus library.

2. *Lines 19–31*: the narrative underlines the impression that Brassicanus was guided by someone, presumably a librarian, who did not miss the opportunity to explain to him the sources of the Greek manuscripts (the fall of Constantinople and its

⁴ NIGEL WILSON, ‘Some Lost Greek Authors II’ GRBS 16, 1975, 100.

⁵ N. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*. London 1983, 95.

⁶ See n. 3.

⁷ “Brassicanus hat, so berichtet er jedenfalls, *alle* Bücher der Bibliothek eingesehen” (187).

consequences), the king's enormous financial efforts, and the interesting detail that Matthias had hired four scribes in Florence to supply him with copies.

3. *Lines 32–39*: in the same spirit Brassicanus begins to enumerate some rare specimens. First in the sequence is Hyperides! It is very remarkable that he refers to the entries of his note-book. The citation of this *syllabus* speaks against an offhand, negligent observation.

4. *Lines 37–38*: Brassicanus goes on: 'Not to mention poets, orators, philosophers and historians whose countless works it would have been possible to look at here <for me>⁸'. This formulation (*inspicere*) makes it clear that in line 19 *inspexi libros omnes* is not a phrase with very precise content. Moreover, *Vidimus* (32–38) – which is mainly used in referring to specific works, among them Hyperides – seems to represent a different, more serious activity and cannot be interpreted in the same vague way as the verb *inspicere*.⁹ If so, the argument for a superficial observer falls.

5. Moreover, with the expression *oculata fide vidimus* Brassicanus on the one hand reveals his own initial scepticism; on the other hand in doing so, he provides his account with more credibility. We have seen it with our own eyes – with the meaning of 'Though I was surprised, I am certainly aware of what I am saying and I was not misled'.¹⁰

Finally, he knows that it was a rarity, a fortune to acquire! All this in my opinion points to a situation where a manuscript was presented to him as the manuscript of Hyperides, rather than that he picked it off the shelves or from the catalogue. The librarians were quite clear about Hyperides' authorship, and they were proud of having a manuscript.

If this is correct, there are still two possibilities:

a, It was in reality a manuscript of Hyperides, which was bought at great expense and became an item which had to be shown to visitors.

b, The librarian(s) did not realise that the manuscript in question was that of another little known author, namely Himerius.

In both cases, however, Brassicanus has to be acquitted – to a certain extent – of the charge of amateur enthusiasm and inaccuracy.¹¹ But Brassicanus' integrity is a marginal question by comparison with the alleged survival of Hyperides in the Renaissance. It is much more important that another reference occurs in the 16th century to some Hyperidean fragments and that they come from the same area, namely the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁸ If I am right and in Brassicanus the meaning is not equivalent with *immensam vim inspicere licuisset*, which would rather formally correspond to rules of classical Latin grammar to give a meaning of "would have been possible <for you/everybody> to have a look".

⁹ Brassicanus was invited/permitted to look at the library *inspiciendae ...Bibliothecae* (17–18).

¹⁰ Cf. *Inst. Iust.* 3,6,9 *magis veritas oculata fide quam per aures animis infigitur*, in Greek τῇ ἐν ὄψει πίστει, TLL s.v. *oculatus* 2.b.

¹¹ Brassicanus could have a certain financial interest to exaggerate the magnificence of the Corvin library. At the time of writing his introduction he possessed some Corvinian codices, which he possibly wanted to sell (Prof. I. KAPITÁNYFY'S kind suggestion).

In 1545 Konrad Gesner published his *Bibliotheca Universalis*, an enormous undertaking, in which he tried to present all the Greek, Latin and Hebrew works ever written, printed or not, from the beginnings until his own time, – a massive single volume which was intended to become a useful reference work not merely for newly established libraries but also for private individuals.¹² His work is the first representative of a new genre, the Bibliography, which was naturally born some hundred years after Gutenberg.

In accordance with Gesner's editorial intention, there figure some famous 'shadow' authors, whose works were not extant any more. Among them Hyperides is prominent. Gesner's article follows the traditional presentation of information, in the manner of the Suda, while using old accessible ancient sources.¹³

In 1555 Gesner added a further 2000 entries to the 3000 names of the first edition. This supplementary volume is the *Appendix*.¹⁴ The text of the Hyperides article is unchanged except for a new reference to Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes.

Later, to improve the material and increase the number of authors, Josias Simler prepared a new edition under the title *Epitome*. The second edition of this work was published in 1574.¹⁵ Later Johann Jakob Fries took over the task and published the most elaborate version of the *Bibliotheca-Epitome*, which was three times larger than Gesner's initial work (1583).

In Simler's edition (1574 and 1583) under the mainly unchanged Hyperides article there is a remarkable addition:

Hyperidis fragmenta quaedam orationum extant apud Paulum Bornemiza episcopum in Hungaria.¹⁶

'There exist some fragments of Hyperides at the Bishop Paul Bornemiza in Hungary.'

¹² KONRAD GESNER, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Appendix*, mit Nachwort von PROF. DR. HANS WIDMAN, repr. Osnabrück 1966.

¹³ In the article lines 1–5 derive their origin from the Suda, lines 8–9 refer to Libanius' *Hypothesis* to Demosthenes 18; in lines 10–11 the reference to Athenaeus is not quite clear, since the *Deiophonistai* mentions many other works also; and finally the last reference evidently is to Stobaeus' *Florilegium*.

¹⁴ Cf. WIDMAN, (GESNER) V.

¹⁵ This edition was inaccessible to me.

¹⁶ This information was for a long time completely unnoticed. CHURCHILL BABINGTON was the first to realise its existence and importance. 'Fragments of Hyperides existing in Hungary in the XVth century' *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* 1, 1854, 408: "Now I should be greatly obliged to any one who can give me such information about this Bornemiza as may help to lead me to discover what has become of his library: for there seems to be a reasonable hope of recovering these fragments, if some little pains be taken to investigate the matter." Later H. HAGER, *Quaestionum Hyperidearum capita duo* Diss. Lipsiae 1870, 1, n. 3, had tried to identify the bishop with some success, namely he mentions the right Bornemissza and his previous place, Gyulafehérvár: "Episcopum huius nominis commemorat Fr. Forgachius de Ghymes, rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis commentator Poson. et Cassov. 1788, p. 138 Paulus Bornemissza episcopus Albae Iuliae. Alba Transilvaniae, quae fertur Iulia esse nominata a Iulia Domina, Severi conjuge, M. Aurelii Antonini Caracallae matre, etiam hoc tempore episcopatus est Weissenbergis. Carlsburg nominata cf. FR. H. TH. BISCHOFFI et J. H. MOELLERI onomast. compar. geograph. veteris mediae novae aet., Goth. 1829 Floruit hic Paulus Bornemissza, quum Solymannus bellum gereret cum Hungaris."

There are three questions to be raised:

1. As Churchill Babington has already asked, who was Bornemiza or rather Pál Bornemissza and what can we know about his library?
2. How did Simler acquire his information about these fragments?
3. Could any connection be traced between the Corvinus 'Hyperides' and these fragments? How should we interpret *fragmenta*, and where are they?

1. There were different branches of the noble family Bornemissza in 15th and 16th century Hungary. The first known personality is János Berzencei Bornemissza, treasurer of Matthias Corvinus, later captain of Buda and tutor of Lajos II, King of Hungary.

However, there is no evidence for any connection between this Bornemissza and our bishop Pál Abstemius Bornemissza (1499–1579).¹⁷ Like his namesake, he did not have a noble origin, but was *ex infima plebe natus* and being a consistent partisan of the Habsburg emperors, he was nominated bishop of Veszprém by Ferdinand I in 1548.¹⁸ The advance of the Turks, however, forced him to leave this place and in 1553 he became bishop of Transylvania. But after about three years he had to evacuate Gyulafehérvár, giving way to the adherents of the Hungarian king. In 1557 he was compensated with the diocese of Nyitra (Northern Hungary, now Nitra, Slovakia), where he lived until his death in 1579.

Pál Bornemissza was not only a conscientious cleric in handling the affairs of his diocese, but also a literate man, who possessed a great library.¹⁹ In his testament, which is dated 2 September 1577 he left this library to the church in Nyitra:

Bibliothecam magnam librorum veterum et grovissimorum (sic!) authorum, maiori ex parte Viennae per me a Georgio Syller bibliopola emptam Ecclesiae Catholicae Nitriensi in perpetuam hereditatem lego.²⁰

'A great library of old and important authors, which I have bought mainly in Vienna from the bookseller George Syller I bequeath to the Catholic Church in Nyitra as eternal possession.'

The most famous specimen of this collection is a Missal with the bishop's manuscript note of ownership. It had been published in Venice in 1480 and still lies in the safe of the catholic seminar in Nyitra.

2. In the *Epistula Nuncupatoria* of the *Bibliotheca* Simler,²¹ in arguing for the importance of his work, stresses his aim to incorporate information about manu-

¹⁷ IVÁN NAGY, Magyarország Családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal. Pest 1857, 179.

¹⁸ JÁNOS VICZIÁN, Bornemissza Pál. Magyar Katolikus Lexikon. Budapest 1993, I, 937.

¹⁹ ISTVÁN CSERENYEI, Nyitra püspökei. Religio 69, 1910, no. 20, 311; SÁNDOR TAKÁTS, (Abstemius) Bornemissza Pál püspök végrendelete. Archeológiai Értesítő 22, 1902, 202. As an example of his own editorial activity we can mention *Statuta synodalia ecclesiae Nitriensis anni 1494*, which was published in Vienna in 1560: cf. JÓZSEF SZINNYEI, Magyar Írók élete és munkái. Budapest 1891, s.v.

²⁰ Cf. TAKÁTS, 207.

²¹ JOS. SIMLER, JOH. FRIES, Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero: Deinde in Epitomen redacta et novorum librorum accessione locupletata. Zürich 1583.

scripts of once printed and later neglected authors. In the age of printing the idea of great libraries, where rare books can be found, retained all its importance, since publishers have mainly financial concerns and focus only on profitable editions. On the other hand it is very important to inform potential publishers about famous authors' manuscripts and in a way to advertise where they are available. This is the editorial background which explains why a new entry appeared with the location of some Hyperidean fragments

Simler and Fries in the second *Epistula* inform the reader that very important additions in the new edition are due to the help of some people who had shared their knowledge with the editors in order to enhance the 'bibliography'.

Postremo complures viri docti alii quidem Gesnero nostro, alii etiam nobis ipsis, partim ad prioris, partim ad huius secundae editionis auctarium, transmiserunt catalogos scriptorum variorum quorum in Bibliotheca nulla mentio facta fuerat, inter quos honoris causa merito a nobis nominandi sunt clarissimi et doctissimi viri, Georgius Fabricius Kemnicensis, Gilbertus Cognatus Nazerenus, Conradus Lycosthenes, Guilielmus Postellus, deinde Ioannes Sambucus, Ioannes Balaeus Anglus, Matthaeus Dresserus, Gasparus Vuolfius, a quibus non parum in hac postrema editione adiuti sumus. Etenim CL.V. Ioannes Sambucus cum propriorum lucubrationum catalogum Gesnero nostro transmittit, tum etiam indicem veterum auctorum, quos plurimos atque optimos in bibliotheca sua possidet, atque complures iam in publicum edidit.

'And finally there are many learned men, who have sent catalogues of different writers, who were not mentioned in the *Bibliotheca*. Some of them sent their contribution to our colleague Gesner, some to us, to enlarge either the first or this second edition. With due reverence we have to name the most and illustrious: Georgius Fabricius Kemnicensis, Gilbertus Cognatus Nazerenus, Conradus Lycosthenes, Guilielmus Postellus, and Ioannes Sambucus, Ioannes Balaeus Anglus, Matthaeus Dresserus, Gasparus Vuolfius, who gave us much help in making this last edition. The illustrious Ioannes Sambucus had not only sent to our colleague Gesner the catalogue of the results of his own laborious work, but also provided an index of early authors, whom he has in his own library in great numbers and which are of the first rank. The index contains also numerous books which have already been published by him.'

Obviously one of the most remarkable – not to say the most important – contributors is the humanist Ioannes Sambucus, or, in his mother tongue, János Zsámboky.

Zsámboky, as an excellent humanist of his age (born in 1531 in Nagyszombat, Northern Hungary), had visited the most famous universities and finally became the court historian and doctor of the Habsburg emperor in Vienna. Being a bibliophile he spent a fortune on buying books and manuscripts throughout his life and established a magnificent library, where Simler visited him once.²² Zsámboky was a real book-

²² PÁL GULYÁS, Zsámboky János könyvtára. Budapest 1941, 24.

hunter, who often made excursions in Italy during his studies to buy rare manuscripts, which he later in his life lent to different people just to promote publishing. He had very similar ideas in this respect to those of Simler. There is no information that he had personally discovered the treasures of Bornemissza's library, but he had good connections with one of the bishop's closest friends, Zakariás Mossóczy.

Zakariás Mossóczy, who, after the death of Bornemissza, was nominated bishop in his place, in his predecessor's lifetime was his faithful helper. Bornemissza left to his secretary in his testament a silver cup and some other things, and in return Zakariás erected a memorial in the St. Emrák Cathedral in Nyitra:

posuit decessori suo Zacharias Mossochius successor²³

'Zacharias Mossochius, the successor erected for his predecessor'

At the end of his life Mossóczy had a very impressive library containing more than 900 volumes. As a jurist, he realised the need of a *Corpus Iuris* of Hungarian laws and therefore started to collect them from the beginnings down to his own time. This is a moment when a concrete connection with Zsámboky is attested. The preface to the appendix in Zsámboky's edition of Bonfini tells us that it was Mossóczy who collected the *decreta* to clarify the background of the events in the history:

... inprimis erudito antistiti Vaciensi, Zachariae Mossovio, consiliario Caesaris, auctori at cohortatori acceptum feras, cuius monitis ac subsiduo huius argumenti reliqua brevi separatim, suoque loco prodibunt. Viennae, Kalendas Decembris 1580.²⁴

'... be especially grateful to the erudite Zacharias Mossovius, diocesan of Vác, counsellor of the emperor, who initiated and encouraged this work. Thanks to his instigation and help, the rest of this augmentation is soon going to be published in a separate, unattached volume. Vienna, first of December 1580.'

Moreover, in the catalogue of the new bishop's library both in number 543 and 799 Gesner's *Bibliotheca* is indicated, which means that Zakariás definitely had two copies. It is also possible that one of them was the second edition, with the recent addition about the Hyperidean fragments.

3. As mentioned above, there is no trace of a connection between the different branches of the Bornemisszas, though it would be tempting to suppose that the first known Bornemissza, treasurer of Matthias and captain of Buda played a role in the story of the Hyperides manuscript. What remains is mere hypothesis. After the sack of Buda by the Turks many Greek manuscripts found their way to Vienna and sometimes to Hungarian noble families.²⁵ But if this had happened the word *fragmenta* would mean that only a part of the complete codex reached the bishop's library. It

²³ BÉLA IVÁNYI, Mossóczy Zakariás és a Magyar Corpus Iuris keletkezése. Budapest 1926, 36.

²⁴ Cf. IVÁNYI, 62, n. 103.

²⁵ LAJOS THALLÓCZY, Egy XVII. századbeli adat Corvin-codexekről. Magyar Könyvszemle 1877, 352. In a letter dated 26 Sept. 1637 György Hadritius describes the possessions of the family Révay, where he mentions books which were taken by the ancestors of the family from the library in Buda.

would, however, have had to have the author's name, otherwise it would have been unidentified.

In any case such men as Bornemissza, Zsámboky or Mossóczy cannot be discredited in the same way as Brassicanus with regard to his account. Some Hyperidean fragments were certainly available in Nyitra. Another possibility is to suppose that they were part of a Greek rhetorical manual in a similar form to that in which they are extant in Walz's monumental edition *Rhetores Graeci*. Examples are introduced with their author's name in a relatively fragmentary form, since the complete speech is not quoted. Mossóczy possessed some *Rhetorica Graeca* under the numbers 512, 513.²⁶ Such manuals, however, were known not only in Hungary, and this fact would not explain why one should mention specifically Bornemissza's library.

In the 17th century Nyitra was besieged three times. Each time the archive was brought to safety, but the library suffered serious damage.²⁷ Many books vanished and were stolen. The library in its present form was founded by Ágoston Roskoványi, bishop of Nyitra in 1879 on the basis of the old, remaining stock and the bishop's private library. It was opened to the public in 1884 in a splendid hall of the old seminar building at enormous expense.²⁸ In the catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books composed by Vágner, the first director, the editor clearly indicates that there are no codices or manuscripts on parchment in the possession of the library.²⁹ Nevertheless, in the spring of 1993 I visited the library, which – since 1920 when Nyitra with the rest of Northern Hungary was awarded to Czechoslovakia – has slept its sleeping beauty dream. The interior, the colours look exactly as they were described one hundred years ago on the eve of opening. The majority of the books are rarely used, but keep their old, well-defined place on the shelves. With the kind permission of the librarian it was possible to have a look at the manuscripts and after Brassicanus I might say *inspexi libros omnes* – however, less successfully. Only in the case of parchment bound manuscripts (17–18th centuries) would there have been a tiny chance to find something important and therefore the focus of my interest was on these 'secondhand' codex pages. Though among them there were not any Hyperides fragments, certainly I could repeat Brassicanus' laments *Quis talia fando Temperet a lachrymis ...*

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²⁶ Cf. IVÁNYI'S appendix.

²⁷ JÓZSEF VÁGNER, A Nyitrai egyházmegyei könyvtár kéziratái és régi nyomtatványai. Nyitra 1886, IV.

²⁸ Magyar Minerva, A Magyarországi Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Címkönyve. I. Budapest 1900, 260–261; ADOLF DEZSŐ, Adatok a Nyitrai Egyházmegyei Könyvtárról. Magyar Könyvszemle 1886, 128–36.

²⁹ VÁGNER, I, n. 1.

BRASSICANUS' INTRODUCTION IN HIS EDITION OF SALVIANUS

Nam Asinius Pollio primus Romae Bibliothecam in Herculis fano dedicavit. Hanc laudem patrum nostrorum memoria, si non superavit, aequavit tamen inclytus ille ac nunquam satis laudatus Pannoniae rex Mathias, qui Bibliothecam suam ex omni scriptorum genere confertissimam instruxerat, in amoenissimo etiam templo consecravat. Haec mihi Bibliotheca manum hic injicit, oratque supplex, ut tibi quae iam nihil nisi vanum nomen obtinuit, pristinam illam dignitatem atque celebritatem suam, qua nulli concedebat exponam. Quamobrem optime princeps, id quod magnopere ad te pertinet, libenter haec ad te scripta leges: atque hanc meam expromptam in te colendo ac observando voluntatem, aequi bonique facies.

Superioribus annis cum *Vuilielmus ex Eberstein*, Caesarus legatus me sibi comitem adiunxisset, ut una secum ad innocentissimum illum Pannoniae ac Boemiae regem Ludovicum, proxima impressione Turcica miserrime sublatum accederem, hoc ego patrocinio ac benignitate magnorum hominum illi de meliore nota commendatus, libenter et ex animo feci, ac nulla certe maiore quam cognoscendae adhuc minime vastatae Pannoniae, ac ornandae Reipublicae literariae causa feci.

Recta Vienna Budam, quae regni caput, atque adeo Pannoniae regum definita ac summa sedes est, descendimus, regnum hoc adhuc sartum tectum vidimus: legatus ibi negotiorum suorum rationem summa cura habuit: mihi vero, ne succisivis horis plane nihil agerem, inspicendae isthic Bibliothecae beneficio serenissimae ac inculpatissimae reginae Mariae potestas facta est.

Quid multis? Inspexi libros omnes. Sed quid libros dico, quot libros tot etiam thesauros isthic inspexi, Dii immortales, quam iucundum hoc spectaculum fuisse quis credat? Tunc certe non in Bibliotheca, sed in Iovis gremio, quod aiunt, mihi esse videbar. Tantum erat hic antiquorum, Graecorum simul et Hebraicorum voluminum, quae Mathias ille rex, capta iam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis aliis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inaeestimandis sumptibus coemerat, ac tanquam mancipia ex barbarorum catastis atque compedibus receperat. Tantum erat hic latinorum librorum, et veterum et recentiorum, procul tamen ablegatis omnibus sophisticis, ut nusquam alibi, quod ego quidem sciam. Siquidem Mathias rex (quem recte librorum helluonem appellaveris) quatuor insignes librarios Florentiae magnis impendiis alebat, quorum is unus et unicus labor erat, ut omnes melioris notae autores et Graecos et Latinos, quos commodum ex Graecia habere non poterat, exscriberent. Nam ipsa typographice, ut exigua sunt omnium rerum principia, nondum tam late patebat: nec tam alte radices egerat, ut ardentissimis illis et vere regis votis regis omnium excellentissimi satisfacere posset.

Vidimus isthic (id quod ex syllabo nostro recensere possumus) et oculata fide vidimus integrum Hyperidem cum locupletissimis scholiis, librum multis etiam censibus redimendum. Vidimus grandem librum apostolicorum canonum, opus incomparabile. Vidimus Theodoretum Cyrensem in Psalterium integrum. Vidimus Chrysosthomi, Athanasii, Cyrilli, Nazianzeni, Basilii magni, Georgii Nysseni, Theophanis, Dorothei infinita opera. Vidimus Marcum monachum, cognomento Anachoritam. Obmitto Poetas, Oratores, Philosophos, atque Historicos, quorum hic immensam vim inspicere licuisset. Vidimus autores Graecos innumerabiles, infinitaque in Poetas fere omnes commentaria nemini doctorum, aut paucis omnino antea visa. Sed quod Cicero de coniuratis dixit, vixerunt, quos iam sublato esse significare voluit. Ita recte diximus nos vidisse, quippe quae verear ne possimus ullo unquam tempore videre aut consequi. O Turcorum immanitatem, o barbarorum efferatam insaniam, o bonorum studiorum panoleqr...an. Adeo cum universa Pannonia (quae cum adhuc esset inoffensa, poterat omnibus bonarum rerum dotibus nullum non quantumvis celebre regnum in contentionem provocare) miseris etiam modis haec vere aurea Bibliotheca periit, interiit, ita ut quoties illius mihi in mentem venit (venit autem saepissime) toties etiam Vergilianum hoc occurrat, Quis talia fando Temperet a lachrymis ...

ÉVA JEREMIÁS

PAHLAVĪ, PĀRSĪ AND DARĪ IN PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

I. It is always interesting to know what people think about the languages of their ancestors. The supposedly oldest available sources about the languages used in Iran in the late and post-Sasanian era (7th and 8th century), *pahlavī*, *pārsī* and *darī*, were written in Arabic in the first centuries of the Islamic period. As these sources are often quite enigmatic, contradictory and inconsistent, both in themselves and if contrasted with other sources, they call for an interpretation.

The main difficulty in providing an interpretation of this kind is that a modern rational approach and classification system is often imposed on the data drawn from a variety of sources which often offer only fragmentary and imprecise information. In our case, the available data – the denominations of different languages – cannot be regarded as the well-defined terms of a consistent system, but rather as a by-product of the ages in which they were invented and used. Therefore, we can hardly over-estimate the results presented by G. Lazard from his analysis of a wide range of sources written in different languages and ages, from the 3rd century until the time of the Classical Persian poet, Jāmī (15th century) in order to interpret these three terms, *pahlavī*, *pārsī* and *darī* (1971, 1972, 1990, 1994).

II. Before giving a short summary of Lazard's interpretation, let me quote one of the most famous passages on this topic to give an idea of the difficulties involved. Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757), the great translator of the post-Sasanian and early Islamic periods, who rendered a great many Pahlavi texts in Arabic which had been lost, but were partly preserved in subsequent sources. His description is preserved in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (987) and contains the following information on the languages of Iran:

“The *pārsī* language (*luḡhat al-fārisiyya*) comprises *pahlavī*, *darī*, *pārsī*, *khūzī* and *suryānī*.” Let me quote three of his descriptions of the languages: “*pahlavī* is the language of the Fahlah country, which includes five regions, Iṣfahān, Ray, Hamadān, Māh Nihāvand and Azerbaidjān [ancient Media, the *Jibāl* of the Muslims]; *darī* is the language

of the cities of Madā'en [Ctesiphon]; it is spoken by those who are at the king's court. [Its name] is connected with presence at court. Among the languages of the people of Khorasan and the east, the language of the people of Balk is predominant; *pārsī* was the language spoken by the *mowbeds* (priests), scholars, and the like, it is the language of the people of Fārs."¹

This description clearly illustrates that the available sources, with their heterogeneous data, strongly resist a clear analysis of the linguistic situation in the early Islamic period. How should we reconcile, for instance, the information that *pārsī* was the language of the "mowbeds" and the spoken language of *Fārs*, with the well-known fact that the learning *pārsī* texts involved enormous difficulties. This in itself makes it highly unlikely that the label *pārsī* referred to one and the same dialect and/or register. The third language Ibn Muqaffa' talks about, *dārī*, was the language of Ctesiphon and the eastern part of Iran, Khurāsān. If these statements can be taken at face value, they imply that these languages or dialects must have had two or more of what we call registers or stylistic/social variants.

Moreover, the early Classical Persian literary texts from roughly the same period offer abundant information on the languages used in Iran, which significantly alters the above picture.

In his interpretation of these denominations, Lazard consulted a series of sources from the 10th and 11th centuries, written by both Arabic and Persian authors, the famous historians, geographers and encyclopedists, as well as Persian literary texts, primarily the one by Firdausi. However, he not only interpreted the denominations of these languages in their own contexts, but also made attempts to interpret their usage and reference, contrasting them with other languages or dialects used in the same period.

In the following I shall briefly summarize his conclusions. The details of his interpretations of *pahlavī*, *pārsī* and *dārī* can be found in his works (1971: 374–375):

References: *Asadi 1986. *Lughat-i furs*. Ed. 'A. A. SADIQI. Tih-rān: BQ 1962. Muhammad Husayn Tabrizi. *Burhān-i Qāṭi*. Ed. MUHAMMAD MU'IN. Tih-rān: Firdausi 1989. *Šāhnāme*. Ed. JALĀL KHĀLIQI MUṬLAQ. Vol. I. Tih-rān: FJ 1972. Jamāl ad-dīn Husayn Injū. *Farhang-i Jahāngiri*. Ed. RAHIM 'AFIFI. Mašhad: FR 1958. 'Abd al-Rašid al-Tattavi. *Farhang-i Rašidi*. Ed. MUHAMMAD 'ABBĀSĪ. Tih-rān; Hānsavi 1872. 'Abd al-Vāsi' Hānsavi. *Risāla*. Kampur (lithograph); Iravāni 1846. 'Abd al-Karim Iravāni. *Qavā'id-i fārsiyyat*. Tabriz (lithograph); Šams-i Qays 1909. *al-Mu'jam fi ma'āyir aš'ār al-'ajam*. Ed. M. QAZWINI and E. G. BROWNE. Leiden–London; JEREMIÁS, É. 1993. Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian. *Histoire Epistemologie Langage*. Paris 15: 251–68; JEREMIÁS, É. 1995. Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax: pronominal clitics in early Tafsirs. Proceedings of the second European Conference of Iranian Studies. Bamberg 1991, 325–334; LAZARD, G. 1971. Pahlavi, pārsi, dari: les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffa'. *Iran and Islam*. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky. Ed. C. E. Bosworth. Edinburgh. 361–391; LAZARD, G. 1972. Pahlavi/pahlavāni dans le Šāhnāme. *Studia Iranica* I. 1.25–41; LAZARD, G. 1990. Lumières nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan. *Irano-Judaica*. Eds. SH. SHAKED, A. NETZER. II, 184–198; LAZARD, G. 1994. *dārī*. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Ed. E. Yarshater. VIII, fasc. 1. 34–35; MACKENZIE, D. N. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London.

¹ The quotation follows LAZARD'S translation and transcription in 1971: 361, 1994: 34.

- 1) *Pahlavī* may have referred to the following languages or dialects:
 - a) *Parthian* (on the basis of 3rd century Manichaean texts)
 - b) *Middle Persian* (on the basis of Arabic and Persian sources from the 9th and 11th century)
 - c) the language of the poems written in a northern dialect and called *Fahlaviyyāt* in an arabized form as contrasted to Persian (Classical) poetry,
 - d) *pārsī*, that is, New Persian as contrasted with Arabic (*tāzī*), occurring sporadically in more recent Persian texts
- 2) *Pārsī*:
 - a) *Middle Persian*
 - b) *(New) Persian*
 - c) a non-Persian dialect (*Soghdian*)
- 3) *Darī*: in its more common form *pārsī-i darī* always refers to Persian (*pārsī*), both to the spoken variety in the whole Iranian territory before the birth of the New Persian Literature, and also to its written (literary) form after it.

The above list, however, calls for some additional remarks. In some cases the interpretations suggest that some terms were used as synonyms: For instance, both *pahlavī* and *pārsī* might refer to Middle Persian, or *pārsī* and *darī* to New Persian. This double usage (*pārsī* referring both to Middle and New Persian) can be found, for example, in one and the same source, Firdausī's *Šāhnāme*. Another striking example, taken also from Firdausī: *pahlavī* can be used in the sense of *pārsī*, that is, New Persian, simply referring to the "langue des Iraniens", as "un mot noble appartenant à la langue poétique" (Lazard 1971: 382).

Let me return again to the problem of *pārsī* and *darī*, the most interesting one from our point of view. Although in the majority of cases *pārsī* and *darī* or *pārsī-i darī* in the early Classical Persian texts referred to the New Persian language almost without exception, they cannot be regarded as synonyms, or at least, not in all cases. They represented different written or spoken varieties, common or literary forms, with definite stylistic and dialectal differences, which were partly due to the former substrata they ousted.

To mention only the most obvious example, *pārsī* incorporated more of the former written language in Fārs, Middle Persian, while *darī* preserved more of the former non-Persian language of the Khurasanian region, especially Parthian. Lazard, however, rightly assumes that *pārsī* may have been the common denominator to the New Persian dialects² at the beginning of the Islamic period, while "*darī* seemed to be a variety of *pārsī*" (1994: 34) showing definite dialectal characteristics, mostly in the vocabulary. Nevertheless, it was *darī*, which, due to the more independent position of the province during the reign of the first Iranian dynasties, came to be used as a literary language in Khurāsān and the neighbouring areas. This literary form then

² See the new sources on the dialectology of Persian in the early Islamic period in LAZARD 1990.

became fairly widespread in subsequent periods and came to be used as the first literary language in the New Persian period.

The reason for the apparent confusion in the names of these languages and dialects is fairly understandable. In Firdausi's time (early 11th century) New Persian already existed as an elaborate literary language, also under the name *pārsū/fārsī*. The meaning of the polysemic word *pārsī* was extended, but at the same time it also preserved its traditional sense (Middle Persian), which had been used in earlier sources. The two words *pahlavī*, *pahlavānī* are also a result of a similar extension of meaning in the Islamic period: it was generally used as a common word or adjective for heroes and objects belonging to them (Lazard 1972).

This extension of meaning is widely known and reflects an overall experience. The individual periods defined subsequently by linguists are difficult to recognize in the language of the period in question. Languages do not change overnight, the 'old' and the 'new' appear intermerged lexically and grammatically.

Native sources usually contain references to archaic or dialectal 'words'. Just as Firdausi regarded the *pahlavī* word *bīvar* '10,000' and the author of the *Mujmal at-tavārikh* considered the Parthian word *gōsān* as an 'old' or a 'dialectic' word, they were not aware of the fine distinction between the languages themselves. In addition, in Persian, the writing disguises the differences by its very nature. In other words, although modern linguists are aware of this, this may not have been so evident for their predecessors. Let me confirm G. Lazard: "Le linguiste moderne le sait: les glosateurs anciens le savaient-ils? Ce n'est par sûr." (Lazard 1971: 382).

Returning to Ibn Muqaffa's description, and to other Arabic and Persian sources on the languages used in Iran at the beginning of the Islamic period, which preserved a bulk of interesting information about the different dialectical and stylistic varieties of Persian in nearly the whole Persian-speaking area, one must confess that apart from some obvious dialectal differences in the vocabulary (as in the Asadi's *Lughat-i Furs* or in the text of the *Qurān-i Quds*, cf. Lazard 1990), there is hardly any useful information on the grammar of these languages in the native sources, on the basis of which the different dialects of Persian, either geographical or social/stylistic, could be defined.

This situation reminds us of the more recent developments of '*Fārsī*' which is conceived as a homogeneous language in most modern native grammar books, without the distinction being made between the Classical and classicizing or Modern spoken and written standards. The native sources are silent on this point, although a deeper insight into the texts would reveal significant grammatical differences in the early Persian texts as well. A good example could be the use of the pronominal clitics in the early tafsirs, which are hallmarks of today's colloquial Persian. It reveals tremendous differences within the same genre from the same period, suggesting a definite stratification of *pārsī* already in the 10th and 12th centuries (Jeremiás 1995).

III. The question is where and how we can gain an insight into the grammatical variations which reveal the changes of a language. There is no native grammatical tradition in Persian, but there are other sciences which might reveal something of the

native grammatical knowledge of Persian, even if only implicitly. Good lexicographies might serve as such sources.

Apart from sporadic references in Persian prosodies and farhangs (poetical dictionaries), a detailed description of the languages used in Iran similar to the ones by Ibn Muqaffa' and his compatriots, are only known from much later periods, namely the great Hindustani lexicographic works written in Persian during and after the 17th century. These lexicographies, the most famous of which are *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (FJ 1608), *Burhān-i Qāṭī* (BQ 1652) and *Farhang-i Rašīdī* (FR 1654), contain a wide variety of information on history, language-varieties, grammar, the style of letter writing, etc. attached as an introductory part to the lexicon itself. (The only exception is *Farhang-i Rašīdī*, where this chapter is attached to the end.) One of the chapters, the first one in FJ and BQ, but the last one in FR, discusses the different varieties of Persian (FJ 1972: 13, BQ 1962: 20, FR 1958: 46). Apart from quoting a number of folklore stories on the origin of the name of the country and language, there is an interesting list of the languages called *pārsī*. The three authors described the seven varieties of *pārsī*, distinguishing also some remarkable differences in detail.

In the following I will quote the relevant text from the first chapter of BQ, which seems to be the most popular and reliable dictionary of those compiled by previous and subsequent lexicographers. What he said can be found in all three lexicons. What he omitted for whatever reason, in comparison to the other two authors, will be quoted later.

BQ: "The *pārsī* language [in general] has seven forms: four of them are obsolete (*matrūk*) and these are *haravī*, *sagzī*, *zāvulī* and *sughdī*. Three other languages are currently used (*mutadāval*) languages, and these are *darī*, *pahlavī* and *pārsī*." (20)

However, the other two lexicographies, FJ and FR add other details to this description: "In the obsolete languages it is impossible to write books and letters, and verse cannot be composed in them either. But if one word (of these languages) occurs in a verse (bayt) or in a ghazal, it can be accepted." (FJ 15, FR 46). However, books and letters and also verses can be written in the three other languages (FJ 15). The author of BQ then goes on to describe these three languages:

BQ: "*Darī* is the language, in which there is no deficiency (*nuqṣānī*), for instance: *abrišum*, *ispīd*, *iškam*, *uštur*, *bi-rau*, *bi-dau*, *bi-gū*, *bi-šnau* va *aṃsāl-i ān*. Therefore, [the forms] *barišum-u sapīd-u šikam-u šutur-u rau-u dau-u gū-u šnau* are not *darī* [forms]." (20)

Discussing *darī*, FJ quotes various other opinions about this language: "Some people regard *darī* as the *faših* [language], and others say that it is the language spoken in certain towns, like Balkh-i Bāmi, Marv and Bukhārā. And I also saw in a book that *darī* is the language of Badakhšan, and according to some other people the language

spoken by the Kayāniān court was also called *darī*. And there are two other (Arabic) traditions: the languages of the Paradise were Arabic or *pārsī-i darī*, and, the angels of the fourth sky also spoke *darī*.” (FJ 16, BQ 500).

According to Rašīdī *darī* is used in the valleys of Jibāl and in villages, as opposed to *pahlavī*, which was used in towns. And because this language (i.e. *darī*) did not get mixed with other languages, certain people regard it as the purest (*faṣīḥ*) language. “And there is another opinion that it is the language of Balkh-i Bāmī, Marv-i Šāhjāhān and Bukhārā, and ... also that of Badakhšān. Some other people say that this language was spoken in the Kayāniān court, just as the *pahlavī-i pahlavānān*.” (FR 47).

BQ: “There are opinions which associate *pahlavī* with the region *Pahlav*, that is, Ray, Iṣfahān, Hamadān and Dinavār. That is, it is said to be the language of the people of that region. And there is another belief that *pahlavī* is the language spoken in towns, because *Pahlav* is also used as a name of a town.” (BQ 20)

“Firdausī used this word in the latter sense”, is the comment in FJ (17) and FR (46).

BQ: “The language called *pārsī* [in particular] is used in the province of Pārs, whose capital is Istakhr, and it is spoken by people there. And except for Arabic there is no language better than *pārsī*” ... as testified by the ḥadīses. (20)

The first striking novelty in the above description is that it clearly testifies that the languages called *pahlavī*, *pārsī* and *darī* were supposed to be still in use in Iran in the 17th century. But their names covered different notions. The earlier interpretation (8th and 11th centuries) of these three names offer some hints to subsequent developments, as they constituted a mixture of geographical, social and diachronic varieties. But some obscurity always remains as to their exact meanings.

In some cases they appear to interpret the names of the languages differently in accordance with their eclectic sources – a great deal of the data was obviously part of the folklore or the mythology of the national history³ –, but some do offer evidence for clarifying our subject.

Comparing the sources quoted above, and also adding some more recent ones, such as Hānsavī’s description from 18th century India, or Iravānī’s so-called “First grammar” published in Tabriz in 1846 (Jeremiás 1993), the meanings of these three terms seem to have been fairly consistent.

³ For instance, the author of Farhang-i Jahāngiri, says that “the first town was founded by Gayōmarg and it reached its zenith under the reign of the Pišdādīān” (FJ 15). And he also quotes a story from the so-called Dailami-tafsir (FJ 16, n. 1), according to which the Prophet gave a Persian answer to a question. The story was intended to prove the supremacy of the Persian language among all other languages, but Arabic, cf. als BQ 500.

In the following I will try to pinpoint novel elements in the interpretation, or at least, some shifts in the meaning of these terms.

Pahlavī was identified in two ways: as a certain geographical dialect in the Fahlav region vs. *pārsī* or *pārsī-i darī*, referring definitely to a New Iranian dialect as opposed to Middle Persian (rarely Parthian) in previous sources. But it was also regarded as a social variant used in the towns vs. *darī* which was spoken in the villages (FJ 17, BQ 20, FR 48, Hānsavī 4, Iravānī 4b).

Pārsī seems to be the common language in Iran, as the language of Pārs with Istakhr as its capital (just as *darī* was supposed to be according to the earlier sources). Its reputation, i.e. its superiority as the second language after Arabic has been greatly enhanced through a quotation from a tafsir called Dailami (cf. n. 3). The most recent source, Iravānī from the last century, repeats the well-known story⁴ which is intended to symbolize the role of *pārsī* as a common language (a standard in modern terms) in the whole land.

Darī is presented in the most interesting way. There is a completely new argument, a 'linguistic' argument in the way it was described. The sources agree almost unanimously that it is the language which is to be regarded as *faṣīḥ* ("correct, non-corrupt"), in other words, as the language where there is no *nuqṣān* (FJ 16, BQ 20, FR 47).

Nuqṣān means that something is missing from the "authorized" word form. The lexicographers gave a list of words with slight variations. The lists contain doublets: nouns with or without a *harf* (which is always an *alif* denoting the vowel at the beginning of the word), and imperative verbal forms with or without the verbal prefix *bi-*, e.g. *abrišum* / *barīšum* 'silk', *ispīd* / *sapīd* 'white', *iškam* / *šikam* 'belly', *uštur* / *štur* 'camel', *bi-rau* / *rau* 'go', *bi-šnau* / *šnau* 'listen', etc.:

From among the examples provided by BQ two of the 'full' words and two of the 'defective ones' are commonly used forms in New Persian (*abrišum*, *uštur*, *sapīd*, *šikam*), while the rest must be regarded lexical variants with previous existence in language history as is the case with most variants.⁵

But what does this very peculiar description of the *darī* language go back to? The treatment of lexical doublets was an old tradition in Persian lexicography and prosody. This literature listed all the so-called 'meaningful letters' in different positions in the word, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. The technical terms, *asli* and *vasli*, used in the old literature of prosody, were borrowed from the Arabic grammatical tradition, but with special connotations. *Ašli* referred to the base form of the word, while *vasli* marked any additional elements, mainly inflectional and derivational morphemes attached to this base form (this latter was also called *zā'id*, cf. Jeremiás, JSAI vol. 21, 1997).

⁴ "During the reign of Bahman ibn Isfandiyār the language of the royal court was pārsī. The people who came to the court from different regions of the empire did not understand each other and were not able to represent their cases because they spoke different languages. Bahmah issued an order urging the creation of a language to be understood by everybody, and from that time on the royal orders, petitions and letters were issued in that language, which also became the language of the court." Iravānī 1846: 4b. Cf. BQ 500.

⁵ Cf. *iškam* 'belly' < MP *aškamb*, NP *šikam* (MacKenzie 1971:13).

Later, these terms were used, with somewhat different meanings in lexicography. They denoted the letters which were added to or removed from the base form without changing its meaning. These kinds of doublets were used or created as required by prosody. Consider the following as an example: In the introduction to the lexicographies under the heading of the letter *alif* there are lists of such doublets specifying the *aṣlī* (organic) and *vaṣlī* (unorganic) elements of the words. For instance, the variants of the words *ustukh'ān* 'bone' and *uftān* 'falling' were *sutukh'ān* and *futān* (BQ 26, FJ 38). The list provided in FR (*iškam* – *šikam* 'belly', *uštur* – *šutur* 'camel', *istam* – *sitam* 'oppression', p.14) is in partial overlapping with the list of the so-called 'full' forms, that is, words without *nuqsan* (47). All three authors agree, however, that these doublets are to be used only in poetry, but never in common speech (*muḥāvara* BQ 26, FJ 40). But speaking about *darī* the author of FR adds that the 'defective' forms are used in towns (*dar šahrhā šikam-u sitam-u rau-u gu miḡuftand*, 47).

The problem with the verbal prefix *bi-* is somewhat different. Imperative forms can appear with and without this verbal prefix in literary texts. The genuine *ṣaḥīḥ darī* forms must contain the verbal prefix *bi-* as Šams-i Qays declared in the early 13th century: "The imperative form can be considered to have a full meaning only together with the prefix *bi-*, at least in the correct *darī* language (*ṣaḥīḥ lughat-i darī*)" (1909: 178, 203). Therefore, *ṣaḥīḥ* forms were bound to appear in the lexicons. So, although there was no grammatical tradition in Persian, "no exact norm (*miqyās*) of the rules of Persian, on the basis of which the correct and corrupt usage could be defined" – as noted by Šams (174–175) and it was repeated almost word for word by FJ 4.

There were, however, some hints at a 'virtual' norm, which has never come to be institutionalized. And the inconsistency in the use of grammatical forms continued to be retained on due to the prestige of literature, in the written and spoken formal Persian. This wavering is testified by the way the verbal prefix was treated in lexicography. Prestigious authors as Šams, Ni'matallāh (A. M. Piemontese, *Catalogo*, Roma 1989, Nr. 403, f.301v) and the author of *Šiḥāḥ al-'Ajam* (ed. 'A. Tā'atī, Tihṙān 1962:19) considered its use to be compulsory. Moreover, BQ and FJ make a clear distinction between the two functions of the verbal prefix *bi-*: it was regarded obligatory in imperative, but obsolete in past forms used as embellishment.

In the most recent lexicographies, however, this distinction disappeared and all the occurrences of the verbal prefix *bi-*, both with present and past forms, were called *zā'id*, that is, an element which has only an esthetic function (cf. FR 15, Hānsavi 3, Iravānī 22v).

IV. In the two groups of sources discussed there are evident signs of similarities and differences. It is not surprising, given that they are Oriental sources, how strongly they preserved old traditions, quite up to the 19th century. Or course, there are innovations, even if they occur only sporadically. Obviously, the two terms, *pārsī* and *darī* referred to New Persian in these lexicographies. And although the sources

contained hints at geographical, and social variants and at the compulsory use of certain grammatical rules and lexical forms, the separation of *fārsī* and *darī* is, in fact, impossible. These language-variants were probably hard to distinguish even for those speaking them.

What was said about *darī*, however, revealed the existence of a theoretically conceived language norm, a written or oral standard, even though it was not backed up by codification. The literary norm was but the poets' use of the language, which was far from being uniform. This discrepancy between linguistic and literary norms may be the very reason for the lack of clarity and contradictions in the sources.*

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A NAOS WITH A DECAN-ATUM IN CAIRO

Astral cults played an important part in Late Egyptian religious life. One of the remarkable phenomena in the first millennium B.C. is the subtle shift in the role played by the decan stars.¹ After dubious occurrences in the Pyramid Texts, the decans first appeared on the coffins of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. The star clocks contained the names of the rising decan stars at twelve hour intervals arranged diagonally.² They represented an attempt to measure time, i.e. the hours of the night, by the rising decans. A later system used the transit decans.

After the invention of the water clock by Amenemhat³ in the 16th century B.C., the decan star clock system, by all means a rather clumsy and rather unreliable method for measuring time, lost its *raison d'être*. Nevertheless, the presence of the decans in the royal tombs and funerary temples demonstrates their religious importance in the New Kingdom. From that time, the majority of the decans appear in the form of gods on the monumental astronomical ceilings.

The history of the iconography of the decans enters a new phase with the tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis, where they assumed new forms.⁴ They are no longer depicted as gods, most of them are transformed into snakes (also with legs) or lion-headed gods or goddesses. Some of the erect snakes are provided with wings and arms, holding *nw*-jars in their hands.

While their ancient forms did not totally disappear, these new shapes of the decans dominated monumental temple decoration until the Roman Age. At the same time, in the first millennium B.C. the decans became an important element of folk religion. Their popularity is shown by the wide variety of amulets and other magical

¹ O. NEUGEBAUER–R. A. PARKER: *Egyptian Astronomical Texts I–III*, Providence, Rhode Island, London 1960–1969 (in the following EAT); LÁ I. 1036–7 (J. V. BECKERATH). The abbreviations used in this article are those of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

² EAT I, 1 ff.

³ W. HELCK: *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Kleine Ägyptische Texte), Wiesbaden 1975, 110–112.

⁴ EAT III 39–40, pl. 17.

objects bearing depictions of the decan figures.⁵ The most common type was the lion or cat goddess seated on a throne bearing the pictures of the decans. The thrones of these astral Sakhmet-Bastet statues are often provided with four such figures, with a pair on each side. Statues of a more imposing size can show a much greater number of them. Amulets with decans appeared even in the Napata Empire and in Carthage.⁶

In this article we shall only discuss one monument, bearing on its side a remarkable divine figure, which was undoubtedly associated with the astral beliefs of the Late Period.

DESCRIPTION

Small naos (*Figs 1–3*)

Cairo, Egyptian Museum

JE 51942

Provenance Behnesa (from the sebak), 1927

Limestone

Height 50 cm, base 18 × 22 cm, width of the door of the naos 6.5–7 cm⁷

The right side of the naos⁸ bears the relief of a snake provided with arms and legs. The head is crowned with a composite crown consisting of the red crown with the uraeus. Above it the *atef* crown is placed on a pair of ram horns. The snake holds a bow and an arrow (*Fig. 2a, b*).

On the left the figure of a dwarf⁹ is represented full-faced. The malformation of the body is evident at first glance. Compared to the limbs, the head is unnaturally large, the legs are short. He wears a head dress decorated with plumes. The figure can be identified as a Pataikos¹⁰ deity (*Fig. 3a, b*). These dwarf gods, associated with the cult of Ptah, were identified with the Kabeiroi,¹¹ but they were also associated with solar cults¹² as shown by the scarab which was often placed on their head.¹³ The solar features established certain relations also to Atum. As enemies of snakes and crocodiles, they became associated with Horus.¹⁴

⁵ Discussed in detail in L. KÁKOSY: Decans in Late-Egyptian Religion, *Oikumene* 3, 1982, 163–191; KÁKOSY in *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* no. 52, 1979, 3 ff.

⁶ KÁKOSY, in *Oikumene* 3, 168.

⁷ I would here like to thank Dr. Mohammed Saleh, General Director of the Egyptian Museum for his kind permission to photograph and publish the naos. The drawings were made by Mr. DÁNIEL PAPP. My thanks are due to him too.

⁸ On the other naos in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: G. ROEDER: *Naos* (Cat. Gén.), Leipzig 1914; A new list of the royal naos: CH. THIERS, *BIFAO* 97, 1997, 253–265.

⁹ On dwarfs see V. DASEN: *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, Oxford 1993; Y. KOENIG: *Le Papyrus Boulaq* 6 (BdÉ 87), Le Caire 1981, 69–70.

¹⁰ BONNET: *RÄRG*, 584–585; LÄ IV, 914–915 (J. G. GRIFFITHS); M. SANDMAN HOLMBERG: *The God Ptah*, Lund, Kopenhagen 1946, 182–185.

¹¹ Herodotus III.37.

¹² J. ČERNÝ: *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh I* (Documents de fouilles 8) Le Caire 1978, 9–10.

¹³ CG 38.797, 38.802. G. DARESSY: *Statues de divinités* (Cat. Gén.) Le Caire 1905.

¹⁴ LÄ IV, 914 (J. G. GRIFFITHS).

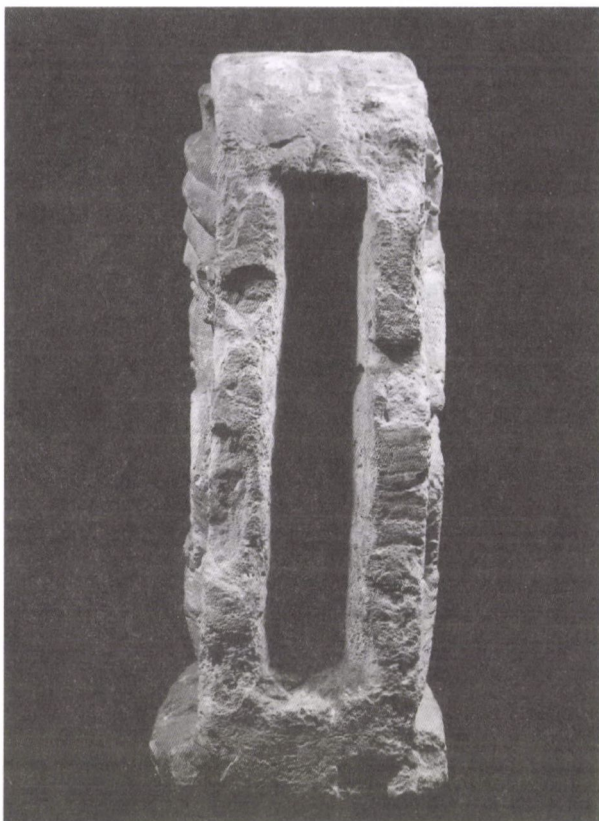


Fig. 1. Naos in Cairo. Front face

The half-human serpent raises a series of other problems. The form of the body follows the characteristics of the late decans in serpent form, attested since the tomb of Osorkon II. The bow, however, is not encountered as an attribute of the decans in the late lists. A solution presents itself if we recall a remarkable representation of Atum¹⁵ in the Papyrus Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156 as a serpent with arms and legs holding the sun disk with the child sun god inside it¹⁶ (*Fig. 4*). A similar representation of Atum can be seen among the illustrations of a magical healing statue in Turin.¹⁷ Atum, although usually represented in human form, occasionally appears as a snake or eel.¹⁸ The bow again provides the connecting link with Atum since the god was occasionally represented as an ape holding a bow,¹⁹ his weapon obviously alluding to the power of the sun's rays. The Heliopolitan cosmic creator

¹⁵ On Atum see K. MYSLIWIEC: *Studien zum Gott Atum I–II* (HÄB 5, 8), Hildesheim 1978, 1979.

¹⁶ S. SAUNERON: *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156), Brooklyn 1970, fig. 3.

¹⁷ Museo Egizio no. 3030. Left side of the statue register VI.3. (To be published by L. KÁKOSY).

¹⁸ LÄ I, 551 (L. KÁKOSY); LÄ I, 1 (I. GAMER-WALLERT). MYSLIWIEC, op. cit. I, 95–124.

¹⁹ E. BRUNNER-TRAUT MDAIK 14, 1956, 20 ff.



Fig. 2a, b. Naos in Cairo. Right side



Fig. 3a, b. Naos in Cairo. Left side



Fig. 4. Decan-Atum in front of a pantheistic deity.
(Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.156.). Sauneron fig. 3

god was eventually, quite reasonably, associated with the powerful divine stars of the night sky.

During the Late Period the decans gradually lost their concrete astral reality. The best evidence for this process was their schematic association with the twelve signs of the zodiac, three decans to each of them. They became mysterious powers of the sky who were potentially dangerous and beneficial at the same time.²⁰ Since a detailed overview of the decan-religion²¹ lies beyond the scope of this article, suffice it here to mention two relevant monuments. A naos originally erected by Nectanebus I in *I3.t-nbs* (modern Saft el-Henna)²² bears texts and representations which offer an elaborate picture about the decan theology. Five forms of the decans can be distinguished. Apart from the heavenly and earthly forms, they are depicted also as mummies lying on the bier. The representations (human-headed bird with a star on its head, falcon-headed lion with wings, lion-headed ram, jackal-headed standing mummy, mummy on a bier) differ radically from the Osorkon tradition and must have been drawn from another source. The texts speak of the power of the celestial divine beings.

In the temple of Esna a text glorifying their omnipotent might (Roman Age) characterizes them as "living gods, decans who are in the netherworld and shine in

²⁰ Cf. S. SCHOTT: Die altägyptischen Dekane in: W. GUNDEL, Dekane und Dekansterbilder (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg XIX), Glückstadt, Hamburg 1936, 13–17.

²¹ KÁKOSY, *Oikumene* 3, 1982, 163–191.

²² LABIB HABACHI–BANOUH HABACHI, *JNES* 11, 1952, 251–263.

the night ... they foretell, what will happen. They keep alive or kill according to their wish.”²³

In the temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Age the priests gave a wide space to the pictures of the decans.²⁴ The reliefs in Dendara offer ample information on the wide collection of elaborate statues representing the decans.²⁵ These statues, kept in the treasury of the temple, were made of precious stone, wood or faience and their faces were usually gilded.

The small naos was undoubtedly designed to house a divine image. Since the small entrance and the narrow inner room rules out the presence of a Pataikos statue, this naos most likely held a Decan-Atum image. The size suggests that the naos was part of a private cult and the celestial god in it may have been of a more modest workmanship than those in the temple treasuries.

As far as the age of the monument is concerned, it is very difficult to date the naos since stylistic considerations do not offer any secure anchor for dating. However, in view of the popularity of the decans in folk religion and their presence in the temples, I would tentatively suggest the Persian or Ptolemaic Period. The Saïte Age can also be taken into consideration.

I offer this small contribution to Professor János Harmatta who always showed a keen interest in the new results of Egyptological research.

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²³ SAUNERON: Esna IV. Le Caire 1969, 9 (no. 406, lines 1–3).

²⁴ EAT III passim. The list of decans in the Hibis temple (N. DE GARIS DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis* (Hibis III), New York 1953 pl. 15) is not included in EAT III.

²⁵ Dendara IV 162–163, 176–178.

ISTVÁN KERTÉSZ

SOME NOTES ON INSCRIPTION IVP. NO. 10–12

In November, 1884, and in May, 1885, several fragments of the same inscription were found near the Athena sanctuary of Pergamene Acropolis.¹ It commemorated the Olympic victory in the quadriga race of Attalos, member of the Attalid dynasty reigning in Pergamon between 283 and 133 B.C., and nephew of the dynasty founder Philetairos.² The inscription is a poem arranged in distichs, the literary archetype of which is the reputed race of Orestes in Sophokles' Elektra.³

The literary value of the inscription is beyond question, but it also offers valuable historical conclusions. Examining the testimony of the "Olympic Chronicle" preserved by inscription IG. II/III² no. 2326 from the same period, J. Ebert points out that "es ist gut denkbar, daß man in jener Zeit, in der sich die Olympiadenzählung als Mittel der zeitlichen Fixierung historischer Fakten allmählich durchsetzte, des 500 Jährigen Bestehens der Olympischen Spiele im Jahre 276 v. Chr. in irgendeiner Weise besonders gedachte. Wir besitzen für eine damalige Würdigung dieses Ereignisses zwar kein direktes Zeugnis, aber gewisse Indizien könnten dafür sprechen, daß das Olympische Fest damals unter einer überdurchschnittlich großen Beteiligung von Agonisten und Zuschauern begangen wurde".⁴ Ebert supports his statement by quot-

¹ M. FRÄNKEL (Hrsg.), Die Inschriften von Pergamon (IvP.). *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII/1, Berlin 1890, no. 10–12, p. 8.

² E. V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca 1971², 14 ff.;

R. E. ALLEN, *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History*, Oxford 1983, 9 ff.

³ J. EBERT, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Berlin 1972, no. 59, p. 176 f. The inscription is translated by Ebert as follows: "Viele Gespanne waren aus Libyen gekommen, viele von Argos, viele aus dem fruchtbaren Thessalien, unter der Zahl all derer auch das des Attalos. Die Startschranke spannte sich und hielt sie alle zusammen im Zaume mit ihrem gedrehten Seil. Mit lautem Klatschen trieb sie (dann) heraus die schnellen Fohlen. Die aber stürmten durch die Rennbahn ungestümen Laufs, die einen diese, die anderen jene (Wagen) verfolgend. Das Gespann des Attalos aber, dem Winde gleich, wirbelte mit den Füßen immer vor (den anderen) den Staub auf. Und die anderen liefen noch aufschauend um die Wette, doch dieses prägte sich den Zehntausenden von Hellenen (die) damals (zugegen waren, schon als Sieger) ein. Die gepriesene Kunde aber kam zu Philetairos und in die Häuser Pergamons und brachte ihnen Ehre mit dem Kranz aus Elis."

⁴ J. EBERT, Zur "Olympischen Chronik" IG II/III² 2326: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 28, 1982, 5–14, 13.

ing IvP. no. 10–12, pointing out that it definitely stresses the great number of the participants in Olympic chariot racing as well as the large mass of spectators.⁵

Ebert's analysis convincingly proves that this sport success of the later Attalos I's father in 276 B.C. took place at the 126th Olympic Games. In this case, the political aspect of the victory was probably far more significant since it was at such outstanding games that a member of the Pergamene ruling family, striving for recognition, distinguished himself. The fact that Philetairos found it important to make the most of this sport event in the political sphere is reflected in that it is recorded in one of the rarest early written documents of Pergamene history.

The Attalos mentioned in the above inscription was the nephew of Philetairos whom he adopted as son and heir. He was actually the son of Philetairos' brother of the same name.⁶ His name occurs in an inscription from Delphi.⁷ This inscription reports that the presents of Philetairos must be returned, and that the Delphians granted different privileges to the members of Pergamene ruler family, among others to Attalos. The prerogatives granted by the Delphians, i.e. *proxenia*, *promanteia*, *proedria*, *prodikia*, and *asylia* cannot be considered exceptional. Quite a number of inscriptions prove that they were usually granted to all benefactors and allies of the sanctuary.⁸ But Pergamon's aim was to belong to this circle at this time. The main goal of Philetairos was, in our view, ensure to the international recognition of Pergamon through institutions influencing Greek public opinion. Thus the Delphic resolution can rightly be considered a political success for Philetairos. His aims were similar when he established good relations with the temple of Apollo at Delos and with that of the Helikonian Muses at Thespiiai by dedication of land to them.⁹

Both of these inscriptions which contain the name of Attalos reflect the importance of religious and sport connections for Pergamene foreign policy in the period of Philetairos' rule.¹⁰ The contacts between Pergamon and Olympia retained their significance in the later period of Pergamene history, too. The grandson of the Olympic victor Attalos was Eumenes II, the king of Pergamon between 197 and 159 B.C.¹¹ Together with his grandfather and the dynasty founder Philetairos, he was acutely aware of the influence of the ancient Olympic movement on Hellenic public

⁵ J. EBERT (n. 4) 13.

⁶ E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 26.; R. E. ALLEN (n. 2) 181.; R. B. MCSHANE, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 53), Urbana 1964, 203.

⁷ M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II, Paris 1938, 9 f.

⁸ Syll.³ no. 7, 189, 423, 548, 549, 374; OGIS. no 66, 150, 241, 305.

⁹ On the dedication of Philetairos to the Helikonian Muses at Thespiiai see R. E. ALLEN (n. 2) 207.; E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 19. R. E. ALLEN op. cit. lists the variations of inscription which record about the Philetairos' dedication. On Philetairos' present to sanctuary of Apollo at Delos see R. B. MCSHANE (n. 6) 40.; D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* II, Princeton 1950, 729, n. 9. The "bürgerliche" character of the presentations of Philetairos is emphasized by H.-J. SCHALLES, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jhrh. v. Chr.* (Istanbuler Forschungen 36), Tübingen 1985, 37 f.

¹⁰ On the foreign policy of Philetairos see R. B. MCSHANE (n. 6) 29–42.; E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 14–21.; R. E. ALLEN (n. 2) 9–21.

¹¹ E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 70–129., R. E. ALLEN (n. 2) 76–144., R. B. MCSHANE (n. 6) 131–186.

opinion.¹² In 182 B.C. Eumenes II, after deciding to renew the games and sacrifices in honour of Athena Nikephoros,¹³ sent envoys to various communities of the Hellenistic world, requesting them to recognize the games of the Nikephoria, whose prize was a crown, as being equal to the musical contests of the Pythian, in the gymnastic and equestrian, as equal to the Olympic games. There has survived a letter of Eumenes II, to a Carian town on the subject which received a favourable answer, yet the name of the town remains unknown.¹⁴ The inscriptional version of the message of the king of Pergamon on the same subject was found on the island Kos.¹⁵

The receivers of letters of Eumenes II, include the Aitolian League and the Delphic Amphiktyons. Their answers were brought to light in Delphi. The Delphic Amphiktyons gave a favourable answer to this letter, emphasizing that the Attalid kingdom had grown large owing to its friendship with Rome.¹⁶ In the positive answer of the Aitolian League to Eumenes' invitation, however, the military successes of the king are referred to as the main source of Pergamon's power.¹⁷ These answers in inscriptional form reflect the main components of Pergamon's political ability. At the same time, they provide good evidence for the integrating power of Olympism at that time. In other words, the communities which accepted the invitation of the Pergamene king in effect declared that they would be trustworthy allies of the Attalid kingdom in the future.¹⁸

As we have seen, the inscription IvP. no. 10–12 is not the only document of the relations of Pergamon to Olympia and the Olympic movement. Among this line of written sources can be counted the inscription Syll.³ no. 641. It is a dedication stated in Olympia by the people of Athens in honour of Philetairos, the other grandson of the Olympic victor Attalos. This Philetairos won the chariot race of the Panathenaia in 178 B.C.¹⁹ The place of the dedication and the reason of the honouring resolution, i.e. the victory in the Athenian equestrian event and the very friendly relationship between Athens and Pergamon,²⁰ support our point of view concerning the political importance of sport connections and Olympism.

¹² On the subject in respect to an earlier period see A. HÖNLE, *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt. Von 776 bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Bebenhausen 1972.

¹³ R. E. ALLEN (n. 2) 79, 123–129, 133–134, 170.; E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 104, 150, 217, 393, 448–450, 465.

¹⁴ C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (RC.), Prague 1934, no. 49.

¹⁵ RC. no. 50.

¹⁶ Syll.³ no. 630.

¹⁷ Syll.³ no. 629.

¹⁸ On the historical background of the answers of the Delphic Amphiktyons and Aitolian League see I. KERTÉSZ, *Von Apameia bis Brundisium* (Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen von Rom und Pergamon): *Annales Univ. Sc. Bud. de Rol. Eötv. Nom. Sectio Classica* 9–10, 1982–1985, 79–93.

¹⁹ IG. II² no. 2314, col. II, lines 84–90. Cp. E. V. HANSEN (n. 2) 105.

²⁰ On the connection between Athens and Pergamon see H.-J. SCHALLES (n. 9) 20 f.; I. KERTÉSZ, *Die Darstellung von Attalos I. in der antiken Geschichtsschreibung*: *Annales Univ. Sc. Bud. de Rol. Eötv. Nom. Sectio Historica* 26, 1993 (Gedenkschrift István Hahn), 53–58.

The documents listed above are very interesting in terms of sport history. Together with other evidence,²¹ they testify that the popularity of the Olympic games did not decrease at all after the death of Alexander the Great. What is more, the organization of competitions with a similar reputation as the Olympic competition and the development of the international sport connections offered an opportunity to express the political power and interest of the Hellenistic states.

Finally, we may also assume the indirect impact of the discovery of these documents on the initiation of the modern Olympic movement. The inscription IvP. no. 10–12 was found in 1884 and 1885.²² The inscription RC. no. 49 was taken to Paris and presented to the Louvre in 1885,²³ while the letter of the Aitolians was published as early as 1881.²⁴ This was the time when the local Olympic games were organized in Athens on Evangelis Zappas' initiative.²⁵ Simultaneously to these events, the Englishman Dr. Brookes organized the so-called Wenlock Olympian Games in England.²⁶ Before 1883 the Wenlock Olympian Games developed into the popular National Olympian Games of England.²⁷ In October, 1890 Coubertin met Dr. Brookes in Much Wenlock. The French founder of the modern Olympic movement received here the final impulse to realize his goal, i.e. to renew the ancient Olympics in a modern form.²⁸ It is quite possible that the revival of the Olympic spirit was strengthened by the published documents of Pergamene history.

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²¹ Olympia von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin (Von einem Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von J. Ebert), Leipzig 1980, 106 ff.; C. SCHNEIDER, Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus II, München 1969, 190–197.; B. KYRKOS, The Development of Sport in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece (general supervision by N. Yalouris), Athens 1982, 275–285.; W. DECKER, Olympiasieger aus Ägypten, in: Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991 (Hrsg. U. Verhoeven und E. Graefe), Leuven 1991, 93–105.

²² M. FRÄNKEL (n. 1) 8.

²³ C. B. WELLES (n. 14) 197.

²⁴ Ed. B. HAUSOULLIER Bull. Hell. V 1881, 372, n. 3 (Syll.² no. 295).

²⁵ TH. B. YANNAKIS, Zappeies kai Sygkhrones Olympiades, Athens 1997.

²⁶ J. K. RÜHL, William Penny Brookes – the Father of the Modern Olympics and his Relations to Greece, In: First International Congress of BAHPEs (Balcan Association in History of Physical Education and Sport), Athens 1992, 94–112.

²⁷ RÜHL (n. 26) 99.

²⁸ RÜHL (n. 26) 104.

ULRICH LUFT

EIN ASIAT IN EL-LÂHÛN

Bei der Herausgabe bisher unpublizierter Papyri aus dem 19. Jh. v. Chr., die aus el-Lâhûn am Eingang zur Oase Fajjum stammen,¹ bin ich auf einen asiatischen Namen gestoßen, der in besonderer Weise die Situation der Asiaten in Ägypten und speziell am Begräbnisplatz des Königs Sesostri II. beleuchtet.² Der Name steht in einer Anweisung eines hohen Beamten des eigens für die Verwaltung der Grabeinrichtungen des Königs geschaffenen Nomos³ an den Schreiber des Tempels, wahrscheinlich des Totentempels des Königs, Horemsaef.⁴

Der Beamte weist den Tempelschreiber an, einige Personen zu einem benannten Ort, dessen Lage noch nicht genau lokalisiert werden kann, für eine Arbeitsaufgabe abzustellen. Der Ton der Anweisung ist eher militärisch kurz zu nennen gegenüber andernorts zu treffenden, recht umständlichen Formulierungen.⁵ Die erste Person ist ein Rinderhirt Bebi aus *Ḥt.t-š* („Seefeld“), der zur Gruppe eines Phylenmit-

¹ EUGÈNE DÉVAUD hat zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts die Berliner Papyri aus el-Lâhûn für das damals zu erarbeitende Wörterbuch umschrieben. Die gleichen Stücke sind etwa zur gleichen Zeit noch einmal von KONRAD HOFFMANN für ein Namenbuch umschrieben worden, wobei HOFFMANN im wesentlichen die Umschriften von DÉVAUD übernommen hat.

² Der erste Papyruskomplex wurde 1888/89 von PETRIE bei den Ausgrabungen in el-Lâhûn gesammelt und der zweite 1899 über arabische Antikenhändler hauptsächlich den Vertretern des Berliner Museums verkauft. Vgl. für den ersten Komplex den Bericht von GRIFFITH, F.L.L., in Sir W. M. F. PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1891, 47, für den zweiten Fund BORCHARDT, L.: Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitliche Festlegung des Mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte, in *ZÄS* 37, 1899, 89–90. Siehe auch meine Bemerkungen in *The Ancient Town of el-Lâhûn*, in ST. QUIRKE (ed.), *Lahun-Studies*, 1998, 3 und 5.

³ Zur Frage der Nomoi in der Gegend s. HELCK, W.: Die altägyptischen Gaue (Beih.TAVO, B/5), Wiesbaden, 1974, 124–125.

⁴ Papyrus Berlin P.10021 wird in der zweiten Lieferung der Briefe in der Serie Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz – erscheinen. Zu den letzteren Beamten s. LUFT, U.: *Illahunstudien*, I, in *Oikumene* 3, 1982, 113–116.

⁵ Der Text beginnt ohne Einleitung: «Schicke den Rinderhirten Bebi usw.», gehört also der Form nach zu den Anweisungen. Es fehlt noch eine Aufarbeitung der Epistolographie des Mittleren Reiches, die Hermann GRAPOW 1942 als Dissertation von Hanns PRZYBYLLA angenommen hat, jedoch ist das Manuskript wahrscheinlich infolge der Kriegsergebnisse nicht mehr eingeliefert worden.

glieds Senwosret – Senbubu gehört.⁶ An dem Tempel sind vier Phylen nachweisbar, die abwechselnd für je einen Monat im Tempel Dienst hatten.⁷ Zu diesen Personenkreis gehört Senwosret. Die zweite Person hat vor dem Namen den Vorsatz *ʒm* «Asiat», wie im allgemeinen vergrößert dieses Element übersetzt wird, und trägt ganz offensichtlich einen nicht-ägyptischen Namen.⁸

Die Kennzeichnung der Personen aus Asien, also Nicht-Ägypter, demnach Nicht-Menschen, erinnert in fataler Weise an den Judenstern der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre in Deutschland und Zentraleuropa und war wohl auch für die Minderheit in Ägypten nicht besonders anziehend; denn sobald diese Personen einen ägyptischen Titel vor den Namen setzen konnten, blieb die ethnische Kennzeichnung, wenn überhaupt als solche zu bewerten, aus. Da Asiaten, die als Beute von Razzien⁹ nach Ägypten verschleppt oder von den eigenen Obrigkeiten¹⁰ dorthin gebracht werden konnten, häufig ägyptische Namen erhielten, wobei nur die ethnische Kennzeichnung und das Matronym oder das Patronym die ausländische Herkunft noch ausweist, ist in vielen Fällen kaum noch zu entscheiden, welchem Ethnikum der Betreffende angehört hat.¹¹

Dieser Asiat wird aus einem bestimmten Campus geholt, das offensichtlich wie die heutigen Flüchtlings- und Auffanglager speziell für Asiaten eingerichtet worden ist.¹² Dahinter ist in der recht schludrigen Weise ägyptischer Buchführung ein «Wäscher» namens Hetepi genannt,¹³ und ich glaube nur aufgrund des Punktes vor dem Titel und dem Namen, der auch vor den übrigen Abkommandierten gesetzt ist, daß es sich ebenfalls um eine zur Arbeit gerufene Person handeln muß. In der nächsten Zeile ist ein Pächter Sobekhotep aufgeführt,¹⁴ der als «Bruder des wab-

⁶ Die sozialen Implikationen der Menschen während des Mittleren Reiches untersucht Katalin KÓTHAY in einer PhD These.

⁷ S. LUFT, U.: Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun (SbWien, 598 = Veröffentl. d. Ägypt.Komm, 2), Wien, 1992, 2.2, 2.19., 2.35. als datierte Protokolle der Übergabe des Tempels von einer Phyle an die nächste.

⁸ Zum Komplex s. LUFT, U.: Asiatics in Illahun: A preliminary report, in Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia, Atti vol.II, Torino 1993, 291–297.

⁹ ALTENMÜLLER, H.–MOUSSA, A.M.: Die Inschrift Amenemhet II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis, in SAK 18, 1991, Zl. (16): 1554 Asiaten von der Razzia gegen *Jwʒj* und *Jʒsʒj*, und Zl. (21): 65 Asiaten, die eine Expedition von zwei Schiffen aus dem Libanon gebracht hat.

¹⁰ ALTENMÜLLER–MOUSSA, in SAK 18, 1991, Zl. (13): 1002 Asiaten, gebracht von den Kindern der Herrscher.

¹¹ LUFT, in Sesto Congresso Internazionale, 293.

¹² POSENER, G.: Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XII^e et XIII^e dynasties, in Syria 34, 1957, 152.

¹³ Zur Lesung vgl. zunächst DÉVAUD, HOFFMANN; SCHARFF, A.: Briefe aus Illahun, in ZÄS 59, 1924 *9; POSENER, in Syria 34, 1957, 152; HAYES, W. C.: A Papyrus of The Late Middle Kingdom In the Brooklyn Museum (Wilbour Monographs, 5), The Brooklyn Museum, 1955, 93 mit Nr. 353, die die Gruppe als *ʒʒ* verstanden haben, doch konnten sie nichts mit dem folgenden *tj* beginnen. Ein Vergleich mit P Brooklyn 35.1446 vs [31] beispielsweise überzeugt von der Unmöglichkeit der Lesung. Siehe jedoch die Schreibung der seltenen Hieroglyphe GARDINER G50 = MÖLLER 225: *rhj*, die hier gebraucht worden ist. Für eine mehr normative Schreibung der Berufsbezeichnung vgl. den unpublizierten Papyrus Berlin P.10122 Ag r" (2).

¹⁴ Zur Lesung dieses Titels vgl. P Brooklyn 35.1446 vs [4] und [5], publ. v. HAYES, 1955; auch JAMES, T. G. H.: The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents (The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition Publications, XIX), New York, 1962, Doc.V r" (12). Für SCHARFFS Lesung *smʒ*, in ZÄS 59 (1924) *9, der gegenüber DÉVAUD und HOFFMANN an dieser Stelle

Priesters Senwosret» apostrophiert wird, und dahinter wird die Destination der kleinen Gesellschaft mit *R3-n-š-sbk* «Mund des Sobek-Sees (=Fajjum)», was einem Ort am Eingang zum Fajjum entsprechen wird.

Während die Namen des Rinderhirten, des Wäschers und des Pächters deutlich ägyptische Strukturen zeigen, indem sie entweder wie Senwosret «Mann der Starcken» „übersetzbar“ sind oder wie Bebj mit der Endung *j* die in Ägypten beliebte Reduplikation eines Namenslements zeigen, unterscheidet sich der asiatische Name im Äußeren nicht von einem ägyptischen, doch sehr wohl in der Struktur.

Die erste Gruppe *j* entspricht im allgemeinen dem semitischen Aleph (*a*),¹⁵ obwohl nicht mit Sicherheit festzustellen ist, welcher Vokal dazu gepaart ist. Als nächster Laut ist das ägyptische *ʿ* zu erkennen, dessen Entsprechung in den semitischen Sprachen als *h* in den Fällen vorausgesetzt werden muß,¹⁶ wenn das Wort zu dem gemeinsamen afro-asiatischen Ursubstrat gehört, doch auch bei „modernen“ Umsetzungen von Toponymen und Namen in die ägyptische Schrift zu beobachten ist.¹⁷ Doch wird in Lehnwörtern einschließlich der Fremdnamen semitisches *ʿ* manchmal auch in der ägyptischen Umsetzung mit *ʿ* wiedergegeben.¹⁸ Natürlich verschwindet *ʿ* in Zielsprachen ohne diesen Konsonanten.¹⁹ Der nächste Laut ist wegen der eigenartigen Schreibweise des mittelägyptischen Hieratisch schwer zu bestimmen. Das Zeichen kann, abhängig vom Kontext und vom Schreiber, sowohl *r* als auch *d* gelesen werden. Das auslautende Zeichen haben DÉVAUD, HOFFMANN und SCHARFF²⁰ fraglos mit *w* umschrieben. Die Umschreibung *jʿw* hat auch GEORGES POSENER, sicher einer der besten Kenner des mittelägyptischen Hieratisch, ohne Kommentar übernommen.²¹ Dazu muß angemerkt werden, daß SCHARFF seinerzeit keine Photographien der Stücke, nicht einmal schriftbildtreue Umschriften gegeben hat. Allerdings gibt es mehrere Serien der hervorragenden frühen Photographien der Papyri in verschiedenen ägyptologischen Zentren der Welt. Die fraglose Umschreibung des Zeichens als *w* gegenüber einer plausibleren Umschreibung als *ʒ* oder *tjw* hat die Lesung des Namens in eine Sackgasse geführt. Das Zeichen ist auf jeden Fall größer

etwas gelesen hat, fehlt die Grundlage, vgl. auch seine Bemerkung e. QUIRKE, ST.: State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom. A Reconsideration of the Term *hnrt*, in RdÉ 39, 1988, 88, hat indessen richtig *ʿhwtj* «Landarbeiter» gelesen.

¹⁵ ALBRIGHT, W. F.: The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography (American Oriental Series, 5), New Haven, 1934, 33–34; EDEL, E.: Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III. (Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 25), Bonn, 1966, 71–72; AHITUV, SH.: Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents, Jerusalem–Leiden, 1984, 45–73 (Beispiele).

¹⁶ RÖSSLER, O.: Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache, in F. ALTHEIM–R. STIEHL (ed.): Christentum am Roten Meer, Bd. I., Berlin–New York, 1971, 275–279.

¹⁷ Vgl. dazu auch die konsequente Setzung des semitischen *h* für ägyptisches *ʿ* bei QUACK, J. F.: Eine Erwähnung des Reiches von Aleppo in den Ächtungstexten?, in GM 130, 1992, 75–78.

¹⁸ ALBRIGHT, W. F.: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology, in AJSL 34, 1918, 221–225; EDEL, E.: Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache (AbhRWAW, 77), Opladen, 1994, 112: *nʿwn* aus dem kanaanäischen **Naʿarūna*.

¹⁹ EDEL, E.: Der Brief des ägyptischen Wesirs Pašarija an den Hethiterkönig Ḫattušili und verwandte Keilschriftbriefe (NachrGöttingen, 4/1978), Göttingen, 1978, 128 mit Anm. 1.

²⁰ SCHARFF, in ZÄS 59, 1924, 45 und *9.

²¹ Syria 34, 1957, 152.

als *w* in Zl.(6).²² Für eine Lösung stehen prinzipiell zwei Zeichen zu Wahl, von denen eines *ʒ* (ägyptisches Aleph)²³ und das andere *tjw*²⁴ ist, die nicht immer in der Schreibung distinktiv voneinander zu unterscheiden sind.²⁵ Das Konsonantengerüst des Namens wird demnach *a/i* + *ʕ[h]* + *r/d* + *tj* zu umschreiben sein.

Für den Vergleich des Konsonantengerüsts mit überlieferten Namen stehen kaum zeitgenössische Onomastika aus dem westsemitischen Bereich zur Verfügung.²⁶ Der Raum, aus dem Asiaten nach Ägypten gekommen sind, läßt sich, abgesehen von dem sicheren Stützpunkt Byblos, auf den Küstenbereich bis in die Höhe von Ugarit eingrenzen.²⁷ Das nordsyrische Reich von *Yamḥad* wird offensichtlich in den sog. Ächtungstexten aus Mirgissa genannt.²⁸ Das bedeutet aber noch nicht, daß dieser Staat unter ägyptischer Hoheit gestanden haben muß.²⁹ Nach dem Kollaps des Reiches von Ur hatten sich in Nordsyrien eine Reihe kriegerischer Staaten gebildet, von denen *Yamḥad* eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle gespielt hat.³⁰ Wenn auch der Staat *Yamḥad* genannt wird, so darf diese Nennung nur als äußerster nördlicher Punkt des ägyptischen Interessengebietes verstanden werden.

Nach dem Zeugnis der Annalen des Königs Amenemhet II. sind Asiaten vom Libanon nach Ägypten gebracht worden. Von Byblos, das stark unter ägyptischen Einfluß stand, könnte auch eine Expedition nach Zypern geschickt worden sein.³¹ Doch diese westsemitischen Gruppen sind nach ihren Namen auch mangels an Belegen kaum untersucht.³² Der Fundplatz Ugarit, der auch in dieser Hinsicht aufgearbeitet ist, stammt jedoch, abgesehen von den Namen in den Epen und Mythen, aus

²² Dort wird tatsächlich das Wachtelkükens benutzt, doch im allgemeinen das zusammengerollte Seil, das sich von den Vogelzeichen wohl unterscheiden läßt.

²³ GARDINER, A. H.: *Egyptian Grammar*³, Oxford, 1957, Sign-list G1: Ägyptischer Geier (neophron percnopterus); MÖLLER, G.: *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, Leipzig, 1909, Nr.192.

²⁴ MÖLLER, *Paläographie*, I, Nr.190 = GARDINER, *Grammar*³, Sign-list G4: Bussard (buteo ferox), „often indistinguishable from ʒ G1“.

²⁵ Vgl. Papyrus Reisner I r' Section B (2), publ. v. SIMPSON, W. K.: *Papyrus Reisner I*, Boston, 1964, wo eindeutig der Ortsname *Gbtw* (Koptos) mit dem Zeichen GARDINER G4 geschrieben ist. Zur Schreibung des Ortsnamens und zur Lesung des Zeichens GARDINER G4 vgl. EDEL, E.: *Neue Deutungen keilschriftlicher Umschreibungen ägyptischer Wörter und Personennamen* (SbWien, 375), Wien, 1980, 46–48 unter Hinweis auf ἀέτυον = *ntjw* bei Hesychios.

²⁶ Für das Neue Reich vgl. HOCH, J.E.: *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, New Jersey, 484.

²⁷ Vgl. die Annalen des Königs Amenemhat II. Zl.(8) allgemein: «Aussenden einer Truppe mit dem Vorsteher der Eliteeinheit der Truppe, um Asien. *Jwʒj* und (9) *[ʒsʒj]*». Die Ergänzung ist durch Zl. (25)–(26) gesichert. Der geographische Begriff *ʒsʒj* wird im allgemeinen mit Alesija = Zypern identifiziert, vgl. die Bemerkungen zum Text von HELCK, W.: Ein Ausgreifen des Mittleren Reiches in den zypriotischen Raum?, in *GM* 109, 1989, 27–30. HELCK schlägt für *Jwʒj* Ura in Kleinasien vor, was von dem niedergeschriebenen Wortgerüst her denkbar ist. Übersetzung bei ALTENMÜLLER–MOUSSA, in *SAK* 18, 1991 unter der Zeilennummer.

²⁸ QUACK, in *GM* 130, 1992, 75–78. Die Ächtungstexte wurden von KOENIG, I: *Textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa*, in *RdÉ* 41, 1990, 101–125 publiziert.

²⁹ Für eine topographische Auswertung der Ächtungstexte s. REDFORD, D. B.: *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1992, 87–93.

³⁰ Zum Reich von *Yamḥad* s. KLENGEL, H.: *Geschichte Syriens*³, Berlin, 1970, 142 für das politische Umfeld; REDFORD: *Egypt, Canaan*, 93–97.

³¹ HELCK, in *GM* 109, 1989, 27–30.

³² S. SCHACHERMAYR, F.: *Ägäis und Orient* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist.Kl., Denkschriften. 93), Wien, 1967, 26.

LB und nicht wie wünschenswert aus MBI – MBIIA.³³ Trotzdem bieten diese Aufarbeitungen mehr Anhaltspunkte bei dem wegen der Unterschiedlichkeit der Schrift schon schwierigen Vergleich als nord- und mittelmesopotamische Onomastika.³⁴

Sowohl die Konsonantenfolge *ʿ – r* als auch *ʿ – d* ist mit dem Aleph prostheticum belegt.³⁵ Somit sind schon die drei ersten Positionen des Konsonantengerüsts besetzt. Für den Namen *iʿdd* scheint die Schreibung wegen des großen Vogels im Auslaut nicht zu passen. Das zweite *d* müßte wohl ausgeschrieben werden. Einen Anhaltspunkt bietet *iʿrt* «unbekannte Stadt»³⁶ mit dem Gentilnamen *iʿrti*.³⁷ Ein so benannter Ort scheint in Palästina unbekannt gewesen zu sein,³⁸ aber man kann nach dem Zeugnis des Annalenbruchstückes des Königs Amenemhet II. und der Ächtungstexte doch wohl an eine Stadt im mittel- und nordsyrischen Gebiet denken. Die Gleichsetzung von *J3sij* mit *Alasia* «Zypern» in den Annalen Amenemhets II. scheint ja festzustehen. Es sind jedoch auch Zweifel an einem so weitgehenden Ausgreifen Ägyptens angemeldet worden.³⁹

Der Asiat gehört zu den Personen, die aus dem syrischen Raum entweder als „Kriegsgefangener“ oder als „Steuer“ eines syrischen Landes nach Ägypten gelangt sind.⁴⁰ Sie wurden entweder dem Totentempel des Königs Sesostri II. überwiesen und scheinen dann in einem abgesonderten Campus gewohnt zu haben. Die andere Möglichkeit ist, daß sie einer Gruppe eines Beamten zugewiesen wurden. Für beide Möglichkeiten geben die Annalen wiederum Hinweise.⁴¹ Dort heißt es nämlich: «Belohnungen geben an Hausvolk, Äckern, Gold und von allen überaus guten Dingen dem Vorsteher der Eliteeinheit der Truppe, den Führern der Jungmannschaften, den Jungmannschaften, die zurückgekommen sind vom Zerhacken von *Jw3j* und *J3sij* (=Zypern) und die Pyramidenstadt *Šhm jmn-m-ḥ3.t* mit Gefangenen als Tran-

³³ AISTLEITNER, J.: Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache (SbLeipzig, 106/3), Berlin, 1963, und GRÖHNDAHL, F.: Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit (Studia Pohl. 1), Rom, 1967. Zur Datierung vgl. DROWER, M. S.: Ugarit, in CAH³, II. Band, Cambridge, 1975, 155 und KITCHEN, K. A.: The King-List of Ugarit, in UF 9, 1977, 139.

³⁴ HELCK, W.: Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (ÄgAbh. 5)², Wiesbaden, 1971, 46–64. 77–81 hat die meisten der in Ägypten vorkommenden asiatischen Namen zusammengetragen und ist vielfach auf hurritische Grundlagen gestoßen. Die Hurriter werden im 19. Jh. v. Chr. für den Küstenbereich Syriens und Palästinas in Frage gestellt. Vgl. demgegenüber meine Bemerkungen in Sesto Congresso, 295. Ich sehe heute den Grund für das Abtriften in der viel besseren Aufarbeitung des hurritischen Materials, s. GELB, I.: Hurrians and Subarians (SAOC, 22), Chicago, 1944, und DRAFFKORN, A.: Hurrians and Hurrian ab Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1959.

³⁵ Vgl. AISTLEITNER, J.: Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache (SbLeipzig, 106/3), Berlin, 1963, Nr. 1203 *iʿr*, Nr. 1195 *iʿd*, Nr. 1196 *iʿdd*.

³⁶ AISTLEITNER, Wörterbuch, Nr. 1203

³⁷ Vgl. GRÖHNDAHL, Personennamen, 142: *yʿr* «Wald», davon abgeleitet der Ortsname: *urua-ar-ti/u* = *yʿrt* (ug.), auch GORDON, C. H.: Ugaritic Textbook. Analecta Orientalia, 38, Roma, 1965, Glossary n° 385.

³⁸ AHITUV, SH.: Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents, Jerusalem – Leiden, 1984.

³⁹ ALTENMÜLLER – MOUSSA, in SAK 18, 1991, 35. Überhaupt wird die Frage der Aktivitäten des Mittleren Reiches in Vorderasien unter den Ägyptologen mit einer gewissen Skepsis diskutiert.

⁴⁰ Siehe oben Anm. 8 und 9.

⁴¹ ALTENMÜLLER – MOUSSA, in SAK 18, 1991, Zl. (25)–(26).

sporttruppen versorgt haben.» Das zu verschenkende «Hausvolk» mußte natürlich auch irgendwoher „besorgt“ worden sein.

Für die Auffüllung solcher Lücken schauten die Ägypter nach Süden⁴² und Norden,⁴³ aber es scheint im Mittleren Reich feine Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Regionen gegeben zu haben. Denn in einem Grenzprotokoll aus dem nubischen Semna, das aus der Zeit des Königs Amenemhet III. stammen wird, berichtet der Diensthabende dem Vorgesetzten: «Nimm bitte zur Kenntnis, daß zwei Medja und drei Medja-Frauen, sowie zwei [weitere Personen] im Jahr 3, im dritten Monat der *prj.t*-Jahreszeit, Tag 27, aus der Wüste gekommen sind und sagten: 'Wir sind gekommen, um dem Pharao – l.h.g. – zu dienen.' Eine Frage wurde nach den Bedingungen in der Wüste gestellt, worauf sie sagten: 'Wir haben nichts gehört, aber die Wüste stirbt vor Hunger', so sagten sie. Dann schickte der Diener sie wieder in die Wüste zurück.»⁴⁴ Die Asiaten hingegen waren erwünscht. Sie wurden am Totentempel des Königs in verschiedenen untergeordneten Positionen verwendet, unter anderem auch als Akteure im Kult.⁴⁵ Auch der thebanische Papyrus Brooklyn vermittelt die gleiche Behandlung mit „Samthandschuhen“.⁴⁶ Nur selten scheint eine Gegenstimme laut geworden zu sein: «Schicke 30 inskribierte Arbeiter [zu einer bestimmten Arbeit], aber schicke mir nicht diese Asiaten!»⁴⁷

Der frühe Beleg für eine im ugaritischen Onomastikon erst später erwähnte Siedlung unterstreicht erneut die Möglichkeit, die sprachlichen Zeugnisse dieser westsemitischen Gruppe auch für die Periode MBI-IIA fruchtbar zu machen. Gleichzeitig muß betont werden, daß die Ergebnisse solcher Vergleiche mit großer Vorsicht zu behandeln sind. Denn die oben vorgeschlagene Ableitung des Namens setzt die Existenz der Siedlung im vorchristlichen 19. Jahrhundert voraus und stützt die Erweiterung des Einflusses der ägyptischen Politik in den syrischen Raum während der 12. Dynastie, die von anderer Seite durch die Annalen des Königs Amenemhet II. deutlich gemacht wird.

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⁴² Für das Alte Reich hat HELCK, W., in SAK 1, 1974, 217–219 die Einbringung von nubischen Kriegsgefangenen wahrscheinlich gemacht.

⁴³ Siehe oben Anm. 8.

⁴⁴ Semnah Despatch 5, publ. v. SMITHER, P. C.: The Semnah Despatches, in JEA 31, 1945, 9.

⁴⁵ LUFT, in Sesto Congresso, 296.

⁴⁶ Publ. v. HAYES, 92–109, bes. 108.

⁴⁷ Papyrus Berlin P.10111Aa r^o III (2)–(4), erw. v. LUFT, in Sesto Congresso, 297.

MIKLÓS MARÓTH

SIMILARITY IN STYLISTICS AND ROMAN LAW

The roles played by similarity and divergence in cognition arose the Greek thinkers' interest from the earliest times. Summarising the views prevailing in earlier periods of cognition Theophrastos said, '... there are two widespread notions of sensation. Some deduce it from similarity, others from divergence...' The first group argue that most other things are analysed with the help of similarity, and all living beings are born with the ability to recognize their own kind!¹

G.E.R. Lloyd devoted a monograph to the examination of the question what the roles of similarity and divergence were in cognition² as testified by Greek literary and philosophical sources.

When looking for loci to illustrate how similarity fulfills its above-mentioned role in cognition and verification, one can find several relevant examples in Plato's works. Picking out one randomly, I would like to mention the role guards played in society.

Considering the guards' responsibilities Plato inferred that they should stand up against the enemy and be hard on them, but should be mild and friendly with the citizens. However, the question arises whether the guards can realistically be expected to follow two different norms and not to be invariably harsh or invariably kind under all circumstances. The answer is: they can. This is illustrated and also proved by the dogs' example. They are known to be very friendly, faithful and gentle to their masters, but if a stranger approaches the house, they defend the inhabitants of the house very bravely, in a militant manner.

The author, however, went further than that. He pointed out that in the canine society both the males and the females have the same jobs to do. They take up the fight against whoever approaches the house.³ This makes Plato conclude that the

¹ Theophrastos: De sensu et sensibilibus, in: *Theophrasti Eresii opera, quae supersunt, omnia*; ed. F. WIMMER, Parisiis 1866, 321: Τὸ δὲ πιθανὸν ἔλαβον οἱ μὲν ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τε τὰ πλείστα τῇ ὁμοιότητι θεωρεῖται ...

² G. E. R. LLOYD: *Polarity and Analogy*, Cambridge 1966.

³ Plato: *The State*, 380 D–381 B.

guards can also be friendly with the citizens and attached to them on the one hand, but bellicose with the enemy on the other. In their case, too, it is evident that males and females should do identical defensive tasks having received the same type of education.

Similarity plays a part in poetry and rhetorics, as well as cognition. Aristotle wrote in this *Poetics*: “... *the most important thing, however, is a fair degree of familiarity with the metaphor. It is the only trope that you cannot learn from others – it is a sign of natural disposition. Hitting upon the right metaphor is identical with the detection of similarity.*”⁴

In his **Rhetorics** Aristotle wrote the following about the metaphor:

Out of the four types of metaphor the ones based on analogues are the most popular. So, for instance, Pericles said that the youth lost in war disappeared from the city as if the year had been deprived of spring. Referring to the Spartans Leptines said he would not let Hellas lose one eye. And when Chares was going to report on the Olynthos war, Kephisodotos exclaimed with resentment. The one giving an account of the war is holding his hand on his people's throat. And when calling inviting the Athenians to Euboia so they could get supplies for themselves there he said the following:

“and provision themselves there, like the decree of Miltiades”.

And when the Athenians made peace with Epidaurus and the seaside cities, Iphicrates objected indignantly: ‘They deprived themselves of the provisions of war.’ And Peithalus called Paralus ‘the people's mace’ and Sestos, ‘Peiraieus’ corn-sifter! And Pericles demanded ‘Aigina, that seed of eyes to be wiped from Peiraieus’!⁵

In the 21st Chapter of his **Poetics** Aristotle gave a detailed description of the metaphor and its types. In a metaphor a species is named instead of a genus, or conversely, a genus, instead of a species, or a species instead of another species falling under the same genus. The analogy also belongs here, where the first and second terms are in the same relationship with each other, as the third and fourth terms. The cup is related to the shield as Dionysos to Ares. Dionysos' attribute is the cup, Ares' the shield. So instead of naming the cup, it is possible to quote Dionysos' shield metaphorically, or instead of the shield Ares' cup may be referred to. In the same way one can talk about ‘a twilight of one's life’ or else, about ‘an old evening’ (i.e. the evening of one's life).⁶ As Aristotle said, all the types of the metaphor are based on similarity and are also suitable for helping one name things that have no names otherwise.

Aristotle considered the metaphors to be important stylistic means, as he thought they constituted the source of wit by causing surprise through their novelty. Creating a pleasant sensation in the audience, he said, they delight them and make

⁴ Aristoteles: *De arte poetica*, 1459 a 5–9: ... πολλὰ δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι. μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο οὕτε παρ’ ἄλλου ἔστι λαβεῖν εὐφυνίως τέ <τι> σημειῶν ἔστι. τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρεῖν ἔστιν.

⁵ Aristoteles: *De arte rhetorica*, 1410 b 36–1411 a 23.

⁶ Aristoteles: *De arte poetica*, 1457 b 7–25.

the text dynamic at the same time. 'It has been said that wit arises from analogical metaphors and striking expression.'

What is to be described at this point is what brings about the strength of expression, and what needs to be done, if such an effect is to be attained. I take the leave to declare that the power of expression lies in phenomena being represented in their dynamism. ... "Then the Hellenes shook a leg" – 'shook' is dynamic, as well as metaphorical, because it means 'fast'.⁷

When trying to find reasons for the metaphor delighting audiences, one can find the answer also in Aristotle's work, *Rhetorics*: "*Light learning is by nature pleasant (hedy) for everybody; words have definite meanings, consequently all the words that teach you something are fairly pleasant (hedista) ... The effect quoted can be attained by the metaphor best, because when a poet called old age 'straw', he taught people by communicating the message that both things belonged to the same genus, as they had both shed their flowers or blossoms....* The conclusion suggests itself that those enthymemes and that kind of style are witty that provide new information."⁸

So metaphors based on similarity are pleasant and delight audiences because they give new knowledge besides appearing to be dynamic and witty. Aristotle said already in his 'Poetics' that "... *studying is the chief source of pleasure not only for philosophers, but also for others, but the latter's share of it is rather small*".⁹

In a metaphor it is precisely the similarity of two things that teach you something. Knowing one you become capable of identifying it with the other, referring to some similar quality of theirs. Bringing up Aristotle's favourite example one can talk about 'Achilles the Lion'. A lion is known to be brave. When Achilles is identified with a lion, it immediately becomes clear to everybody that Achilles, who was noted for having been a great hero, was just as brave, and on account of his bravery he occupied just as prominent a place among people as a lion does among animals. So the metaphor communicated new information about Achilles, and the novelty lies in the recognition of a property of his.

After the metaphors let me examine another stylistic means, which is also based on similarity. This stylistic means is the example/paradigm (*paradeigma, exemplum*). The example has a double function. One is ornamental ('ornatus', adding grace to a text by furnishing it with ornaments), the other is argumentative (providing proof or evidence).¹⁰

An example usually connects two events on the basis of some kind of similarity between them. The events include a current event and another, which has been quoted as an example.¹¹

⁷ Aristoteles: *De arte rhetorica*, 1411 b 20–1412 a 5.

⁸ Loc. cit. 1410 b 5–34.

⁹ Aristoteles: *De arte poetica*, 1448 b 12–15: αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ὅτι μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁰ H. LAUSBERG: *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*, Hueber 1990, §§ 404–406.

¹¹ Quintilianus: *Institutio oratoria*, V. 11, 1: "[*exemplum*] ... quo nomine et generaliter usi sunt in omni similium adpositione et specialiter is iis, quae rerum gestarum auctoritate nituntur. ... et hoc simile et illud exemplum."

In connection with the argumentative function of the examples Quintilianus said that Cicero had divided all kinds of arguments into two groups. One group is that of induction, the other, deduction. The Greeks themselves called the example 'rhetorical induction'.¹² According to the passage quoted Socrates himself resorted to it in the course of verification. He conducted a series of interviews with people and when the interviews admitted certain things to be true, he went on to draw conclusions about the unknown thing he was investigating, stating that it was similar to the ones already accepted.¹³

Inference generally meant the establishment of a feature extant in previous occurrences and identified in a current occurrence as similar to it. The essence of the procedure is adequately illustrated by the following example: 'Which one is the finest of all fruits? It's the best, isn't it? This is generally accepted! And then follows the next example.'

'And which one is the finest of all horses? It's the best one of all, isn't it?' And so on, and so forth, through similar examples, until one gets to the point that motivated the whole interviewing procedure: 'Well, isn't the best person of all, the noblest?' After the above introduction, this is to be recognized as true.

According to the passage this is one of the most efficient courtroom procedures during the hearing of witnesses, but in continuous oratorical Contributions this means should be used differently. In the latter case, as a matter of fact, the orator is forced to answer himself, and the dialogue works out like this approximately: 'Which one is the finest of all fruits? I think, the best. And of horses'. The fastest. Similarly, among people the noblest are not those who are distinguished by birth, but those whose excellence is of merit.¹⁴

The argumentative power of examples in establishing proof comes from their similarity. As speeches were divided into three groups already in Aristotle's classification (advisory, laudatory and courtroom speeches), Quintilianus gave an example for this that is probably closest to the courtroom category:

Saturninus's assassination was just as justified as that of the Gracchi. Then one is advised that if examples from the past allow one to draw conclusions about future events, this happens most often in advisory speeches. Dionysios may be said to have asked for guards to protect his safety in order to become a tyrant with their help, because Peisistratos got hold of power in the same way.¹⁵

Later it reads in the passage that if you need examples as proofs, you may not only compare events, but fiction can also be quoted as evidence, if you want to make your audience accept some statement in a specific case. Fictitious stories, however, prove to be less valuable than real events in establishing evidence, Quintilianus said.

¹² Loc. cit. V, 11, 2.

¹³ Loc. cit. V, 11, 3: "*Nam illa, qua plurimum est Socrates usus, hanc habuit viam, <ut> cum plura interrogasset, quae fateri adversario necesse esset, novissime id. de quo quaerebatur, inferret ut simile concessis.*"

¹⁴ Loc. cit. V, 11, 4-5: "*... Hoc in testimonio interrogatione valet plurimum, in oratione perpetua dissimile est: aut enim sibi ipse respondet orator: 'quod pomum generosissimum? puto quod optimum: et equus? qui velocissimus: ita hominum non qui claritate nascendi, sed virtute maxime excellet'.*"

¹⁵ Loc. cit. V, 11, 6-8.

Yet this should not discourage a good rhetor from concluding his speech like this after telling a fictitious story:

*"It was not without any reason that judges and scholars described all this adding invented stories to preserve the attempt of the son in living memory against his mother as a revenge on her for his father's fate at a time when people's judgement was heterogeneous. He was freed, as it were, not by the judgement of just any goddess, but the wisest goddess."*¹⁶ Menenius Agrippa acted very similarly, when convincing the people that turned out with dissatisfaction using an example of the parts of the human body and leading them back into the city. The examples are suitable for helping one convince rude simple-minded people in the first place, because on the one hand they are willing to listen to fictitious stories, and on the other, they easily fall into the trap of believing what delights them.¹⁷

Thus it appears that delighting people and conveying new knowledge to them go together also in the case of the example (*paradeigma, exemplum*). However, examples have argumentative power when evidence is required to prove something, coming from the fact that they count as elliptical induction (rhetorical induction in the text). They are so because instead of listing all similar cases they present only one similar case and proceed to drawing a final conclusion on the basis of that. As a result, examples are powerful enough to convince people. Simple-minded audiences, or the court, for that matter, find it impossible to withdraw from the power of persuasion.

On the use of examples it is stated in the text quite explicitly that they are suitable for making the style more ornamental and also for convincing the judges in court proceedings. That is to say, their application of justice.

Even if one investigates all the means of stylistics based on similarity, they cannot arrive at a result different from the picture suggested by the two *examples*. One cannot but conclude as a result of investigations: Comparisons (metaphors?) tend to be of literary importance, whereas examples may carry weight both in literature and court proceedings.

The double applications offered by similarity were also recognized by the theoreticians of rhetorics already in the Antiquities.

In a short treatise on rhetorics, formerly mistakenly attributed to Kornutus and today thought to have been written by an unknown author, the following statement can be read about similarity: *"The location comparisons (metaphors?) originate from is of dual character. In one case similarity occurs in qualities or characteristics, in the other, in analogies. The latter suits argumentation or verification."*¹⁸

¹⁶ Loc. cit. V, 11, 17–18: *"Itaque hoc, iudices, non sine causa etiam fictis fabulis doctissimi homines memoriae prodiderunt, eum, qui patris ulciscendi causa metrem necavisset, variatis hominum sententiis non solum divina, sed sapientissimae deae sententia liberatum."*

¹⁷ Loc. cit. V, 11, 19.

¹⁸ *Anónymou tekhné rhétoriké. Tekhné tou politikou logou*, in: *Rhetores Graeci*, II. ex L. recognitione L. SPENGEL ed. C. HAMMER, 383, 10–13: ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων τόπος καὶ αὐτὸς διπλοῦς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιῶντα ὁμοίων ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν, ὅπερ εἰς τὰς ἀποδείξεις μᾶλλον

The text seems to convey that out of the four types of metaphor enumerated by Aristotle the first three suggest similarities in some properties. So in the Aristotelian locus quoted above, the poet, who called old age 'straw', referred to that quality of human life that in old age everybody has already passed the zenith of their lives, just as flowers become straw when withering. The identification of an old man with straw emphasizes precisely the circumstance that both of them have already left behind what had been the aim and substance of their lives. In the description of old age 'straw' is a strikingly new and concise way of expressing this fundamental quality of maturity. The same thing holds true for the case when Achilles was said 'to have fought like a lion'! This metaphor of Achilles focusses on one of his qualities, bravery and communicates it to us very efficiently.

Structural similarity between two things is markedly different from the previous cases. If two phenomena compared to each other are similar in their composition or structure, metaphors based on analogies and belonging to the fourth type can be created. In this case, however, examples can also be cited.

A few examples for analogical metaphors have been quoted above (in the 5th note) from Aristotle's *Poetics*. In the course of a year spring is the period of nature's revival and growth, followed by the fruit-bearing summer, the fall bringing decay and winter bringing peril. When youth is compared to spring, the message is that development and heavy crops are still ahead of them. If there is no youth in a city, i.e. there is no spring, the city's life is deprived of them both, so all the beauty associated with spring in nature is lacking.

The example quoted by Menenius Agrippa to calm down the riotous crowds and convince them presupposes structural similarity between the compositions of the human body and the state all the same. Similarly there is structural resemblance between a son murdering his mother to take revenge on her for his father and the act of the myth's Orestes. The story is suitable for supporting the idea that a mother's murderer in a specific case should be acquitted just as Orestes was.

Drawing conclusions to apply them for new cases and providing evidence on the basis of those conclusions also play an important central role in scholarly studies and science. It is not surprising therefore that certain Greek schools of philosophy have worked out the thesis of those conclusions that used merely similarity as a starting point. It is well known that the Epicureans considered drawing conclusions by starting from tangible phenomena that can be found out about through one's senses and proceeding to cover similar things that cannot be known through one's senses and proceeding to cover similar things that cannot be known through the senses, i.e. setting up analogies as they called them, to be a fundamental procedure of their Canonics. A characteristic example for this technique of candle light on the ground. They saw that everything appeared smaller and smaller to them as the distance grew, except for the candlelight. It appears to be small when observed from near, but if one goes 500 ms away from it, it does not appear to be much smaller than either. The candlelight itself is fire, and in this it resembles the Sun, which is also fire by nature. If they are alike in this respect, they should behave similarly as well, the Epicureans thought. That is how they arrived at the result that the Sun must be about the size it

appears to be,¹⁹ thought we can see it only from a distance and have no sensual experience of it from near.

Now look at another example and examine what Celsus has got to say about the growth of the empirical medical school's knowledge.

He said all those who were suffering from a certain illness and had no access to doctors, either continued to eat or chose to live on a meagre diet, as dictated by their wishes or instincts. They observed that those patients had got better mostly who abstained from food. Some of the people ate something when they were feverish, others ate before they got feverish, and the rest ate only after their temperature returned to normal. Those were the fastest to recover who ate only after their temperature got normal. As cases *like these* occurred daily, attentive people began to take notes of their observations and started to pass instructions to patients referring to them. After some time they had become acquainted with the medicaments applicable for each condition and the procedures to be followed. *However, if some unknown ailment should appear, it should not necessarily instigate the doctor for investigation into obscure domains; he should immediately check which condition it is the nearest to* (in other words: which one it resembles most), *and he should – try those medicines that had often helped in similar conditions and he will find the cure through the similarities between them.*²⁰

In that way establishing similarity also helps in science. If the things already known can be associated with new, as yet unknown phenomena on account of their similarity, conclusions can be drawn about what procedures are to be followed when dealing with the new phenomena. Thus similitude helps one extend one's knowledge to undiscovered domains, increase the body of science and make it more and more comprehensive. Moreover, as we came to know from Galenos himself, names were generally given to new phenomena (in medical science, to new diseases) precisely on the basis of similarity.²¹

Consequently, on the one hand establishing similitude serves as a methodological basis for scientific thinking, and on the other, it promotes the extension of scientific vocabulary through metaphorical idiom.

Now take a look at what role similarity played in law. In his work '*Rhetorica ad Herennium*' Cornificius mentioned reasoning (*rationatio*) among operations based on similitude, which is resorted to, when a case is taken to court without a relevant law to refer to, but the jury can elaborate the sentence constituting a solution to the problem by scrutinizing laws covering similar cases.²²

¹⁹ MARÓTH, MIKLÓS: Kereszténység és muzulmán hittudomány, in: Teológus az Egyházban, ed.: FILA, BÉLA and ERDŐ, PÉTER, Budapest 1995, 273–286.

²⁰ K. DEICHGRÄBER: Die griechische Empirikerschule, Berlin–Zürich 1965, 92–93: "*neque aut nova genera morborum reperiri aut novam desiderari medicinam. Quod si iam incidat mali genus aliquod ignotum, non ideo tamen fore medico de rebus cogitandum obscuris, sed eum protinus visurum, cui morbo id proximum sit, temptaturumque remedia similia illis, quae vicino malo saepe succurrerint, et per eius similitudines opem repertum.*"

²¹ Galeni *subfiguratioempirica*, loc. cit. 57: "*Itaque et gratia compendiose doctrine unum aliquod nomen posuerunt ... aliquando vero a similitudine, sicut elephantem et canerum.*"

²² Cornificius: *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I, XIII, 23: *Ex ratiocinatione controversia constat, cum res sine propria lege venit in iudicium, quae tamen ab aliis legibus similitudine quadam aucupatur.*

After this introduction of general validity follows the description of a few laws: *If someone is insane, he himself and his wealth will be disposed of by agnate blood relations and gentile relations.*²³ After this law follows another, which is independent of it: *He who has been convicted of the murder of a parent, will have a bag pulled over his head, fastened with a leather strap and be thrown into a river.*²⁴ Then follow two laws of later origin: *The way the head of the family has disposed of his family, the other inmates of his house and his wealth will be the law.* The other one is: *If the head of the family dies intestate, the inmates of his house and his wealth will become the property of the agnate relations and the gentile relations.*²⁵

After these laws have been expounded, a brief description of an event that actually happened in reality follows: *Malleolus has been convicted, as he had killed his mother. Right after the sentence a bag made of wolf-skin was pulled over his head, wooden shackles were applied to his legs and he was escorted to prison. His defense counsels took a writing tablet to the prison and regularly executed a will for him in his presence, with witnesses attending; then his sentence was carried out. Those who became heirs to his assets by virtue of his will, took over their shares of the heritage. Malleolus's younger brother, who was his indicter in the lawsuit, demands his legacy being an agnate blood relation.*²⁶

As Cornificius noted, the main source of difficulty in this case was that no law fitting the case completely was available.

However, there were several laws regulating judgements on cases, which were similar in nature to certain details of the Malleolus saga, and they were also quoted before the description of the Malleolus case. They proved very helpful suggesting sentence options to the jurors in the specific situation.

No one questioned that he was to be thrown into the river with a bag pulled over his head for murdering a parent. However doubts arose about whether the will was valid in his case, as another law stipulated his wealth would be bequeathed along the male line, as he was a 'furiosus' person.

The laws cited all expounded single statements of facts, i.e. they contained single constellations of cases. In the words of the anonymous rhetorics quoted above this similarity does not appear in a quality but in an analogy. It is not a type of similitude that is suitable for creating a metaphor, an example or some other stylistic means, but is suited for acting as a starting-point in the course of argumentation aimed at proving something. Nothing proves rhetorics and law being interwoven more strikingly than the fact that the legal case quoted together with some others was

²³ This law can be found in the 'XII table laws' (V/7a) in the following form: SI FURIOSUS ESCIT, AGNATUM GENTILIUMQUE EN EO PECUNIAQUE EIUS POTESTAS ESTO.

This locus of Cornificius is quoted with this and parallel loci mentioned in ZLINSZKY, JÁNOS: Állam és jog az ősi Rómában, Budapest 1996, 58 and 101 sqq.

²⁴ F. LAFRANCHI: Il dirittonei retori romani, Milano 1938, 491 sqq.

²⁵ XII table laws V/4–5: SI INTESTATO MORITUR, CUI SUUS HERES NEC ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO; SI ADGNATUS NEC ESCIT, GENTILES FAMILIAM HABENTO. In: ZLINSZKY, op. cit. 57, 101 sqq.

²⁶ The description of this case in Livius, Periocha 68. The Hungarian translation of Cornificius' loci in: ADAMIK, TAMÁS: Cornificius, A C. Herenniusnak ajánlott rétorika, latinul és magyarul. Budapest 1987.

to be found described in a manual on rhetorics. The reason for this, as borne out by Plato and Aristotle's views, is that rhetorics aims at convincing people: *It is to be accepted that rhetorics is the ability to explore opportunities for persuasion in any subject. No other profession aims at this.*²⁷

As we know from Aristotle, audiences can be convinced with several means. It is evidence in the first place that helps persuasion. He divided it into professional and extra professional evidence, the latter covers witness evidence, evidence extorted with torturing etc. Professional evidence includes the orator's character, his impact on the audience and the speech itself, which is real or apparent evidence.²⁸ Style is inseparable from persuasion.

*Following a natural order first the question arising first was examined: where the persuasive capacity of things comes from; secondly, their wording...*²⁹

Similitude is a common root of both style and persuasion. Its presence in rhetorics is dual: if it appears in a quality, it is stylistic, if in a structure, it concerns argumentation and the provision of proofs.

In courtroom oratory analogy involved in argumentative evidence is present where sentences are to be passed in cases referring to analogous laws when no relevant law is available. Subsequently this procedure was adopted through al-Šāfi'ī after his death in 820 in Muslim law as well, as a fourth source of law besides the Koran, textual traditions and Consensus. It got incorporated in Muslim law with the mediation of Christian Syrians who were familiar with Greek and Roman culture.

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²⁷ Aristoteles: *De arte rhetorica*, 1355b 27 sqq. ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτέρας ἐστὶ τέχνης ἔργον.

²⁸ Loc. cit. 1356a 1–3: Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου πορθομένων πίστεων τρία εἶδη ἐστίν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ᾗθι τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναι πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι.

²⁹ Loc. cit. 1403b 14–17: , τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐζητήθη κατὰ φύσιν, ὅπερ πέφυκε πρῶτον, αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐκ τῶν ἔχει τὸ πιθανόν· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει διαθέσθαι· τρίτον δὲ τούτων, ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, κτλ.

EGON MARÓTI

ZUR REGELUNG DER SPORTWETTKÄMPFE DER *SEBASTA* IN NEAPEL

An den panhellenischen Sportwettkämpfen der *Periodos* sollten die Athleten persönlich und rechtzeitig erscheinen und sich bei den Kampfrichtern melden.¹ Wer nach der festgelegten Zeit eintraf, der wurde vom Kampf ausgeschlossen und konnte nicht an den Spielen teilnehmen. Als Ausnahme galt, wenn sich der Bewerber auf von ihm unabhängige Umstände oder unabwendbare Ereignisse berufen konnte und dafür auch Beweise hatte. Im Falle der sogenannten *vis maior* hatten die Hellanodiken das Recht, die Meldung des Athleten anzunehmen. – In dieser Beziehung erhalten wir aus zwei antiken Quellen Auskunft.

So erfahren wir aus der Erzählung von Pausanias (V 21,12–14), daß der Alexandriner Apollonios, mit Beinamen Rhantes, der an den 218. Olympischen Spielen im Boxen auftreten wollte,² nicht zur festgelegten Zeit eintraf. Die Eleer sollten ihn deshalb vom Kampfe ausschließen. Seine Entschuldigung, er sei auf See bei den Kykladen durch widrige Winde aufgehalten worden (ὕπὸ ἀνεμῶν κατείχετο ἐναντίων), erwies sich als eine Lüge. Denn Herakleides, sein einziger Gegner im Wettkampf und selbst aus Alexandrien stammend, konnte beweisen, daß jener sich aus ganz anderem Grunde verspätet hatte, da er nämlich bei den Ionischen Spielen für Geld aufgetreten war. So schlossen die Kampfrichter Apollonios aus, und Herakleides erwarb den Siegeskranz kampfflos (ἀκονίτι). Der wutentbrannte Apollonios verschaffte sich daraufhin nicht auf dem Feld des Sportes Genugtuung – das gehört aber nicht eng zum Thema.³

Die anekdotisch gefärbte Erzählung des Pausanias bestätigt eine fragmentarische Inschrift von Olympia (I.Ol. 56). Diese Quelle enthält die Überreste der

¹ Pausanias V 21,13. 14. Plutarchos *symp.* VII 5,1 (704 C).

² Vgl. F. MEZŐ: Geschichte der Olympischen Spiele. München 1930, 185. J. ZIEHEN: Olympia. RE 18, 1939, 6–7. H. BENGTSON: Die Olympischen Spiele in der Antike. Zürich–Stuttgart 1971 (1972²) 30–31.

³ Vgl. MEZŐ, op.cit. 154. J. EBERT (red.): Olympia von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin. Leipzig 1980, 71.

Regelung der Sebastia in Neapel. Die diesbezüglichen Teile hat R. Merkelbach⁴ behandelt und manche Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen vorgeschlagen. Die Zeilen 24–26 der Inschrift ordnen folgendes an: „Wenn einer nach der für die Meldung vorgesehenen Zeit eintrifft, soll er den Spielleitern den Grund der Verspätung melden. (Als Grund) sollen gelten Krankheit (νόσος) oder Räuber (λησται) – offenbar Seeräuber – oder Schiffbruch (ναυαγία). Jeder Fremde oder Neapolitaner soll das Recht haben, ihn (wegen unrichtiger Meldung) vor dem Kampfgericht anzuklagen. Wenn er überführt wird, sollen die Spielleiter ihn vom Wettkampf ausschließen.“⁵

Der Pausanias-Kommentar von Hitzig-Bluemner nimmt an, daß in der Lücke der fragmentarischen Inschrift auch der Seesturm (χειμών) aufgezählt war.⁶ Das ist wohl möglich. Im derzeitigen römischen Recht stehen jedenfalls als Fälle der *vis maior* die Schäden nebeneinander, die die Angriffe der Seeräuber und die Seestürme verursacht hatten, wenn auch in einer anderen Beziehung, nämlich im Zusammenhang mit der Haftbarkeit des Warentransports auf See und der Verantwortung der Transporteure. Vgl. den Titel der Digesten 47,9: *De incendio, ruina, naufragio, rate nave expugnata*. In einem anderen Satz – mit Bezugnahme auf eine Formulierung von Antistius Labeo († 10/11 n. Chr.) – heißt es unter anderem so: ... *siquid damno fatali contigit, inde Labeo scribit, siquid naufragio aut per vim piratarum perierit* ...⁷

Es ist nicht mit Gewißheit zu entscheiden, ob in der Inschrift bei den Fällen der *vis maior* neben dem Seeräuberangriff und dem Schiffbruch auch der Seesturm aufgeführt war oder nicht. Tatsache ist aber, daß in den damaligen Zeiten viele Leute wegen der Angriffe der Seeräuber ihr Leben verloren haben. Unter ihnen findet man auch Athleten, die zu den Wettkämpfen führen, oder auf dem Rückweg von diesen waren. Unter anderem erwähnt Cicero ein konkretes Beispiel in seiner Rede *pro Flacco* (31) aus dem Jahre 59 v. Chr.: *Quid si etiam occisus est a piratis Adramyttenus homo nobilis, cuius est fere nobis omnibus nomen auditum, Atyanas pugil, Olympionices?*⁸ *Hoc est apud Graecos ... prope maius quam Romae triumphasse.*⁹

Die erwähnten Fälle der *vis maior*, der Seesturm, der Schiffbruch und der Seeräuberangriff, waren also unter den damaligen Verhältnissen tatsächliche Sorgen, die als Entschuldigung für den zuspät angekommenen Wettkämpfer galten. Die Bezugnahme eine auf Krankheit erscheint schon problematischer, einerseits deshalb, weil es fraglich ist, wie sie bewiesen werden konnte, andererseits darum, weil der Athlet

⁴ 93. n. Chr. Vgl. L. MORETTI: *Olimpionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. Roma 1957, nr. 825.

⁵ Zu den Festordnung für die Sebastia in Neapel. ZPE 15, 1974, 192–193. Vgl. P. SIEVERT: *The Olympic Games. Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games*. Athens 1992, 113, 117. E. MARÓTI: *Die Sportwettkämpfe der Pythia in Delphoi*. Budapest 1995, S. 82–83. und Anm. 256–257. (ung.)

⁶ Pausanias *Graeciae Descriptio*. Lipsiae 1901, II/1. S. 425.

⁷ Vgl. MARÓTI: *O KOINOS ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ*. *Studia Antiqua* 9, 1962, 217. (ung.) S. noch BCO 9, 1964/3, 163.

⁸ Nach MORETTI, op. cit. nr. 687. Atyanas hat bei den 177. Olympischen Spielen, 72. v. Chr. gesiegt. S. noch MARÓTI: *Die Rolle der Seeräuber unter den Anhängern des Sextus Pompeius*. In: *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im Alten Orient und im Klassischen Altertum*. Berlin 1961, 209.

⁹ Vgl. MARÓTI: *Curus Achaicus*. *Acta Ant.* 14, 1966, S. 359. und Anm. 3.

nach einer schweren Krankheit bei geschwächter Kondition nicht auf Erfolg rechnen konnte. Wie der Sachverhalt beurteilt wurde und welche Konsequenzen sich daraus ergaben, darüber finden wir in den Quellen keinen Anhaltspunkt. Übrigens sollte das neben den anderen, objektiven Faktoren jedenfalls eine geringere Bedeutung haben.

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BÉLA NÉMETH

RISUS INEPTUS (CAT. 37 BZW. 39) EIN DIPTYCHON

Catulls 37 und 39 Gedicht befinden sich nicht unter denen, die im Mittelpunkt der Catullforschung stehen.¹ Bury, Herescu, Quinn, Horváth, Alfonsi und andere beschäftigten sich zwar mit Einzelproblemen, doch wurden diese zwei Gedichte meines Wissens nie zusammen interpretiert.

Die Fortschritte, die man bei der Erschließung mehrerer Diptychon-Gedichte² von Catull registrieren kann, machen es wünschenswert, alle Stücke, die (nur mit einem anderen zusammen) einen Namen gemeinsam haben, als eventuelle Diptychon-Gedichte zu untersuchen, umso mehr, wenn man mit konkreten römischen Zeit- und Ortshinweisen rechnen kann.

c. 37

*Salax taberna vosque contubernales,
A pileatis nona fratribus pila,
Solis putatis esse mentulas vobis,
Solis licere, quidquid est puellarum,
Confutuere et putare ceteros hircos?
An, continenter quod sedetis insulsi
Centum an ducenti, non putatis ausurum
Me una ducentos inrumare sessores?
Atqui putate: namque totius vobis*

¹ Auch seit der ersten Formulierung der folgenden Gedanken für die letzte Eiréné-Konferenz (Budapest) ist auf diesem Gebiet nichts Wesentliches geschehen. Unter den wichtigeren Reflexionen siehe:

R. G. BURY, Notes on Catullus. PCPS 82, 1909, 8 f.

N. HERESCU, Autour de la Salax Taberna. Hommages a Leon Hermann, Bruxelles 1960, 431 ff.

K. QUINN, The Catullan Revolution. Melbourne 1959, 63 f.

K. QUINN, Catullus, The poems. London 1970, 202 ff. 208 ff.

L. ALFONSI, Varia. GIF 30, 1978, 294 ff.

I. K. HORVÁTH, Catulle et la tradition populaire italique. AAntHung 5, 1957, 169 ff.

² Anstelle des bisherigen Ausdrucks Zwillingsgedichte verwende ich nun nach weiterer Überlegung diese Metapher.

*Frontem tabernae sopionibus scribam.
 Puella nam mi, quae meo sinu fugit,
 Amata tantum quantum amabitur nulla,
 Pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata,
 Consedit istic, hanc boni beatique
 Omnes amatis, et quidem, quod indignum est,
 Omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi;*

*Tu, praeter omnes, une de capillatis
 Cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili
 Egnati, opaca quem bonum facit barba
 Et dens Hibera defricatus urina.*

c. 39

*Egnatius, quod candidos habet dentes,
 Renidet usquequaque. Si ad rei ventum est
 Subsellium, cum orator excitat fletum,
 Renidet ille, si ad pii rogum fili
 Lugetur, orba cum flet unicum mater,
 Renidet ille, quidquid est, ubicumque est,
 Quodcumque agit, renidet. Hunc habet morbum
 Nec elegantem, ut arbitror, neque urbanum.
 Quare monendum est te mihi, bone Egnati,
 Si urbanus esses aut Sabinus aut Tiburs
 Aut parvus umber aut obesus Etruscus
 Aut Lanuvinus ater atque dentatus
 Aut Transpadanus, ut meos quoque attingam,
 Aut quilibet, qui puriter lavit dentes,
 Tamen renidere usque quaque te nollem:
 Nam risu inepto res ineptior nulla est.
 Nunc Celtiber es, Celtiberia in terra,
 Quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solet mane
 Dentem atque russam defricare gingivam,
 Ut quo iste vester expolitor dens est,
 Hoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti.*

Im Falle des 37 bzw. 39 Gedichtes ist festzustellen, daß im Vers 19 des ersteren und in den Versen 1 bzw. 9 des letzteren der Name *Egnatius* steht. (Im Vokativ 37, 19; 39, 9, im Nominativ 39, 1.) Außerdem sieht man, daß auch bei dieser Diptychon-Komposition das gewöhnliche Klammerwort³ (*defricatus* c. 37, 20 – *defricare* c. 39, 19) vorhanden ist.

Die Vertreter der sog. Biographischen Richtung in der Forschung machen sich keine Probleme, sie sind, wie immer, bereit, Catulls dichterische Worte als bare

³ Vgl. identidem in 11. bzw. 51. Gedichten, scortum in 6. bzw. 10. Gedichten usw.

Münze zu nehmen. Sie glauben an die wirklichen Existenz eines celtiberischen Barbaren, der sich die Zähne mit Urin putzt und zusammen mit anderen hundert bzw. zweihundert Nebenbuhlern (*moechi*) Lesbia liebt. Sie kümmert nicht, daß die Wendung *omnes amatis* eine litararische Reminiszenz aus Ciceros *amica omnium* ist, der dies seinerseits in der Rede Pro Caelio aus Archilochs Pasiphilé schöpft. Sie wollen auch nicht bedenken, daß im 11. Gedicht dasselbe Motiv (*moechis quos simul complexa tenet trecentos nullum amans vere*) mit der Anwendung von *simul* eine bewußte Übertreibung ist.

Der Name ist, wie es in den besten Kommentaren (z.B. Kroll) steht, keineswegs celtiberisch sondern samnitisch, Egnatius stammte also von römischen Bürgern ab. Schade ist aber, daß Kroll nicht einmal erwägt, warum denn Egnatius sein Leben in Rom führt usw. Ob Caesars Freund politische Ambitionen hatte? Bei einem Mann, der sowohl an den Gerichtsverfahren als auch an Begräbniszeremonien eifrig teilnimmt und bei diesen Gelegenheiten die Aufmerksamkeit der Mitbürger sucht, kann dies nicht ohne weiteres ausgeschlossen werden. Es ist auch möglich, daß er die Gesellschaft vornehmer Leute (*boni beatique*) suchte, um eine bessere Bildung bzw. Weltanschauung zu erlangen. In dieser Hinsicht haben wir jedoch keinen sicheren Boden unter den Füßen.

Schon Bergk und Baehrens waren der Meinung, daß Catulls Egnatius und ein Egnatius in Macrobius, der an zwei Stellen (Sat. 6.5.2 bzw. 6.5.12) Fragmente von ihm registriert (insgesamt 3 Verse und 3 Silben), ein und dieselbe Person ist. Gegenüber dieser Meinung hält Skutsch in der RE die Frage nicht einmal einer detaillierten Diskussion für wert.

Die neuesten Catullbücher kümmern sich um Egnatius nicht viel, folglich auch nicht um seine mögliche Identifizierung. Der Egnatius von Macrobius muß in die Zeit vor Vergil und nach Lucrez datiert werden.⁴ Der vornehmste Kenner dieser Epoche, K. Kumaniecki, schreibt in seiner (postum herausgegebenen) Literaturgeschichte über ihn wie folgt: Poemat Lukrecjusza De natura rerum nie był jedynym poematem filozoficznym, jaki powstał w epoce cyceronskiej. Zupełnie taki sam tytuł nosił również poemat bliżej nam nieznanego Egnacjusza: De rerum natura, z którego jeden wiersz zachował się u Makrobiusza. (Macr. Sat. 6,5,2; 5,6,12) Zarówno treść poematu jest nam nieznaną, jak również i osoba autora; czy był on identyczny z owym Egnacjuszem, którego tak bezlitosnie atakował w swoich utworach Katullus (Catull. 37 i 39) nie wiadomo.⁵

(Das Gedicht von Lucrez De natura rerum war nicht das einzige philosophische Gedicht, das in der Epoche von Cicero entstand. Einen ganz identischen Titel hatte ein Gedicht von einem uns nicht näher bekannten Egnatius, von dem ein Vers in Macrobius übriggeblieben ist (Macr. Sat. 6,5,2; 5,6,12). Sowohl der Inhalt des Gedichtes als auch die Person des Verfassers sind unbekannt. Ob er mit dem Egnatius, den Catull so erbarmungslos angreift (Catull. 37 und 39), identisch ist, wissen wir nicht.)

⁴ Die Beispiele von Macrobius stehen in einer chronologischen Abfolge.

⁵ *Lyteratura rzymska. Okres cyceronski*, Warszawa 1977.

Die Erwähnung eines einzigen Verses (jeden wiersz) und den Druckfehler 5.6.12 anstelle 6.5.12 wird man der postumen Ausgabe zurechnen müssen.

E. Rawson dagegen registriert die Existenz eines Dichters Egnatius, ohne Catull zu nennen: Cicero reveals that there were Latin-writing poets at Corduba in Spain, where there had been much Roman and Italian settlements by negotiatores and veterans (Arch. 26). It has been suggested that Egnatius, who wrote *De rerum natura* in verse, might come hence. (R. Syme, *Roman Papers* (1979) I. 38 n. 1, cf. Skutsch RE Egnatius (3) 1905, 1993.

Das Publikum Catulls, in erster Linie der Redner Licinius Calvus, der gelehrte Dichter Helvius Cinna, der Epikureer Manlius Torquatus usw., wurde mit dem Gedichtpaar konfrontiert; die weniger Informierten hatten es so verstanden wie heutzutage, aber die eigentlichen Adressaten wußten, daß der Name Egnatius vom römischen Epikureismus, von der lukrezischen Dichtung und der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der jüngeren Epikureer untrennbar ist. In dieser Hinsicht kann man mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß der Dichter Egnatius mit dem Egnatius von Catull identisch ist.

Drei Verse und drei Silben (die letzteren sogar textkritisch verdorben) sind nicht all zu viel, wenn man die ästhetischen Werte von Egnatius' Dichtung beurteilen möchte. Doch die Tatsache, daß sein Werk so schnell und fast völlig verloren ging, ist schon ein gewisses Indiz für die allgemeine Meinung und Anerkennung, und auch die Fragmente reichen für eine vorsichtige Beurteilung aus.

Das erste Fragment (Macr. 6.5,2) geht von einer Ennius-Stelle aus, vergißt aber bei der Ansetzung eines archaischen Epithetons von Vulcanus, daß *Mulciber* zu diesem mythologischen Kontext nicht paßt. Denn der Text: *denique Mulciber ipse ferens altissima caeli / contingunt* kann nicht unabhängig von Ennius' National-Epos beurteilt werden. Ennius spricht von Iuppiter und Romulus (Ann, I, XXXIII):

*Unus erit, quem tu tolles in caerula caeli
Templa.*

Anstelle Iupiters steht der aus dem Himmel (oder Olymp) einmal hinausgeworfene, mit unterirdischen Zügen (Feuer, Aetna, Cyclopen) gekennzeichnete Vulcanus. Aus dem Ausdruck *caerula caeli templa* macht Egnatius eine flache Wendung *altissima caeli*, statt des *tu tolles* schreibt er *ipse ferens*, das mit dem *denique* nur zur Füllung des Hexameters dient. Es ist nicht leicht zu verstehen, warum betont werden muß, daß der tüchtige Schmied-Gott etwas selbst trägt.

Das zweite Fragment scheint auf den ersten Blick schöner zu sein. Doch nach dem Urteil von Calvus, Cinna und Catull konnte es nur ausgelacht werden (Macr. 6.5.12)

*roscida noctivagis astris labentibus Phoebe
pulsula loco cessit concedens lucibus altis.*

Man wird die starken Lukrez-Einflüsse nicht verkennen: *astris labentibus* kommt aus *caeli labentia signa*⁶, aber das Adjektiv *noctivagis* (eine Quasi-Mischung

⁶ 12.

nach Lukrez' *navigerum*⁷ und Catulls *nemorivagus*⁸) ist eigentlich Heraclits *νοκτι-πόλοι* entnommen.

Der Gebrauch des Adjektivs für Mänaden läßt fast unmöglich zu, es mit Diana zusammenzubringen. Warum bekommt Diana die Rolle der *rododaktylos* Eos, warum sollte die Mond-Göttin ohne Erwähnung der Erde, des Bodens, und dazu mit dem Hyperbaton stark zwischen den Sternen gezeigt, gerade taufeucht sein. Das militärische Bild *pulsa loco cessit* steht im Gegensatz zu der langsameren Stimmung des ersten Verses. Obwohl die Erscheinung von Ciceros *cedant arma togae concedat laurea linguae* bekannt ist, bleibt die Alliteration *cessit concedens* farblos, die figura etymologica ist tautologisch. Es ist überflüssig zu betonen, daß für Calvus und Catullus eine *labentibu Phoebe* unannehmbar war. Nimmt man noch dazu an, daß ein Sieg der Sonne (*luces altae*), d.h. Apollos, vorstellbar und sogar wahrscheinlich ist, ist dannaber ein Sieg über seine Zwillingschwester (durch den Namen Phoebe stark betont) geschmacklos. Daraus sieht man, daß im Kreis der Neoteriker Egnatius als schlechter Dichter behandelt werden mußte.

Im Falle der Egnatius-Gedichte, die in der mehrmals verwendeten Diptychon-Komposition entstanden sind, werden die Stücke von Licinius Calvus, Helvius Cinna, Caecilius usw. auch in den kleinsten Einzelheiten beobachtet. Sie verstehen die ästhetischen, philosophischen und politischen Hinweise im Gedicht 37 genau. (Egnatius als *pessimus poeta*, Egnatius als Pseudo-Philosoph, die Stammgäste der *salax taberna* als Caesars Militär). Durch eine solche Auffassung werden die Diptychon-Gedichte ihr dichterisch-politisches Ziel erreichen. Es ist nicht so sicher, daß Catulls Freunde die *nona pila* vom Castor und Pollux Tempel aus in Richtung des vornehmen Wohnviertels Palatin⁹ zählen. In der anderen Richtung kann man zur *regia*¹⁰ gelangen, dem Sitz und Standort des *pontifex maximus*, der zu dieser Zeit Iulius Caesar war, der merkwürdigerweise mit dem Epikureismus sympathisierte¹¹ und genauso wie sein ehemaliger Schwiegervater, Piso, vielleicht seine Kameraden (*contubemales*) bei epikureischen Freundesmahlen¹² zu versammeln pflegte.

Auch für uns gibt es eine Möglichkeit, die Beziehung zwischen dem Text des 37. Gedichtes und Caesars Figur bei Catull¹³ zu erfassen. Am Ende der ersten Verses steht *contubemales*, d.h. Kameraden, es kommt das Wort *mentula* vor, das außer an dieser Stelle nur noch für Caesars Günstling Mamurra gebraucht wird. Die Wendung *quidquid est puellarum* ist parallel mit den Wendungen aus dem Caesar-Gedicht 57 (*rivales socii puellularum*) und 29 (*perambulabit omnium cubilia* bzw. *ut albulus columbulus*). Auch für militärische Tätigkeit braucht man *sedere* und *sessores* bzw.

⁷ 13.

⁸ 63, 72.

⁹ So QUINN (1970) zur Stelle.

¹⁰ Wo der *pontifex maximus* nicht wohnen darf, ist hier einer Kneipe ähnlich (*taberna, contubemales*).

¹¹ Vgl. Caesars Gedanken in Sallust Catil.

¹² O. HILTBRUNNER, Einladung zum epikureischen Freundesmahl in: *Antidosis* (Festschrift für W. Kraus). Wien-Köln-Graz 1972, 168 ff.

¹³ Caesar als *pontifex maximus* im 93. Gedicht *Albus an ater homo*?

consedit.¹⁴ Das Bild *continenter centum an ducenti* deutet auf eine *acies*. In diesem Kontext versteht man Catulls Worte *pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata*. Catull spielt die Rolle des beleidigten Achilles. Auch er ärgert sich über die verlorene Kriegsbeute. (Die Beute (dazu die iberische 29, 19) ist auch ein beliebtes Motiv in den Caesargedichten). Die Wendung *une de capillatis* ist ein Wortspiel mit *caesaries* – *capilli*, *Caesarianis* – *capillatis*.

Caesar als *pontifex maximus* und die Gesellschaft von *mentulae* sind das Ziel des Angriffs: Catull will die Fassade mit einer neuen Dedikationsaufschrift schmücken, damit das Gebäude den *mentulis*, d.h. mit einer anderen vulgären Benennung *sopionibus* geweiht wird.

Die philosophischen Hinweise des 37. Gedichtes werden sich nun erst im Licht des 39. Stückes deutlich zeigen. Doch auch in der Einzelinterpretation sieht man die Wichtigkeit der Wendung *boni beatique*, die am Ende durch ein für Egnatius gebrauchtes Adjektiv *bonum* verstärkt wird.

Daß Caesars Kameraden sich das Glück als Epikureer verschaffen, und warum die *barba opaca* Egnatius zum *bonus* macht, erfährt man aus dem 39. Gedicht. Die Hauptgestalt dieses Stückes, Egnatius, lacht bzw. grinst (*renidet*) immer. Für das Lachen verwendet Catull sonst das Wort *risus* (c. 17) oder *cahinni* (c. 13, c. 31) bzw. *ridere* (mehrmals), das Wort *renidet* ist nur in diesem Gedicht zu finden, aber hier ist es sehr betont: vv. 2, 3, 7, 8, 15 (außerdem gibt es ein *risus* V. 16). In den Kommentaren findet man als Parallele das plautinische *lena adridet*. Doch die Kenner der epikureischen Gedichte wissen, daß das Strahlen, das auch das Wort *renidet* kennzeichnet, sehr eng mit den epikureischen Vorstellungen von der Schönheit der Natur und des *bene praeparatum pectus* zusammenhängt. (Sieh bei Lucrez "*tibi rident aequora ponti/ placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum*" bzw. bei Horaz "*et amara lento temperet risu*"). Aber wir können noch einen Schritt näher kommen, denn das Wort selbst kommt auch in epikureischen Kontexten vor. Horaz Oden II, 18, 1 ff. (im Motiv *parva casa*) *non ebur neque aureum mea renidet in domo lacunar*. Die Stelle stammt aus Lucrez (II, 27 *nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet*) das Catull im 64. Gedicht umformt, wie folgt: *tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza*.

Aber für Licinius Calvus und seinen Freundeskreis, die diese philologischen Argumente ruhig beiseite lassen konnten, ist Egnatius vor allem ein Materialist, ein Nachfolger von Demokrit, dem lächelnden Philosoph. Die lustige Geschichte über den Abderiten und über Hippokrates, der auf der Nachbarinsel Thasos tätig war, erzählt, daß Demokrit, der immer lachende Philosoph, von dem berühmten Arzt untersucht und für ausgezeichnet tüchtig und frisch befunden wurde (Diog. Laert. IX. 7, 42). Sie ist in Rom seit Ciceros *De oratore* (II 58, 235) unter den gebildeten Kreisen sicher bekannt gewesen. Horaz dient uns mit einem klassischen Hinweis: *ridentem dicere verum, quis vetat?*

Über Egnatius können auch wir feststellen, daß er nicht imstande war Demokrit in geistiger Leistung zu erreichen. Auch den hohen Wert des von Catull ge-

¹⁴Pace Herescu Glotta 38, 1959, 125 ff. vgl. *praesidium*, *obsidere*, *insidiae*, eine Nebenbedeutung für Caesars Freunde als *fugitivi*, die Asyl im Territorium des *pontifex maximus* genießen, kann auch in Frage kommen.

schätzten und ehrfurchtsvoll imitierten Lucrez hatte er nicht. Eben darum wollte ihn Catull mit einer hippokrateisch-sokratischen Wendung *bone Egnati* vgl. (gr. *ógate*) belehren: *monendum est te mihi, nollem*.

Diese allgemeingültige Warnung mit der Betonung von Egnatius' Unfähigkeit zur Harmonie mit der Umwelt bestätigt, daß Catull und seine Freunde nicht Demokrits *megas diakosmos* oder die wunderschöne Weltharmonie von Epikur und Lucrez angreifen wollten. Egnatius, dem alles fehlt, ein römischer Demokrit zu sein, zerstört mit seinem dummen Lachen diese Harmonie: *nam risu inepto res ineptior nulla est*. Erst jetzt können wir die Schlußpointe des 37. Gedichtes richtig verstehen. Der große Bart mit seinen Schatten (*opaca barba*) macht Egnatius eben darum zum *bonus*, weil er ihn nicht nur modisch dekoriert, sondern auch sein pseudophilosophisches Lächeln nicht immer zum Vorschein kommen läßt, im anderen Falle weiß man sehr gut, was für ein Materialismus das Lachen des Pseudo-Demokrit gekennzeichnet hat.

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ILDIKÓ PUSKÁS

THE ŚUNGA IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

TO PROFESSOR JÁNOS HARMATTA
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HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

The Mauryan period¹ is one of the best studied eras of the Indian history. The relative abundance of critically analyzable sources, both written and archaeological ones, native and foreign accounts of religious and secular character have attracted a great number of Indian and foreign scholars to study Mauryan history. The other attraction this period holds for scholars is that this period witnessed the emergence of the first Empire on the Subcontinent extending from Gandhāra in the west to Kalinga in the east and the Deccan in the south. Moreover, this empire was successful to a previously unprecedented extent both in its domestic and foreign policy and political achievements. Culturally, too, it was extravagantly rich: the oral tradition of the pre-Āryan and Vedic heritage (orthodox Brāhmaṇic, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, etc.) flourished

¹ Only a short overview of the Mauryan history is given here, in order to establish a framework for discussing the Śunga problems. This overview is based on the author's over three decades long interest in, and study of, the period, as well as the relevant sources and the scholarly literature. It is not possible to give a comprehensive bibliography in a single footnote, and thus only the most basic works will be listed here to meet the interest of the non-Indologist readers since Indologists are familiar with the enormous literature on this question.

Sources: Buddhist: Dipavaṃsa. Ed. and tr. H. OLDENBERG, London, 1879; Mahāvaṃsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon. Ed. and tr. W. GEIGER, London 1908; Divyāvadāna. Ed. E. B. COWELL–R. A. NEIL, Cambridge 1886. J. PRZYLUŚKI, La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka, Paris 1923. Greek: Megasthenis Indica. Ed. E. A. SCHWANBECK, Bonn, 1846 (Chicago repr. 1967); J. W. MCCRINDLE, Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian, London 1877 (New Delhi repr. 1984).

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alongside new schools of religious-philosophical thought (heterodoxies: Buddhism, Jainism, Ājīvika). Most of these managed to attract the attention of the common people for some time. This was a new phenomenon, which can be explained by the boom in the economic life of the Empire. Culture, a previously elite-oriented privilege, now became mass-oriented, and in a sense reflected on everyday life. Education in literacy and folk tradition gave rise to the use of new measures in propaganda, both the religious-moral and the political. The Court could rely on disseminating epigraphs in diverse forms, in different languages, occasionally bilinguals, using several forms of locally known scripts. In art and architecture they adopted non-perishable materials, and even when retaining wood for house construction, strict measures were taken in safety and town planning. The extent of the successes of this period in state administration, warfare, etc., can be best seen in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.² It seems that rulers found a system for governing the vast empire efficiently, appointing the crown prince as *yuvārāja* to the most important region, Gandhāra to govern it from Takṣaśilā. The Empire was administratively divided into five major provinces, of which Uttarāpatha, i.e. Gandhāra and the neighbour territories were considered to be the most important owing to their geopolitical role: foreign invasions generally came from that direction, while in times of peace the most powerful neighbours lived beyond these borders. Naturally, the Gaṅgā-basin remained under the king's control, while the western regions (Aparānta), Avanti and Saurāṣṭra were governed from Ujjayinī. The importance of this city lay in its position on the trade route connecting Pāṭaliputra, the Mauryan capital, with the western seaports, to which it owed its increasing importance in western trade, meanwhile providing access to raw materials and goods manufactured in the area. This road joined the Indian branch of the Silk Road at Ujjayinī; after turning south, the Silk road followed the Indus-axis to Ujjayinī, where it merged with the other road leading to Bharukaccha. Dakṣiṇāpatha, the southern province was governed from Vidiśā (pāli Vedisa, modern Bhilsā), while Kāliṅga in the east was administered from Tosālī (modern Dhauli) under the strict control of Aśoka, whose only conquest was that of Kāliṅga. This conquest, however, had a decisive impact both on his imperial policy and his private life. This conquest, completing the vast Empire created by his father and grandfather, heralded sweeping changes: Aśoka did not embrace Buddhism at once, but ingeniously made it the ideological basis of his imperial policy once the shock brought on by the Kāliṅga war had passed. However, he was gradually engulfed by it to the point of bigotry, leading his empire into economic ruin, and provoking resistance from the non-Buddhists both for his economic measures and for violating their freedom in traditional or other religious practices (prohibiting, for example, animal sacrifices). He thus created a totally different atmosphere from his predecessor's: Candragupta's activity resulted in the rise of the Mauryan Empire, while his culminated in the decline of that same empire.

² Ed. R. SHAMA SASTRI, *Kauṭīliyam Arthaśāstram*, Mysore 1919; Ed. T. GANAPATI SASTRI, *Kauṭīliyam Arthaśāstram*, Trivandrum 1924–25.

Aśoka's successors were weak. Little wonder, then, that the *senāpati* of Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan king, the brāhmaṇa Puśyamitra Śuṅga put an end to his rule and declared himself sovereign of the Empire.

THE ŚUṄGAS

Puśyamitra's ascension to the throne marked the start of a new period. Researchers have named this period after the Śuṅgas, or, if including also their successors, the Śuṅga-Kāṇva era. According to tradition there were ten Śuṅga kings who ruled for a period of 112 years, from c. 187/184 B.C. to 75/72 B.C.³ According to the purāṇic tradition, the tenth Śuṅga king was slain in order to allow the rise of a new dynasty.⁴ The four kings of the Kāṇvas ruled for forty-five years and lost their kingdom (or rather, its more southernly parts) to Simuka, the Āndhrabhṛtya founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty.⁵

If the purāṇic tradition and chronology of the above events is accepted, the clash between the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana and the Sātavāhanas took place in 75 B.C. (plus adding the necessary forty-five years), i.e. in 30/27 B.C. This date, then, marks the initial year of the Sātavāhana ascendancy.

The question, however, is slightly more complicated, the main point being whether the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period should be counted together, allowing a total of 112 years for the two dynasties and pushing back the date of post-Kāṇva dynasties to 75/72 B.C. as proposed by some scholars, or whether the Kāṇva period should be treated separately, as suggested by the purāṇic tradition and 30/27 B.C. be taken as the beginning of the Sātavāhana rule. Another option would be to leave them out completely and connect the Maurya-Sātavāhana periods. Various hypotheses, arguing for this interpretation, have already been put forward.⁶

³ R. K. MOOKERJI in Gen. ed. MAJUMDAR (n. 1) 98., D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.* 191ff.

⁴ Described in the Matsya and Vāyu purāṇas (Anandāśrama editions, 1907, 1905) 272, 32b–37 and 99, 343b–347, as well as in the Brahmaṇḍa purāṇa (Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara edition, 1906) III, 74, 156b–160a. The text is quoted and translated in F. E. PARGITER, *The Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, 1913 (Delhi repr. 1975), 71: "The minister Vasudeva, forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi [Devabhūti] because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas." The text is a typical example of the prophetic forecasts so common in purāṇas. For the purāṇas as historical sources see Pargiter's Introduction to DKA V–XXVIII, also IDEM, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London, 1922 (Delhi repr. 1972), esp. 253–287, for the Kāṇvas 225–228.

⁵ D. C. SIRCAR, in Majumdar (n. 1) 196.

⁶ Certain opinions may be worth citing here: Marshall puts the end of the Śuṅga rule to 70 B.C. (J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, Calcutta 1918, 12.), although later he opted for 72 B.C. (J. MARSHALL–A. FOUCHER, *The Monuments of Sāñchī I–III.*, Calcutta 1918, I.12.); this date was accepted by Jagannath, who adds to it a separate Kāṇva period (Ed. K. A. N. SASTRI (n. 1) 101–102); D. C. SIRCAR (Gen. ed. R. C. MAJUMDAR (n. 1) 191ff) claims a three years difference. RAPSON (n. 1, 283) makes the Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Andhras contemporaries, and puts the beginning of the Śuṅga period to 184 B.C., suggesting that Sātakarni was a contemporary, i.e. implying an early Andhra start in 244 B.C. (n. 1, 477). No doubt, if the Puśyamitra-Sātakarni synchronism can be accepted, 244 B.C. would seem more likely – well into the Mauryan period. K. Gopalachari interprets Rapson slightly differently, concluding that Rapson's suggestion is 234 B.C. – K. GOPALACHARI, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras 1941 (repr. 1976), 31ff.

The following considerations may throw some light on the problem.

Mauryan chronology – with minor differences – can be regarded as an established one, with a marginal difference of only three years, 324/321 B.C. to 187/184 B.C.,⁷ and this in effect defines the beginning of the Śuṅga rule: 187/184 B.C.

According to the purāṇas, the first four Śuṅga kings ruled for sixty-one years; the fifth king must therefore have ascended the throne in 126/123 B.C.

In the fourteenth year of his rule, Bhāgavata, one of the Śuṅga kings, received an ambassador from the Indo-Greek king, Antialcidas. This event was apparently a most significant one. The Greek ambassador, Heliodorus by name, commemorated his visit to Vidiśa by erecting a *Garuḍadhvaja* on which, in an inscription,⁸ he expressed his devotion to Viṣṇu and called himself a Bhāgavata.⁹ Apart from the inscription's religious significance – both for recording an established Bhāgavata-cult and for setting it in stone by a Yavana –, it is also helpful in terms of chronology since Indo-Greek history offers a fairly secure chronology. On the evidence of classical sources,¹⁰ W. W. Tarn dates Antialcidas' rule over the Yavana kingdom, extending from the Hindu Kush to the river Jhelum, to between 130 and 100 B.C.¹¹ From his meticulous analysis of the numismatic and literary evidence, A. K. Narain concluded that Antialcidas must have ruled between 115–100 B.C.: "On the testimony of his coins we assign Antialcidas a reign of some fifteen years, and thus he must

⁷ All the purāṇas agree that the dynasty lasted 137 years. Cf. PARGITER, DKA (n. 4), 27. Also K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI (n. 1) 206–207, 246; BONGARD-LEVIN (n. 1) 70–71.

⁸ D. C. SIRCAR, *Select Inscriptions*, New Delhi 1991 (repr. of the 2nd ed. of 1954), 88–89. Also A.K. NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford 1957 (Delhi repr. 1980), pl. VI.:

1. [De]vadasa Vā[sude]vasa garuḍadhvaje ayaṃ
2. kārīte i[a] Heliodoreṇa bhāga-
3. vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhkhasilākena
4. Yona dūtena [ā]gatena mahārājasa
5. Antalikitasa upa[r]itā sakāsam raño
6. [Kā]sipu[tr]asa [Bh]āgabhadrasa trātārāsa
7. vasena ca[tu]dāsemna rājena vadhamānasa

Pt.II.

1. trini amuta-padāni [ia] [su]-anuthitāni
2. neyarīti [svagam] dama cāga apramāda.

Narain's translation:

This Garuḍa pillar of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was erected by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata (i.e. a worshipper of Viṣṇu), the son Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as Greek ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas to King Kosiputra (Kautsiputra) [in Sircar's reading Kāsiputra – I.P.] Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour, then reigning prosperously in the 14th year of his kingship. Three immortal percepts when practised lead to heaven – self-restraint, charity, conscientiousness.

⁹ A Yavana following Indian religions is not without parallels – cf. W. W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Delhi 1980 – (repr. of 1951 ed.) 391 ff.; Debala⁹⁴ E. J. RAPSON, in E. J. RAPSON (ed.) CHI, pp. 469–70. DEBALA MITRA, *Foreign Elements in Indian Population*, in *The Cultural Heritage of India II*, ed. by the Ramakrishna Mission Inst. of Culture, Calcutta 1982 (repr. of the 2nd, rev., enlarged ed. of 1962) 610–626.

¹⁰ TARN, GBI, 48: is masterly in exploiting Pompeius Trogus' legacy by Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* and the *Prolegomena*, and convincingly claims that the work used by Trogus was written by an eye-witness!

¹¹ TARN, (n. 10) 313–14.

have died soon after c. 100 B.C.”¹² He also offers an explanation of why Antialkidas sought contact with king Bhāgabhadra: Apollodotus, who similarly to Antialkidas, probably began his career in 115 B.C., had overthrown his rival in Taxila in about 100 B.C., and the latter needed an ally to reestablish himself. However, Antialkidas died either soon after or already during Heliodorus’ mission and the cause was lost, while Apollodotus outlived him by five years.¹³

However, the problem of synchronizing Antialkidas with the purāṇic chronology¹⁴ still remains to be resolved.

Based on epigraphic considerations, J. Marshall¹⁵ and N. G. Majumdar¹⁶ identified king Bhāgabhadra with the fifth king of the purāṇic list; this identification has also been accepted by R. K. Mookerji.¹⁷ Other scholars, such as E. J. Rapson,¹⁸ Tarn,¹⁹ Narain,²⁰ however, favoured the ninth Śuṅga, i.e. Bhāgavata, mainly on the basis of their chronological analyses.

Unlike Rapson,²¹ Tarn considered the contemporaneity of Antialkidas and Bhāgabhadra at around c. 90 B.C. rather problematic, and suggested that we should “either identify Bhāgabhadra with some earlier king or suppose that Bhāga was earlier than the Purāṇa Chronology makes him, and date the inscription no later than c. 100 B.C.”²²

However, there is an error in Rapson’s calculations. Accepting Pargiter’s dating, he put the end of the Śuṅga dynasty to 72 B.C.,²³ but nonetheless dated the fourteenth regnal year of Bhāgavata to 90 B.C.,²⁴ which can hardly be correct if the last king, Devabhūti, is supposed to have reigned for ten years since this puts the end of Bhāgavata’s thirty-two years long reign to 82 B.C. His ascension must then accordingly be dated to 114 B.C. which, in turn, puts his fourteenth year to 100 B.C. – and thus explains the miscalculation of 10 years. This correction reconciles the views of the two authors.

Narain too accepted Pargiter’s chronology,²⁵ according to which Bhāga’s or Bhāgavata’s fourteenth year falls to c. 100 B.C.²⁶ An inner reconstruction of the Indo-Greek chronology, based mainly on the numismatic evidence, led Narain to

¹² A. K. NARAIN, *Indo-Greeks*, 122, and 118–9, 181: Chronological chart.

¹³ A. K. NARAIN (n. 12) 126.

¹⁴ E. J. RAPSON, in E. J. RAPSON (ed.) *CHI*, 469–70.

¹⁵ J. MARSHALL, *A Guide to Sāñchi*, 11. n. 1.

¹⁶ N. G. MAJUMDAR in MARSHALL–FOUCHER, *MS I*, 268 n. 2–3.

¹⁷ R. K. MOOKERJI in R. C. MAJUMDAR (ed.) *AIU*, 98.

¹⁸ E. J. RAPSON in *CHI I*, 467 ff.

¹⁹ W. W. TARN, *GBI*, 312 ff.

²⁰ NARAIN, (n. 12) 118–119.

²¹ RAPSON, in *CHI I* 2, 470.

²² TARN, *GBI*, 314.

²³ RAPSON, *CHI* 2, p. 467.

²⁴ *IDEM*, 470.

²⁵ PARGITER, *DKA*, 30–33, 70.

²⁶ NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, 119.

propose a secure synchronism, placing Antialkidas' reign between 115–100 B.C.²⁷ and dating the mission sent by him to c. 100 B.C. – hence to Bhāgavata, the ninth Śuṅga king. The identification can thus be accepted as secure, even though other problems still remain, one being how to break out of the vicious circle which often characterizes efforts to sort out chronological questions (dating Antialkidas through Śuṅga chronology and establishing the Śuṅga chronology by relying upon Antialkidas' dating), in order to rule out the possibility of a Bhāgabhadra–Āndhraka identification on other counts than his regnal year, and to clarify the Śuṅga–Kaṇva relations.

The purāṇas call the fifth Śuṅga, whose rule probably started at about 123 B.C., by different names: “variously Āndhraka, Antaka, Ādraka, Odruka or Bhadraka.”²⁸ He is allotted two or seven regnal years – and that rules him out as a possible candidate who could be identified with Bhāgabhadra. The latter name is also conspicuously absent on the list of the variants. R. K. Mookerji nonetheless favours their identification.²⁹

Jagannath can be credited with the most important observations: the correct form of the fifth king's name should be read as Āndhraka, Odraka being a variant due to a scribal error.³⁰ Once this name has been fixed, the following two names immediately become suspicious, both on account of the ethnic character of these names and owing to the lack of numismatic-epigraphic evidence regarding them.

The ethnic connotation of the name Āndhraka is evident at first sight. The Andhras appear already in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,³¹ in the Mahābhārata,³² in the purāṇas³³ and, of course, on the inscriptions;³⁴ among the latter, the most important evidence for this particular problem is Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII.³⁵ The form Āndhraka is a form in a sort of Yonaka. The latter has the same meaning as Skt. *Yavana* and Pkt. *Yona*. J. Gonda has offered a convincing explanation for the ending *-ka* (which also piqued the curiosity of Tarn³⁶): “as a means of forming thematic stems *-ka* was very productive and as such it was repeatedly used to aryanize foreign words or to make them fit to be inflected as Aryan nouns.”³⁷

²⁷ See note 12.

²⁸ R. K. MOOKERJI in R. C. Majumdar ed. *AIU*, 98.; cf PARGITER, *DKA*, 30–33.

²⁹ *AIU*, 98, 115–116.

³⁰ JAGANNATH in NILAKANTHA SASTRI ed., *A Compr. Hist. of India*, 101 n. 2.

³¹ A. A. MACDONELL–A. B. KEITH, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912 (Delhi repr. 1982²) s.v. *Andhra*.

³² S. SÖRENSEN, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi 1978 (repr. of the 1904 ed.), s. v. *Āndhra* and *Andhraka*.

³³ PARGITER, *DKA* (n. 4), D. C. SIRCAR, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1967, 55, 64, 80, etc.

³⁴ K. GOPALACHARI (n. 6) esp. 1–30.

³⁵ D. C. SIRCAR, *SI* I. 347ff., P. H. L. EGGERMONT–J. HOFTIJZER, *The Moral Edicts of King Aśoka*, Leiden 1967, 18.

³⁶ TARN, *GBI*, 488.

³⁷ J. GONDA in *Mnemosyne* 4th series 2, 45–46. Quoted after NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, 166.

For parallel cases of ethnic names ending in *-ka*³⁸ one may perhaps look for a special (MIA?) suffix (differing from the Sanskrit *-ka*³⁹) which functions on two levels: it is added to words denoting a tribal locality and/or an ethnic group speaking a non-Āryan language. Interestingly enough, these ethnic names also found their way into Greek and Roman, as well as Chinese sources.⁴⁰ Thus, ethnic names ending with *-ka* do not function as personal names, even though the sources sometimes identify the person's name with the community's name, especially if the personal and dynastic name of tribal chief or ruler is not preserved.⁴¹

What has been said about the name Āndhraka also holds true regarding the sixth Śuṅga king's name: Pulindaka. The Pulindas are already mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,⁴² and both forms – Pulinda and Pulindaka – appear in the Mahābhārata,⁴³ in the purāṇas and other early Indian literary sources,⁴⁴ as well as in inscriptions.⁴⁵ They are, almost without exception, coupled with the Andhras.

Ghoṣa is the name for the seventh Śuṅga ruler of the list. This name is similarly an ethnic name, which, however, crops up more rarely in history and literature. Nevertheless, the Ghoṣas are a people mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, in Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā, and in the Samāsasamhitā.⁴⁶ They apparently lived either in Madhyadeśa or in NE India. Two other points must be noted here: *Ghoṣa* means a small settlement, perhaps smaller than a village,⁴⁷ a station of herdsmen or people living there,⁴⁸ and that the word *ghoṣaka* 'proclaimer' also exists. M. Monier-Williams cites two Kāṇva princes with Ghoṣa and Ghoṣavasū as their name.⁴⁹

These instances and coincidences are fairly convincing, and show that for some unknown reason, the purāṇa writers became confused and also included in their dynastic list certain persons who had no dynastic connection whatsoever with the royal house.⁵⁰

³⁸ Āndhraka, Aśvaka, Madraka, Mallaka, etc. – D. C. SIRCAR (n. 33) Index, 167–247. The last item in the alphabetic order is Yugālīka, a Tukhāra people.

³⁹ T. BURROW, The Sanskrit Language, London 1997 (repr. of the 1973 new and rev. ed.) 197.

⁴⁰ For western sources, a wide range of examples is offered by J. W. MCCRINDLE, for Chinese see NARAIN, The Indo-Greeks, 166, n. 8.

⁴¹ Cf. Pulinda as "the king of the Pulindas" and Pulinda as "a barbarous people", SÖRENSEN, under the respective headings.

⁴² MACDONELL-KEITH, Index II. s.v. Pulinda. Cf. entry Sabara, col. I. s.v. Andhra.

⁴³ SÖRENSEN, (n. 32) 566.

⁴⁴ D. C. SIRCAR, CGEIL, Index.

⁴⁵ See note 35.

⁴⁶ D. C. SIRCAR, CGEIL, 91–92, 97–98.

⁴⁷ HOPKINS in CHI I² 239, – The feminine form, Ghoṣā is mentioned in the Ṛgveda, and though it stands for a woman's name, it may have originally referred to a woman from among the Ghoṣas, quite similarly as kings are known after their people's name. MACDONELL-KEITH, Vedic Index, 251.

⁴⁸ M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1960^R (1899^I) s.v. Ghuṣ.

⁴⁹ Bhaviṣya-purāṇa XII.1. 16, and Vāyu-purāṇa IV. 24.10.

⁵⁰ B. Ch. SINHA, History of the Śuṅgas, Varanasi-Delhi 1977, 117–120, suggests that the three formed a kind of dynasty and had been usurping the throne in Pāṭaliputra. One would expect at least some proof.

The fourth Śuṅga king, Vasumitra or Sumitra⁵¹ ascended the throne (c. 133 B.C.) after a successful encounter with the Yavanas when, still a prince, he was guarding his grandfather's, Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse,⁵² and after waiting a few years for his turn. At the time Puṣyamitra was probably still a cakravartin, and his son, Agnimitra acted as viceroy in Vidiśā if we are to believe Kālidāsa. Vasujyeṣṭha /Sujeṣṭha appears to have been his elder son, a possibility suggested also by his name. He may have been engaged in some other affair, or was not as able as his younger brother, this being is why Puṣyamitra chose Sumitra to accompany the horse. Whether it was his brother's inability to rule properly that made Sumitra loose his interest in royal affairs by the time he ascended the throne and/or an awareness of the inevitable disintegration of the empire, remains a secret. It seems that once he became the king, he kept his distance from any major military or political activity, and instead "gave himself up to a life of ease and pleasure";⁵³ and as Bāṇa relates⁵⁴ he was so fond of theatre and music that he met his fate from the hands of a certain Mūladeva while enjoying a concert.

The event linking grandfather and grandson was Menander's invasion of Madhyadeśa, the attack on Sāketa and the destruction of Pāṭaliputra, the capital. The siege took place sometime around 150 B.C. when Puṣyamitra still sat on the throne, but his younger grandson, Sumitra was already mature enough to guard the royal stallion let loose for the *aśvamedha*. Narain's brilliant analysis⁵⁵ shows that the conclusion regarding Sujyeṣṭha's rule is valid: the first recession had already set in under Puṣyamitra when the Pañcālas and the Māthuras teamed up with the Yavanas to destroy his kingdom. Sumitra's success, no doubt, proved to be temporary.

If Jagannath is right in linking Mūladeva with Dhanadeva, 'Lord of Kosala', and the same person issued coins in Ayodhyā,⁵⁶ it is just one step to trace the imperial erosion: the 'buffer states' between the Yavanas and the Śuṅgas⁵⁷ expanded towards the west, and Sumitra's assassination by Mūladeva was the signal to the people living east and southeast of Magadha: the Andhras, the Puliṇḍas and the Ghoṣas.⁵⁸

This, then, explains how the strange 'royal' names crept into the purāṇic dynastic list. That they should be disregarded is evident also from the total reigning years of the ten rulers: Puṣyamitra: 36, Agnimitra: 8, Sujyeṣṭha: 7, Sumitra: 10, Āndhraka: 2, Pulindaka: 3, Ghoṣa: 3, Vajramitra: 9, Bhāgavata: 32, Devabhūti: 10,

⁵¹ JAGANNATH has pointed out that this is the correct name, the form Vasumitra of MSS and Kālidāsa being a scribal error. JAGANNATH in K. A. N. SASTRI (ed.) A Compr. Hist. of India II. 100, n. 4.

⁵² KĀLIDĀSA, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Second Interlude and Act V.

⁵³ JAGANNATH in K. A. N. SASTRI, A Compr. Hist. of India, 100.

⁵⁴ BĀNA, *Harṣacarita*, 269.

⁵⁵ NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, 81ff.

⁵⁶ JAGANNATH (n. 51).

⁵⁷ J. SCHWARTZBERG, *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, Chicago-London 1988, pl. III. C.1.

⁵⁸ N. L. DEY, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Delhi 1990 (repr. of 1927 ed.), under resp. headings. K. GOPALACHARI, EHAC, 1ff.

giving a total of 120. Deducting 2+3+3 (i.e. 8) gives 112, the figure proposed by Pargiter.⁵⁹

These 112 years must therefore be divided among the seven rulers of the Śunga dynasty.

The closing year is marked again by an assassination: Devabhūmi or Devabhūti was murdered in a conspiracy involving some women and/or his prime minister, Vasudeva. The purāṇic tradition and Bāṇa's account essentially differs only on the person of the assassin – the fact remained: the rise of a new dynasty, the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana. Śunga sidelines, however, still continued for some time.

Of the seven rulers of our corrected Śunga king-list only Bhāgavata ruled long enough to receive Heliodorus from Taxila. According to this cross-dated chronology Bhāgavata's fourteenth regnal year fell to c. 100 B.C., the year which saw Heliodorus' visit to Vidiśa – as scholars of Indo-Greek history have noted.⁶⁰

When seeking to establish an alliance, Antialkidas acted wisely in choosing Heliodorus, the Vaiṣṇava Yavana as his ambassador to a ruler whose forebears had experienced the threat (coupled with territorial loss) of the rival Yavana kingdom, and who himself was a Bhāgavata by faith.

His name, however, appears to have been Bhāgabhadra since a foreign ruler cannot afford to make any mistakes in the spelling of his royal host's name in an inscription even through his ambassador. This calls for a second correction in the

⁵⁹ PARGITER, DKA, 33.: "daś-aite Śuṅga-rājāno bhokṣyant-imām vasundharām śataṁ pūrṇam daśa dve ca tataḥ Kāṇvān gamiṣyati" that is "These 10 Śunga kings will enjoy this earth full 112 years. From them the earth will pass to the Kanvas."

Purāṇic tradition				Our conclusion			
	B.C.	year	B.C.		B.C.	year	B.C.
Puṣyamitra	184	36	148	Puṣyamitra	184	36	148
Agnimitra	148	8	140	Agnimitra	148	8	140
Vasujyeṣṭha	140	7	133	Sujyeṣṭha	140	7	133
Vasumitra	133	10	123	Sumitra	133	10	123
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Andhraka	123	2	121	Vajramitra	123	9	114
Pulindaka	121	3	118	Bhāgabhadra	114	32	92
Ghoṣa	118	3	115	Devabhūmi	92	10	82
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Vajramitra	115	9	104				
Bhāgavata	104	32	82				
Devabhūmi	82	10	72				
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Total number of years	120			112			

Bhāgabhadra's 14th regnal year was in 100 B.C.

⁶⁰ NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, 119–121; TARN, *GBI*, 48; RAPSON, *CHI*, 642.

Śuṅga king-list: the name of the sixth king should be accepted as Bhāgabhadra, a Bhāgavata by denomination.⁶¹

The Śuṅgas were vassals of the Mauryas, their native region being around Vidiśā. After they came into power, they tried to maintain the system they 'inherited' from the Mauryas, in other words, they retained the same system with previous, and perhaps, with new vassals.

We may be correct in assuming that Andhras, Pulindas, Ghoṣas, Kanvas, etc. remained under their temporary supremacy. Another important conclusion which we may draw is that Maurya chronology can, on the basis of the above reconstruction, be securely set within the time brackets of 321 B.C. to 184 B.C.

CULTURAL LIFE UNDER THE ŚUṂGAS

Large monuments in stone, impressive stone sculptures were first erected under the Mauryas. Since Candragupta and Bindusāra had been busy with building the Empire, the task of large-scale activity in art and architecture fell to Aśoka. After declaring himself a convert to Buddhism, he started to promulgate the merits and values of the new faith, and following the Achaemenid practice, he set up columns with inscriptions and rock edicts along the borders of his empire and on the major trade routes of the country. Buddhist sources credited him with erecting 84,000 stūpas – an obvious exaggeration, but one which nonetheless reflects his patronage and activity. The rock cut caityas, vihāras, and leṇas are masterpieces in their own right, just as Maurya terracottas are also masterpieces of the minor arts.⁶²

The Great Stūpa in Sāñcī erected by Aśoka was enlarged during the Śuṅga period and embellished with the toraṇas under the Śātavāhanas. His activity was centered in the area around Vidiśā, the capital of the Śuṅgas "which at most times seems to have been directly controlled by the king, whose domain was surrounded by a circle of vassal states, small and great, in varying degree of subservience, but some evidently autonomous enough to issue their coins."⁶³ This explains why the Great Stūpa was enlarged and dressed in stone under Śuṅga patronage. Although the Śuṅgas are accused of being hostile to Buddhism,⁶⁴ this may simply be an exaggeration by later Buddhist sources in view of the Śuṅga patronage extended towards an emerging Hindu orthodoxy⁶⁵ (reflected also in the contemporary redaction of the Mānavadhar-

⁶¹ The other Besnagar inscription of Bhāgavata no doubt also refers to the same ruler, cf. ASR 1913–14, 190., MASI 5, 1920, 152. Also NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, 119, n. 7.

⁶² Cf. n. 1.; further readings: B. ROWLAND, *The Art and Architecture of India*. Buddhist, Hindu, Jain. Baltimore 1953, 37–47; E. BAKTAY, *India művészete [The Art of India]*, Budapest 1956, 59–72; V. DEHEJIA, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples. A Chronological Study.*; J. C. HARLE, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*. Penguin-Pelican Art History, 1986, 19–57.

⁶³ A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that Was India*, London, 1954, 57. Cf. R. K. MOOKERJI in R. C. MAJUMDAR (ed.) *Age of Imperial Unity*, 95; RAPSON, CHI, 471.

⁶⁴ Marshall shares this opinion, though he thinks that it applies to Puṣyamitra alone and not to his successors, MARSHALL–FOUCHER MS I. 3.

⁶⁵ RAPSON CHI, 467, refer to Divyāvadāna, 433–34, and for contrast: 471–472 as factual patrons of Buddhist monuments. G. P. UPADHYAYA, *Brāhmaṇas in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1979, 215ff;

maśāstram). Although the Śuṅgas were Brāhmaṇas, they continued the Mauryan tradition of remaining patrons of Buddhism, even if in a different form and on a different scale, reflecting their acute political foresight. Apart from Sāñci, they erected two gateways at Bhārhut and also patronized the Vidiśa school of art; they maintained sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile relations with the northwestern Yavanas.⁶⁶

In the same period Mathurā emerged as an important centre of Buddhist art, obviously not without the approval of the rulers.⁶⁷

Intellectual activity took several forms. Brāhmaṇas no doubt enjoyed royal patronage, and this was hardly against the interest of the masses. We might even go as far as to say that the promotion of Sanskrit was urged from an anti-Buddhist point since the vernaculars were more important to the Buddhists. This would, however, be far-fetched since there is abundant evidence for the revival of Sanskrit, the most obvious being Patañjali with his commentary to Pāṇini, and the dharmasūtra literature was also shaped at this time, irrespective of whether Manu himself was active or his predecessor. Even the idea of assigning Kālidāsa to this period has been proposed,⁶⁸ even though this is highly unlikely. The familiarity of Kālidāsa with the history of Agnimitra is in itself insufficient to substantiate this claim: in India there has been a tradition to reshape the same themes many times, and the epic-purāṇic tradition was at hand.

As far as religious life is concerned, the most striking phenomenon is the growing importance of the Bhāgavata cult. Both Heliodorus' and Bhāgabhadra's epithet are very suggestive, and it is tempting to speculate that sending a Bhāgavata Yavana to Bhāgabhadra must have been a conscious move on Antialkidas's part since he must have himself been famous for his similar denomination as the purāṇa writers' common confusion suggests. There are traces of the Śiva cult both in art and literature. Puśyamitra's two *aśvamedhas* speak in the favour of reviving the Vedic-Brāhmaṇic traditions. This suggests that the intervention of the heterodoxies caused a confusion in how to choose. Meanwhile, popular religion continued to flourish.

The Śuṅga period was one of the shortest imperial eras in the Indian history. Its importance, however, should not be measured in terms of time: it anticipated both Classical Hinduism and the Gupta era with its vivid and colourful economic and cultural life.

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K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI (ed.) *Compr. Hist. of India*, 95–96. K. UPRETI, *India as Reflected in the Diṭ vyāvadāna*, Delhi 1995, 116–117.

⁶⁶ S. DUTT, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. Their History and their Contribution to Indian Culture*, Delhi, 1962, 118–125.

⁶⁷ See note 62.

⁶⁸ B. C. SINHA, *History of the Śuṅga Dynasty*, 137–149.

ZSIGMOND RITOÓK

ZUR *MIMESIS PRAXEOS*

Πρᾶξις ist bekannterweise einer der Grundbegriffe der aristotelischen Poetik.¹ Es genügt, an die berühmte Definition der Tragödie als μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας zu erinnern (1449 b 24), die im Laufe des Textes in verschiedenen Formulierungen noch mehrmals wiederkehrt. Daß die Dichtkunst, des näheren die Tragödie eine Nachahmung handelnder Menschen ist, ist ein platonischer Gedanke,² den Aristoteles als etwas Bekanntes und daher nicht weiterer Auslegung bedürftiges übernimmt, ihm aber einen ganz anderen Sinn gibt. Während nämlich bei Platon die handelnden Menschen im besten Fall die vollkommenen, wahrhaft seienden Formen (ἰδέα) nachahmen, sie aber selbst dann notwendigerweise entstellen, wo also die Nachahmung etwas ontologisch Niedrigeres bedeutet,³ spricht Aristoteles von der Nachahmung (Darstellung) des Wahrscheinlichen (εἰκός), worin eine potentielle Wirklichkeit sich dartut, etwas zwischen dem Partikulären, Sinnlich-Wahren und dem Abstrakt-Allgemeinen.

Damit wäre aber die Frage, warum Aristoteles der πρᾶξις eine ganz besondere Bedeutung beimißt und sie sozusagen in den Mittelpunkt seiner Dichtungs- und

¹ Vgl. z. B. H. J. HORN, Zur Begründung des Vorrangs der πρᾶξις vor dem ἦθος in der aristotelischen Tragödientheorie, *Hermes* 103, 1975, 292–9; R. KANNICHT, Handlung als Grundbegriff der aristotelischen Theorie des Dramas, *Poetica* 8, 1976, 326–36; H. FLASHAR, Die Handlungstheorie des Aristoteles, ebd. 336–9; E. BELFIORE, Aristotle's Concept of Praxis: *CJ* 79, 1983/84, 110–24; V. CESSI, Praxis e mythos nella Poetica di Aristotele, *QUCC* 19, 1985, 45–60; St. HALLIWELL, *Aristotle's Poetics*. London 1986. 138–49; A. KOSMAN, Acting: Drama as the Mimesis of praxis. In: A. O. RORTY (ed.), *Essays on Aristotle's Poetics*. Princeton 1992. 51–2; C. A. FREELAND, Plot Imitates Action, ebd. 111–32; usw.

² Rp. 603 c; 396 cd; vgl. auch Lg. 798 d. Ich gebe das Wort μίμησις mit 'Nachahmung' wieder, eben um das Anknüpfen an Platon anzudeuten, obwohl ich mir der diesbezüglichen Probleme bewußt bin: H. KOLLER, *Mimesis in der Antike*. Bern 1954; G. F. ELSE, „Imitation“ in the Fifth Century, *CP* 53, 1958, 73–90; G. SÖRBOM, *Mimesis and Art*. Uppsala 1966; M. KARDAUN, *Der Mimesisbegriff in der griechischen Antike*. Amsterdam 1993, um nur einige Werke zu erwähnen. Ich glaube aber, es gibt heutzutage nur ganz wenige, die glauben, daß unter Nachahmung etwa eine sklavische Kopierung gemeint ist.

³ Vgl. auch die Ausführungen von E. GRASSI, *Die Theorie des Schönen in der Antike*. Köln 1980, 108–16, bes. 111–3.

insbesondere seiner Dramentheorie rückt, noch nicht erklärt.⁴ In seinen naturwissenschaftlichen Werken spricht Aristoteles zwar mehrmals von Handlungen der Lebewesen,⁵ in den ethischen Werken ist er aber ganz entschieden der Meinung, daß nur der Mensch πράττει.⁶ Die Handlung (πρᾶξις) ist ja eine sinnvolle Tätigkeit, und die spezifische Aufgabe (ἔργον) des Menschen, die für ihn bezeichnende, ist daher die der Seele sinnvolle Tätigkeit, d. h. die Handlungen (ἐνέργεια καὶ πρᾶξεις μετὰ λόγου: EN 1098 a 13–14; vgl. 7–8). Soll also die Tragödie Menschen nachahmen, muß sie sie als Handelnde nachahmen, denn das ist für alle Menschen bezeichnend. Was für Menschen sie seien, wie ihr Ethos, wie ihre Denkweise ist, das ist schon unterschiedlich und wird erst durch ihre Handlungen klar. „Denn die Tragödie ist keine Nachahmung von Menschen, sondern von Handlungen, das heißt (καὶ expl.) von Leben“ (1450 a 16–17),⁷ weil, wie er in der *Politik* sagt, „das Leben Handlung ist“ (1254 a 7). Das bedeutet aber auch, daß die Handlung im Drama gemäß denselben Gesetzmäßigkeiten gestaltet werden muß, die im Leben wirksam sind, also gemäß dem, was der Wahrscheinlichkeit und der Notwendigkeit nach möglich ist (1451 a 38).

Dem Menschen passiert aber unendlich vieles, Ereignisse, die keine Einheit bilden, und der Einzelne kann viele Handlungen ausführen, von welchen sich keine einheitliche Handlung ergibt (1451 a 17–19). Die Tragödie muß indessen, wie jedes Kunstwerk, einheitlich sein. Die Aufgabe des Dichters ist also, jene Ereignisse auszulesen (oder ausfindig zu machen), die zu einer einheitlichen Handlungsstruktur zusammengesetzt werden können. Dies wird von Aristoteles μῦθος genannt (1450 a 4–5). Der μῦθος ist Nachahmung der πρᾶξις (1450 a 3–4). Die πρᾶξις ist also eine Ereignisreihe, die nicht unbedingt so geschehen ist, oder von der zumindest vieles, weggelassen wurde, denn der μῦθος wird vom Dichter gestaltet, selbst wenn er tatsächlich geschehene Ereignisse bearbeitet (1451 a 27–30). Wie kann nun die πρᾶξις einheitlich sein, bzw. wie kann sie die Einheit des μῦθου sichern?

Der Ausgangspunkt (ἀρχή) der Handlung ist der Mensch (EN 1112 b 31), des näheren seine Entscheidung für etwas, seine Wahl (προαίρεσις),⁸ der Ausgangspunkt von dieser aber das Streben und das Denken um etwas willen (ὄρεξις καὶ λόγος ὁ ἕνεκά τινος: EN 1139 a 31–33). Die Handlung hat also immer ein Ziel (τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα, τέλος), um dessentwillen sie ausgeführt wird. Die Entscheidung (προαίρεσις) oder

⁴ Po. 1451 a 38; b 8–9; 1452 a 24; 1454 a 33–6; usw. Das εἰκός war auch für die sophistische Rhetorik wichtig. Ist nämlich die Wahrheit unserer Erkenntnis nicht zugänglich, können wir nur Meinungen haben, so können nur die Wahrscheinlichkeit und die Glaubwürdigkeit ausschlaggebend sein, wie das die Erfahrung im Gerichtshof beweist. Für Aristoteles war das εἰκός nicht solch etwas bloß Einzel-Partikuläres. Vgl. Acta Ant. Hung. 37, 1996/97, 47–8.

⁵ Z. B. HA 427 a 12; b 34; 588 a 14; 931 b 4–5; PA 645 a 15.

⁶ EN 1139 a 20; EE 1222 b 18–20; EM 1187 b 7–8.

⁷ Wie 'Leben' zu verstehen sei, stellte G. F. ELSE (Aristotle's Poetics. The Argument. Leiden 1957, 256–7) in Frage: Ob es das Leben des Einzelnen, seine Lebensbahn (einen Abschnitt derselben) bedeute, oder das Leben im Allgemeinen in seiner Komplexität. Else scheint zu der ersten Möglichkeit zu neigen (er spricht von *career*, von *the life of a man as a single entity*), obwohl auch er weiß, daß das Wort im 4. Jh. auch in der zweiten Bedeutung gebräuchlich war (Alkidamas bei Aristoteles, *Rhet.* 1406 b 11–13 = fr. 34 Avezzù; Lykurg. In *Leocr.* 102).

⁸ EN 1139 a 31–4; EM 1187 b 14–16; vgl. EE 1216 a 24–25; 1226 b 6–8; und auch EN 1097 a 18–24; 1151 a 16–17.

Überlegung (βούλευσις) richtet sich aber nicht auf das Ziel, sondern auf die Mittel, um dieses zu erreichen.⁹ Die Entscheidung liegt an uns (EN 1113 a 9–12; 1111 b 6), sie ist eine freiwillige Wahl zwischen verschiedenen Möglichkeiten, eine Bevorzugung von etwas (EN 1112 a 16–17). Dadurch läßt sich aber eine etwas seltsame, auf den ersten Blick vielleicht fast kindisch anmutende Definition der Poetik erklären.

Im 7. Kapitel der *Poetik* führt Aristoteles aus, daß die Tragödie Nachahmung einer vollständigen und ganzen Handlung sein soll (τελείας καὶ ὅλης πράξεως εἶναι μίμησιν), und fügt hinzu, daß ein Ganzes ist, was Anfang, Ende und Mitte hat, Anfang aber sei, was nicht mit Notwendigkeit auf etwas folgt, nach dem aber natürlicherweise etwas anderes geschieht, während Ende sei, was mit Notwendigkeit oder gewöhnlich nach etwas geschieht, ihm aber nichts mehr folgt (1450 b 23–30). Was nun nicht mit Notwendigkeit auf etwas folgt ist die Lage, in welcher eine προαίρεσις getroffen werden muß, die Entscheidungslage. Eine solche Lage bestand früher nicht, und sie muß nicht mit Notwendigkeit auf etwas folgen, ist sie aber einmal entstanden, so muß mit Notwendigkeit eine Entscheidung getroffen werden, was dann weitere Folgen hat. Die Pest mußte nicht mit Notwendigkeit gerade zu jener Zeit erfolgen, als sie erfolgte, doch erfolgte sie einmal, so mußte Oidipus sich für etwas entscheiden, was wieder weitere Folgen hatte. Wurden die Folgen bis zur letzten Konsequenz geführt, so erreichte die Handlung ihr Ende, das τέλος, es folgt nichts mit Notwendigkeit danach. Die Handlung (πρᾶξις) enthält also das τέλος, sie ist eine τελεία πρᾶξις in Übereinstimmung mit den Ausführungen der Metaphysik (1021 b 12–25, besonders 24–25) und so, wie es auch die Definition der Tragödie fordert (1449 b 25). Die πρᾶξις ist also, wenn man sie so auffaßt, fast per definitionem eine Einheit, von der προαίρεσις über die notwendigen Folgen bis zum – glücklichen oder unglücklichen – τέλος. Daß es in diesem Sinn eine Einheit sei, kann weder vom Menschen, dem πρᾶττων, gesagt werden, der ja in vielerlei Weisen handelt, noch vom ἦθος, das sich in den Handlungen in vielerlei Weisen dartut.

Nach der Definition der Tragödie soll sie aber Nachahmung einer πρᾶξις sein, die nicht nur τελεία, sondern auch σπουδαία ist (1449 b 24). Wie aber σπουδαία verstanden werden soll, ist eine unterschiedlich beantwortete Frage: Soll das Wort mehr einen ethischen oder mehr einen ästhetischen Sinn haben? Die Erklärer sind darin mehr oder weniger einig, daß das Wort beide Bedeutungen umfaßt, in jener Hinsicht aber, wie die beiden Bedeutungen sich hier zueinander verhalten, gehen die Ansichten etwas auseinander.¹⁰

⁹ EN 1112 b 32–33 mit 1113 a 2–3; 1139 a 31–32; EE 1226 a 7–8; b 9–11; 1227 b 38–1228 a 7.

¹⁰ J. VAHLEN, Beiträge zu Aristoteles Poetik. II. Wien 1866, 77–9 stellt die beiden Bedeutungen neben einander: σπουδαῖος ist oft gleichwertig mit ἐπιεικής ('was so ist, wie es gebührt') und χρηστός ('brauchbar', 'tüchtig'), da es aber ein Gegensatz auch von παιδία und γελοῖον ist, muß es auch 'ernst' bedeuten, was die beiden anderen Beiwörter nicht heißen; φαῦλος ist dagegen ein Gegensatz von σπουδαῖος in allen seinen Bedeutungen. S. H. BUTCHER, Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art. London 1911, 228–38, meint, Aristoteles wollte mit σπουδαῖος den tüchtigen, moralisch aber nicht tadellosen Menschen bezeichnen, ähnlich wie er in der Definition der Komödie davon spricht, daß diese die Nachahmung von Schlechteren sei, nicht aber im Sinne der vollständigen Bosheit. ELSE (Anm. 7) 71–8, führt aus, eine Bemerkung von Vahlen weiterführend, daß der σπουδαῖος einer sei, der zäh und selbst um den Preis seines Lebens nach seinem Ziel (der ἀρετῇ) strebt, das Ziel und auch sich selbst ernst nimmt und deshalb auch selbst ernst zu nehmen ist. Von der weiteren Literatur erwähne ich

Aristoteles behandelt das Wort mehrmals in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen.¹¹ Für uns sind von diesen Stellen die Ausführungen in der *Eudemischen Ethik* von Belang. „Nehmen wir an, daß die Realisierung (ἔργον) der Sache (πρᾶγμα) und diejenige der Vorzüglichkeit (ἀρετή) dieselbe sei, nur nicht auf dieselbe Weise, wie z. B. die Realisierung des Schusterhandwerks und der Schuhmacherei der Schuh ist. Ist also eine Vorzüglichkeit des Schustergewerbes und des σπουδαῖος Schusters gegeben, so wird die Realisierung ein σπουδαῖος Schuh sein.“¹² Man kann auch die Stelle von der *Nikomachischen Ethik* dazu nehmen, nach welcher „alle Kitharaspieler die Kithara spielen, doch der σπουδαῖος Kitharaspieler sie gut spielt“. Aus diesen Stellen ergeben sich mindestens drei Folgerungen. 1. Die σπουδαιότης hängt mit der ἀρετή zusammen (was durch die Stellen in den *Kategorien* und in der *Topika* ausdrücklich bestätigt wird). 2. Die ἀρετή ist nicht unbedingt nur eine moralische Vorzüglichkeit (Tugend), wie das freilich auch ohnehin bekannt ist. 3. Vom handelnden Menschen kann die Bezeichnung auf das Ergebnis seiner Handlung übertragen werden. In bezug auf die Tragödie bedeutet das, daß wenn die Tragödie Nachahmung einer σπουδαία πράξις ist, so ist sie Nachahmung von σπουδαῖοι, wie das auch aus den Feststellungen der *Poetik* folgt (1448 a 2; 26–27). Das Wort hat jedenfalls eine etwas schillernde Bedeutung, weil es dem Sinne nach mit ἀρετή in Zusammenhang steht, die bekannterweise ebenfalls eine sehr mannigfache Bedeutung hat.

Bezeichnet aber ἀρετή nicht nur eine praktische Vorzüglichkeit, sondern auch eine moralische (Tugend), und bezeichnet σπουδαῖος in Zusammenhang damit nicht nur einen, der nicht nur nicht-lächerlich, sondern auch moralisch gut ist, so muß die Frage gestellt werden, inwieweit die Helden der Tragödie σπουδαῖοι sind. Kann einer, der seinen Vater, einer, der seine Mutter, eine, die ihren Gatten tötet, etwas mit ἀρετή im Sinne von Tugend zu tun haben? Ich will auf die Geschichte des ethischen Denkens bei den Griechen nicht näher eingehen, doch der Haß des Feindes, die Rache für erlittenes Unrecht gehörten seit Homer zur Sitte, und wer den erlittenen Schaden nicht mit gleichem oder noch größerem vergolten hat, der konnte leicht mißachtet oder verlacht werden. Viele Stellen könnten angeführt werden, die Literatur hat sich damit eingehend beschäftigt,¹³ ich führe daher nur eine einzige Stelle an, und zwar aus dem 4. Jh., weil da gerade die ἀρετή erwähnt ist. Sokrates sagt in

H. HOUSE, *Aristotle's Poetics*. London 1956, 82–6 (σπουδαῖος implies a zealous and energetic goodness, es bedeutet aber nicht, daß er immer nur gut ist); L. GOLDEN, *Is Tragedy the Imitation of a Serious Action?* GRBS 6, 1965, 283–9 (tragedy is an imitation of a noble action or more fully and accurately... tragedy is an imitation of an action that reveals nobility of character); R. SCHOTTLÄNDER, *Der aristotelische „spoudaios“*, *Ztschr. f. Philos. Forschung* 34, 1980, 385–95 (ein „spoudaios“ ist der Ernstzunehmendes ernstlich betreibt); S. GASTALDI, *Lo spoudaios aristotelico tra etica e poetica*, *Elenchos* 1987, 63.

¹¹ Cat. 10 b 5–8; Top. 131 b 1–2; EE 1219 a 19–23; EN 1098 a 7–16; in der *Poetik* spricht er von der σπουδαία τραγωδία, 1449 b 17.

¹² DIRLMEIER bleibt bei dem überlieferten Text, ich habe Casaubonus Emendation angenommen, wie Walzer und Mingay in der Oxford Ausgabe.

¹³ Ich erwähne nur zwei Werke, für die epische Zeit: N. YAMAGATA, *Homeric Morality*. Leiden–New York–Köln 1994, 139–44, bes. 141–4; für das 4. Jh. K. J. DOVER, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*. Berkeley–Los Angeles 1974, 180–4.

Xenophons *Memorabilien* (2, 6, 36): „Die Freunde darin zu übertreffen, daß man ihnen Gutes, die Feinde darin, daß man ihnen Schlimmes erweist: das ist des Mannes Tugend (ἀρετή).“ Daß einer sich wehrt und den, der ihn schlägt, erschlägt, daß einer für seinen Vater, daß eine für ihre Tochter Rache nimmt, schadet ihrer ἀρετή nicht, eher im Gegenteil.

Dadurch aber, daß derjenige, an wem Rache genommen wird, ein Verwandter ist, entsteht ein neues Problem. Nicht die zwar traurige, aber etwas platte Frage, ob die Mutter oder den Gatten zu töten erlaubt ist. Weder Aischylos noch Sophokles behandeln die Frage bloß auf dieser juristischen Eben und auch aus den Ausführungen des Aristoteles geht etwas anderes hervor. Das letzte Ziel des menschlichen Lebens, das τέλος, worum alles geschieht, ist das Glück, die εὐδαιμονία.¹⁴ Man muß aber das Ziel und die dahin führenden Handlungen unterscheiden, und es kann vorkommen, daß man sich ein richtiges Ziel setzt, den Weg aber verfehlt (διαμαρτάνουσιν: Pol. 1331 b 26–34). In der *Eudemischen Ethik* ist dieser Gedanke weiter entwickelt, und zwar in Zusammenhang mit der ἀρετή: „Ist die Ursache jeglicher Richtigkeit entweder der Verstand oder die Tugend (ἀρετή), so ist, wenn nicht durch den Verstand, so durch die Tugend das Ziel (τέλος) richtig, nicht aber die Mittel zum Ziel (τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος). Das Ziel ist das Worumwillen, denn jede Entscheidung ist Entscheidung über etwas und über das Um-Etwas-willen... Die Entscheidung richtet sich bei alldem nicht auf das Etwas, sondern auf die Mittel desentwillen. Diese zu finden ist von einem anderen Können abhängig: nämlich davon, was alles man tun muß um des Zieles willen. Die Ursache dafür, daß das Ziel der Entscheidung richtig ist, ist die Tugend. Wir beurteilen darum die Qualität von jemandem nach seiner Entscheidung, d. h. nach dem, worumwillen er etwas tut, nicht nach dem, was er tut ... Liegt aber an einem, Schönes zu tun und Häßliches zu tun, und handelt er doch entgegengesetzt, so ist der Mann offenbar kein σπουδαῖος.“¹⁵ Das betont Aristoteles deshalb, weil „es vorkommt, daß das Ziel zwar richtig ist, daß man aber die Mittel dazu verfehlt“ (διαμαρτάνειν EE 1227 b 19–21).

Das ist gerade der Fall des tragischen Helden. Er will glücklich sein, das ist ja das letzte Ziel von allen, er verfehlt aber die Mittel, den Weg dazu.¹⁶ In diesem Zusammenhang hat aber τέλος einen anderen Sinn als den, von welchem oben die Rede war. Dort war τέλος die letzte Folge einer Entscheidung, etwas ästhetisches (dramaturgisches),¹⁷ hier etwas ethisches. Derselbe zweifache Sinn kann also hier beobachtet werden, wie im Fall des σπουδαῖον. In keinem Drama ist das Verfehlen dieses τέλος so klar ersichtlich wie in der aristotelischen Mustertragödie, im König Oidipus. Oidipus hat alles Mögliche getan, um das Glück zu sichern und den Vater nicht zu töten, die Mutter nicht zu heiraten. Das Ziel war also richtig, das Mittel,

¹⁴ EN 1097 a 20–b1; 1176 a 31–32; b 31–32; EE 1218 b 12; 1219 a 10–11; 1227 b 19–23 (hier spricht er von σκοπός, nicht von τέλος) usw. Vgl. auch Platon, *Conv.* 204 e–205 a. Auch glücklich (εὐδαιμων) kann nur der Mensch sein: EE 1217 a 21–27.

¹⁵ EE 1227 b 34–1228 a 7. In der Übersetzung folgte ich größtenteils Dirlmeier.

¹⁶ Zur vielbehandelten Frage der ἀμαρτία vgl. J. M. BREMER, *Hamartia*. Amsterdam 1969; S. SAÏD, *La faute tragique*. Paris 1978.

¹⁷ In diesem Sinn (aber nur in diesem) kann ich E. Belfiore (Anm. 1.) zustimmen, die leugnet, daß πρᾶξις in der Poetik eine moralische Bedeutung habe.

gerade der vernünftige Versuch, der Eifer, es zu erreichen, verfehlt. Es entsteht eine Diskrepanz zwischen Ziel und Mittel. Die Helden verlieren durch diese Diskrepanz dennoch nicht ihre Tugendhaftigkeit, sie kommen zwar zu Fall, doch der Fall ist ein tragischer, weil – da die Tugendhaftigkeit im wesentlichen bewahrt bleibt (das Ziel ist richtig) – mit ihnen ein Wert untergeht.

Es gibt aber auch eine andere Diskrepanz. Den Feind zu hassen, ihm Schlimmes zu erweisen, an ihm Rache zu nehmen, war nach der allgemeinen Moral richtig. Nach der allgemeinen Moral war es richtig, daß Klytaimestra sich für die Tochter, daß Orestes sich für den Vater gerächt haben. Sie haben sich gerächt, sie haben ihr Ziel erreicht, glücklich sind sie aber nicht geworden, das Mittel zum Endziel haben sie doch verfehlt. Es gab im ethischen Denken der Griechen auch eine andere Tendenz als die schon erwähnte, nach welcher die Vergeltung nicht immer die endgültige Lösung mit sich bringt, eine Tendenz, die ebenfalls von Homer an nachweisbar ist. Achilleus findet seine Ruhe nicht in der Rache an Hektor, sondern in der Versöhnung mit Priamos.¹⁸ In der Tragödie ist die Möglichkeit dieser Lösung nicht gegeben. Achilleus hat Hektor getötet und versöhnt sich mit Priamos, er behält auch so die Oberhand. Doch mit wem sollte sich Klytaimestra versöhnen? Mit Agamemnon? Dann gäbe sie zu, daß sie unterliege. Bei Aischylos hilft der Eingriff der Athena. Bei Sophokles unterbleibt diese Lösung, doch die Rache ist auch bei ihm keine Lösung. Winnington-Ingrams Sophokles-Buch hat das schlagend nachgewiesen.¹⁹ Die Frage bleibt offen, die Welt ist eine tragische Welt.

Doch genug, das gehört mehr zur Geschichte des ethischen Denkens als zur Dramentheorie. Die Tragödie ist Nachahmung einer *πρᾶξις*, die insofern einheitlich und *τελεία* ist, als sie von einer Entscheidung ausgeht und nur die notwendigen Folgen derselben enthält, bis der Ausgang der Entscheidung sich herausstellt, und insofern *σπουδαία*, als die Handelnden, die sie ausführen, obwohl sie sich für falsche Mittel entscheiden und so das letzte Ziel, das Glück, verfehlen, doch ein gutes Ziel erreichen wollen. Da die *πρᾶξις* nur die notwendigen Folgen erhalten soll, muß die vielfältige Realität (Mythologie oder empirische Welt) zunächst zu einem abstrakt-allgemeinen Abriß, „abgesondert von allem Detail und concreter Bezeichnung der Personen in seiner nackten Allgemeinheit des Geschehenen“ reduziert werden.²⁰ Der Dichter ahmt diese reduzierte *πρᾶξις* im *μῦθος* nach, indem er sie wieder konkret-individuell macht, mit untergeordneten Handlungen ausschmückt und ihr die genügende Länge gibt (1455 a 34–b 2).²¹

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¹⁸ Á. SZABÓ, Achilleus, der tragische Held der Ilias, *Acta Ant. Hung.* 4, 1956, 55–107.

¹⁹ R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, *Sophocles. An Interpretation.* Cambridge 1980.

²⁰ Vgl. Vahlen (Anm. 10) 83–5, auch das Zitat ist von ihm.

²¹ Zur Bedeutung von Epeisodion vgl. K. NICKAU, Epeisodion und Episode, *MH* 23, 1966, 155–71; H. FRIEDRICH, Ἐπεισόδιον in Drama and Epic, *Hermes* 111, 1983, 34–51.

RÓBERT SIMON

DĀRĀ SHOKŪH ON THE CONFLUENCE OF TWO RELIGIONS AND CULTURES

IN TOKEN OF REVERENCE OFFERED TO PROFESSOR HARMATTA
WHO HAS MASTERED HIMSELF IN COMPARATIVE STUDIES ALONG THESE LINES

Dārā Shokūh (1615–1659),¹ the great-grandson of Akbar (1542–1605), is one of the few uncomparable and immortal Indian personalities who, in a true anticomunalist spirit, fought for overcoming the ethnic, religious, and cultural dividedness in India. His life, activity and execution by the unleashed religious fanaticism is more than a paradigm for seeking common roots and contact points between genuinely or only apparently hostile phenomena: in contemporary India it is an actual guidance and an awesome warning at the same time. In the footsteps of his great predecessor, Akbar the Great Mughal, he sought to reconcile Islam with Hinduism. After a thorough study, with the help of outstanding pandits, of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, some two years before his execution in 1067/1657, he translated fifty-two Upaniṣads,² assisted by some Pandits and sanniyasins from Benares. In its Introduction he

¹ The latest comprehensive monograph on Dārā Shokūh was published in the early fifties by BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT: *Dārā Shokūh: Life and Works* (Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati University Publications, 1951, I used the 2nd revised edition published by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1982). It was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1940 under the guidance of Prof. MUH. ZUBAIR SIDDIQI, a former pupil of REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON. Although B. J. HASRAT's book has a number of minor lapses and mistakes, it is, nevertheless, the most thorough assessment of Dārā Shokūh's works based on a convincing analysis of the original sources (some of them still in manuscript, cf. pp. 293–5). It has superseded KALIKA-RANJAN QANUNGO's *Dārā Shokūh* (Calcutta, S. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1935). See also the well-informed entry in the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* II., 137–9, written by SATISH CHANDRA (Leyde: E. J. Brill, 1965) with further bibliography. D. Sh.'s relationship to the Qādiriyya as well as to Hindu mysticism is described in detail by SAIYID ATHAR ABBAS RIZVI in his *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1983), II, 125–145, 413–424. In his other major work (written for obtaining the D. Litt.'s degree and published originally in 1965) we find some interesting glimpses on D.Sh. and his stimulating surrounding: *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1995) 354–363 and passim. One can find a vivid and objective portrayal of D. Sh.'s career as a Mughal prince based on an independent examination of the contemporary sources in WALDEMAR HANSEN's book *The Peacock Throne. The Drama of Mogul India*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas. 1986, especially pp. 144–159). AZIZ AHMAD wrote a thought-provoking chapter on D.Sh. and AURANGZEB in his book: *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 191–200.

² See mainly B. J. HASRAT, 254–292. To my knowledge it has not yet been published completely (cf. B. J. HASRAT, 295, who published the Preface with a commented translation, 260–9).

wrote: "Any difficult problem or sublime idea that came to his mind and was not solved in spite of his best efforts, becomes clear and solved with the help of this ancient work, which is undoubtedly the first heavenly Book and the fountain-head of the ocean of monotheism, and in accordance with or rather an elucidation of the Qur'ān." This rendering, entitled as *Upanikhat* or *Sirr-i Akbar*, was translated by Anquetil Duperron into Latin (published in 1801–2)³ and heavily influenced Schopenhauer's philosophy and through him a by no means unimportant part of European thought in the 19th century.⁴ In his other major work, the *Majma' al-bahrayn*⁵ ("The Mingling of the two Oceans") he made the first steps towards the interpretation of Hinduism and Islam, reflecting essentially in the same way, on the same cosmic as

S. A. A. RIZVI mentioned that TARA CHAND edited it in Teheran (cf. HSI II, 424, n. 4.). This edition, however, contains, with the *Risāle-ye haqq-numā* and *Majma' al-bahrayn*, the text of the *Mandak Upaniṣad*, ed. by S. M. RIDĀ JALĪL NĀ'INI and introduced by TARA CHAND (Tehran, 1957).

³ On A. H. ANQUETIL DUPERRON (1731–1805) see R. SCHWAB: *Vie d'Anquetil-Duperron, suivie des Usages civils et religieux des Parses per Anquetil-Duperron* (with a Preface by SYLVAIN LÉVI and two essays by Sir JIVANJI JAMSHIDJI MODI), Paris: E. LEROUX, 1934; IDEM: *The Oriental Renaissance. Europe's Discovery of India and the East*, transl. by G. PATTERSON-BLACK and V. REINKING (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1984), 158–164. See also: W. HALBFASS: *India and Europe. An Essay in Philosophical Understanding* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990), 64–68.

First, he set about to translate it into French, but four Upaniṣads only appeared in 1787. His Latin rendering, finished in 1795, was published in Strassbourg as *Oupnek'hat, id est Secretum tegendum*. W. HALBFASS aptly characterized the peculiar features of his translation: "His Oupnek'hat is an anachronism, yet it did more to awaken the modern interest in Indian philosophy and made a greater contribution to the philosophical debate about India than Jones's works. ... There is no doubt that he is one of the more impressive and decisive figures in the history of European approaches to Indian and Oriental thought, and in the preparation of a philosophical 'dialogue' between India and the West." (op. cit. 64f). See further, TARA CHAND: *Dārā Shikoh and the Upanishads: Islamic Culture* 17, 1943, 397–413.

⁴ His influence on SCHOPENHAUER is analyzed in its proper historical context by R. SCHWAB, 427–431; HALBFASS, 107–120; cf. further I. VECHIETTI: *La dottrina di Schopenhauer. Le teorie schopenhaueriane considerate nella loro genesi e nei loro rapporti con la filosofia indiana* (Roma: Ubaldini, 1969) and his paper: *Schopenhauer im Urteil der modernen Inder*, in: J. SALAQUARDA (Ed.): *Schopenhauer* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 1985) 177–189 concerning Schopenhauer's evaluation in modern Indian thinking. Schopenhauer's anti-occidentalism and anti-biblicism (cf. SCHWAB, 428) was greatly influenced by the "pristine wisdom" of India as mediated by D. Sh./ANQUETIL DUPERRON. He characterized the Indians as "the most noble and ancient people" and their wisdom as "the original wisdom of the human race". According to him the Upaniṣads were the "fruit of the most sublime human knowledge and wisdom" (cf. *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, hrsg. von E. GRIEBACH, Leipzig, o. J. I. Teil, 470). In his *Parerga and Paralipomena* (published in 1851) he devoted a separate essay to the importance of Sanskrit literature in which he bestowed encomium on D. Sh. (see Schopenhauer, *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsg. von E. GRIEBACH, Leipzig, o. J. Bd. V. 415–7): "This Upnek'hat breathes, indeed, the very spirit of the Vedas! How is seized in his very heart who, reading it assiduously got familiarized with the Persian-Latin idiom of this incomparable Book. What genuine and sublime thoughts emanate from all its leaves while a serene and august solemnity hovers over it. Here everything breathes an Indian atmosphere, a genuine existence which is close to the Nature. ... It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death."

⁵ Its critical edition appeared in 1929 (reprinted in 1982): *Majma'-ul-Bahrayn* or the *Mingling of the Two Oceans* by Prince Muh. Dārā Shikūh ed. in the original Persian with English Translation, Notes and Variants by M. MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ (Calcutta: Asiatic Society). Knowing the extremely difficult *variae lectiones* of the Manuscripts, the highly readable text prepared by the Editor is more than commendable. To the Iranian edition cf. n. 2. The content of some of its topics has been presented by B. J. HASRAT, op. cit. pp. 216–232. A thorough and elaborate study of its vocabulary has not yet been undertaken.

well as human problems. In his *Nādir an-nukat or Mokāmele-ye Dārā Shokūh wa-Bābā La'*⁶ he reestablished in its own right a very rare literary genre, namely a freely chosen dialogue between people confessing different religions.

Is it really a rare literary genre, or is it rather – in view of his *Majma' al bahrayn* and especially of what he hoped to achieve – something more, a truly unique phenomenon? This is the first main point which I would like to tackle in a few words. It is the rather intriguing problem of the possibilities as well as limits of cultural and religious contacts between different communities.

In the Indian religious literature it seems at first sight that this genre may be exemplified by the *Milindapañha*, the well-known Pali dialogue between the Greek-Bactrian king Milinda (known as Menandros in Greek sources) and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena.⁷ Indeed, some forty-odd years before, W. W. Tarn assumed a short Greek original of the *Milindapañha*,⁸ suggesting that he had accepted the fact of a real dialogue between the Greek Bactrian king and the Buddhist monk. More recent research, however, has rightly corrected this hypothesis, saying that "there is little in the text, which is Greek, aside from the name of the king."⁹

The fact that the *Milindapañha* only seemingly displays two totally different viewpoints and is in reality an ingenious and skilful manual of Buddhism, convincingly testifies to a typical and widespread practice, namely that the adherents of two different religions, as a rule, are rarely interested in an adequate knowledge of the other side – they prefer to convince the antagonist of their superiority or, at best, they interpret the otherness in their own and necessarily distorting terms. This happened with the Greeks, too. In his study of the intellectual relationship of the Greeks to the so-called "alien wisdom" of other people, A. Momigliano came to a rather negative conclusion as to the results of these contacts: "The intellectual influence of the barbarians were, however, felt in the Hellenistic world only to the extent to which they were capable of expressing themselves in Greek. No Greek read the Upanishads, the Gathas and the Egyptian wisdom books."¹⁰ Even a man as open-minded and inquisitive as Megasthenes, the Greek envoy of the Syrian diadoch, Seleucus Nicator, who between 302 and 291 B.C. spent a considerable period of time at the court of the Mauryan ruler, Chandragupta in Pāṭaliputra did not have a real and profound knowledge of Indian life and the complex variety of Indian religious tradition. W. Halbfass has rightly pointed out the main reasons for this inadequate approach: "It seems that he did not know any Indian language, something that would be in accordance with the general reluctance of the Greeks to learn foreign languages. Invariably, he transferred his observations into his own Greek framework of under-

⁶ Edited and translated into French by Cl. HUART and L. MASSIGNON: *Les entretiens de Lahore (entre le Prince Imperial Dārā Shikūh et l'ascète hindou Baba La'ī Das)*: JA 207, 1926, 285–334.

⁷ *Milindapanha*, *Milinda's Questions*, ed. by V. TRENKNER (London 1928), transl. by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS (SBE, XXXV and XXXV, Oxford, 1890, 1894).

⁸ *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (New Delhi. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1980), 416–420, 432–6.

⁹ See HALBFASS, 19 and 458, n. 105.

¹⁰ A. MOMIGLIANO, *Alien Wisdom. The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 7f.

standing; only Greek names and concepts are used to describe and interpret Indian cultural and religious phenomena. His practice of retaining Greek proper names and religious concepts seems to presuppose that the foreign Indian tradition recognizes the gods and heroes of his own Greek tradition, worshipping them only under different names and in different guise."¹¹ Of course, a mutual understanding was hardly promoted even by the Indians themselves. Momigliano elaborated the previous train of thought with this remark: "the Greeks were seldom in a position to check what the natives told them: they did not know the languages. The natives on the other hand, being bilingual, had a shrewd idea of what the Greeks wanted to hear and spoke accordingly. This reciprocal position did not make for sincerity and real understanding. When there was no urgency, utopia and idealisation abounded; where there was an immediate purpose, propaganda, adulation and reciprocal accusations prevailed."¹²

The reluctant, often withdrawing and even hostile attitude of the other side, three of the four major obstacles preventing objective knowledge, was emphasized by al-Bīrūnī (973–1048), who contributed more than anybody else in the Middle Ages to the knowledge of Ancient India: "Secondly, they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe and vice versa. On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves; at the utmost, they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or their property on religious controversy. On the contrary, all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them – against all foreigners. They call them *mleccha*, i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no household can exist without these two elements... They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to this religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."¹³ This self-imposed seclusion, as characterized by al-Bīrūnī, has been an enduring and deep-rooted feature of the Indian intellectuals which determined their contacts not only with the Greeks, but also heavily influenced their relationship with Muslims and, later on, with the Europeans, too. Indeed, a closer scrutiny reveals a peculiar one-wayness of reception in the cultural contacts between Muslims and Hindus, because there were several waves of both Arabic and Persian receptions of Ancient Indian culture, which, at the same time, have not generated a similar process among Indian intellectuals. On the other hand, al-Bīrūnī's attitude and achievement, though it brought scientific investigation aiming at an objective and unbiased knowledge to an incomparable level of perfection, it was not a two-

¹¹ W. HALBFASS, 14.

¹² A. MOMIGLIANO, 8.

¹³ Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about AD 1030. Edited by E. C. SACHAU (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1989) I. 19f. This characterization may be compared with Abū 'l-Faḍl's similar remarks some five centuries later in his *Ā'in-e Akbari*.

sided dialogue.¹⁴ It was, rather, the logical accomplishment of the highly unusual attitude of the Muslim civilization which, at the height of its glory, aimed at a selection of an alien culture in al-Ma'mūn's *Bayt al-ḥikma*. The recondite motives of this unique reception were, of course, very practical and aimed essentially at some very human hopes. As S. Pines succinctly stated: "It is ... certain that treatises dealing with the three practical sciences: astrology, alchemy and medicine constitute a very considerable part of the early Arabic translations. It may accordingly be presumed that the hope to enjoy the advantage of a knowledge of the future, or to possess unlimited wealth and the power over man and nature promised by the alchemists, as well as the wish for scientific medical care, may have been a prime factor in the patronage accorded to the Greek sciences."¹⁵ The main motivation of translating the main works of the *'ulūm al-awā'il* or *'ulūm al-qudamā'* ("the Ancient Sciences") may originally have been motivated undoubtedly by practical needs, still this unquenchable thirst ushered in a unique process which, although originally not intended, led to the reception of an entire alien composite culture. This totally reshaped and remoulded culture, however, needed to be adapted to Orthodox Islam and its native sciences (*'ulūm al-ʿarab* or *al-'ulūm al-ḥadīṭa*) which, on their part, had been determined by the stern requirements and limits of the Islamic religious sciences. For this reason, throughout the whole period of Classical Islam there was a bitter struggle between the 'alien wisdom' and the religious sciences of Orthodox Islam and in times of crisis the *fuqahā'* and *'ulamā'*, the main intellectuals of the Muslim community, were flatly opposed to foreign influences. In these times the *bid'ā*, originally meaning 'novelty', became a 'heresy' to be refused (as the philosophy was refuted by al-Gazālī) or condemned (as in the case of al-Ḥallāğ or as-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl). This peculiar ebb and flow of selective reception during peaceful coexistence and strenuous opposition in times of crisis characterized the attitude of Islam to otherness. In this very intriguing circular chain Akbar's attitude to Islam and non-Islamic religions was a unique link, which, though having a sincere and profoundly human thriving for knowing the genuine and unbiased truth, was primarily motivated by a sober political decision aiming at the *ṣulḥ-i kull*, i.e. 'universal peace' among the multiconfessional and rather heterogeneous population of his huge empire. And in fact, it was not the construction of his *'ibādet-khāne* and the religious disputes held there (it must be emphasized that they were in most of the cases very bitter debates and not dialogues) which pointed to the unique attempt of his great-grandson, but his utterly unelaborated and highly personal *Dīn-i ilāhī* which may be characterized as a value-centered, wordly and very exclusive, private *club-ṭarīqa*. The daring enterprise, however, which Dārā Shokūh embarked upon, transcended all previous attempts. It was not a scientific interest like al-Bīrūnī's approach, and neither was it an attempt aiming at the change of religion (as in the case of Menandros) nor a practical

¹⁴ Few attempts have been made so far to analyze Indian attitudes towards aliens. More recently, however, some remarkable works have been done in this field, see: W. HALBFASS (n. 3.), especially 172–196 (Traditional Indian Xenology), and A. PARASHER: Mlecchas in early India. A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders up to AD 600 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1991).

¹⁵ S. Pines: Philosophy, in: P. M. HOLT–A. K. LAMBTON–B. LEWIS (Eds.), The Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge: The Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960), vol. 2B, 784.

need for alien cultural goods (which motivated the Muslims in their reception of a whole alien cultural heritage). What Dārā Shokūh realized was that the languages and teachings of the religions differ only outwardly, and that in reality their original motivation, their inner truth and final aim are one and the same teaching, even if this is expressed in a highly compendious and obscure way in the Books of one particular religion, and in an unveiled and unambiguous form in another. His profound perception is expressed in the most illuminating manner in his Introduction to the *Sirr-i Akbar*. Seeking to know the hidden secrets of the all-encompassing Oneness of the Existence (*waḥdat al-wuḡūd*) and listening to the gnostics of every religion, he found a number of unsolved riddles which have not yet been solved by most of the Holy Scriptures: "And whereas the holy Qur'ān is mostly allegorical (*aktārī marmūz-ast*) and at the present day, persons conversant with the subtleties thereof are very rare, he became desirous of bringing in view all the heavenly books (*ḡamī'e kotob-e samāwī-rā be-nazar āword*), for the very words of God are their own commentary, and what might be in one book compendious, in another might be found diffusive, and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible. He had therefore cast his eyes on the Tora, the Gospels, the Psalms, the Qur'ān, and other scriptures, but the explanation of monotheism in them also was compendious and enigmatical, and from the slovenly translations which tendentious persons had made, their purport was not intelligible (*nazar be Tawrāt wa-Inḡil wa-Zabūr wa-Furqān wa-dīgar moṣṣḥaf andāht, ammā bayān-e towḥīd dar ān-hā ham moḡmel wa-marmūz būd wa-az tarḡome-ye mohmelī ke ahl-e ḡaraḍ karde būdand, maṭlūb ma'lūm na-gardīd*)."

"After having studied in vain the Holy Scripture of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, he found among the Indian intellectuals (*'olamā'-ye zāherī wa-bāṭenī-ye tā'efe-ye qadīm-e Hend*) those unitarians (*mowahḥedīn*) who with their ancient holy Scriptures: the four Vedas and the Upaniṣads offered the clue to his doubts and riddles. In his eyes the Upaniṣads realized, as a holy Scripture, the explanation of the true *waḥdat al-wuḡūd* and the unity of all religious teaching, embodying the highest Truth sought after by him, and with the help of the pandits and sannyasis of Benares he himself, being free from any wordly motivation (*bī-ḡaraḍāne*) translated the essential parts of monotheism (*ḥolāṣe-ye towḥīd-rā*), which are the Upnekhat, i.e. the secrets to be concealed... in the year 1067 A.H.; and every difficulty and every sublime topic which he had desired or thought and had looked for and not found, he obtained from these essences of the most ancient books, and without doubt and suspicion, these books are first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source and the fountain-head of the Ocean of Unity, in conformity with the holy Qur'ān and even a commentary thereon (*bī-šakk o-šobhe awwalīn kotob-e samāwī wa-sar-e caṣme-ye baḥr-e towḥīd-ast wa-moṭābeq-e Qurān-e maḡīd balke tafṣīr-e ān-ast*)."¹⁶

¹⁶ The Persian text is given by B. J. HASRAT (n. 1.), 260–4. His rendering is slightly corrected. The essential resemblance of "the true religion of the Sūfis" and the religion of "the Indian monotheists" is eloquently expressed in the Preface of the *Majma' al-baḥrayn*: "having had repeated intercourses and (continuous) discussion with the doctors and prefect divines of this (i.e. Indian) religion, who had attained the highest pitch of perfection in religious exercises he did not find any difference, except verbal, in the way in which they sought and comprehended Truth" (MB, p. 38, 80).

It is very interesting and characteristic of his way of thinking, searching everywhere for essential resemblance rather than to dividing dissimilarity, how he tried to prove his right choice regarding the Upaniṣads as the first more comprehensible and unmistakable edition of the Qur'ān. He referred to the well-known verses of *Sūrat al-Wāqī'a* (56:77–9): *Inna-hū la-qur'ānun karīm * fī kitābin maktūn * lā yamussu-hū illā'l-muṭahharūna * tanzīlun min rabbi' l-ʿālamīn*: "It is surely a noble Koran in a hidden Book, none but the purified shall touch, a sending down from the Lord of all Being."¹⁷ His argumentation, of course, is far from respecting any philological rule, it is a charming prophetic or poetical reasoning: "It is evident to any person that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms or the Book of Moses or to the Gospel, and by the word 'revelation', it is clear that it is not applicable to the Reserved Tablet (*lawḥ-e maḥfūz*), and whereas the Upnekhat, which are a secret to be concealed (*serr-e pušidani-st*) and are the essence of this book, and the verses of the holy Qur'ān are literally found therein, of a certainty, therefore, the hidden book is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known and things incomprehensible became comprehensible to this *faqīr*."¹⁸

When Dārā Shokūh made his *salto mortale*, and demonstrated with, so to say, scientific criteria the essential identity of the Upaniṣads and the Qur'ān he achieved, in a particular way, what Muḥammad did at the beginning of his prophetic career when his preaching was regarded by Him as the continuation of the previous monotheist religions, namely Judaism and Christianity, and, in close connection with this conviction, he considered Himself as the "seal of the Prophets" (*ḥātām an-nabiyyīn* 73:40), and He called *ahl al-kitāb* those peoples to whom, through Prophets, holy Scriptures had been revealed (cf. 87: 18f; 53:36). The original of these holy Scriptures was "the Mother/or Essence of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*, 43:4; 13:39), preserved in the Heaven, on "a guarded tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūz*, 85:22). Thus, Muḥammad originally thought of his mission as the final fulfilment of a universal salvation-history, whose chain-links are not dissimilar to each other. Later, in the early Medinan years, when He clashed with the Jews and Christians, his original standpoint had totally changed and, as a turning point, He elaborated the so-called 'religion of Abraham' which broke radically with the idea of a universal 'Heilsgeschehen' stating that: "No, Abraham in truth was not a Jew, neither a Christian, but he was a Muslim and one pure of faith; certainly he was never of the idolators" (3:67). This second version of Islam, however, did not delete the traces of the first revelation conceived originally as a universal mission and, indeed, throughout the history of Islam the two principles alternated with each other. In this context, Dārā Shokūh may rightly be characterized as the representative of the first principle, who carried, *ad absurdum*, the idea of the original unity of religions, while his brother and rival to the throne, Aurangzeb reinstated into its rights the Islamic orthodoxy with the "establishmentarian rehabilitation of religious law."¹⁹ This peculiar legacy taken over and fulfilled by

¹⁷ A. J. ARBERRY'S rendering (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982) 562.

¹⁸ B. J. HASRAT, 263, 267.

¹⁹ Quoted from AZIZ AHMAD, 191. According to him, D. Sh.'s attempt was "a form of intellectualized magical syncretism" achieving "Akbar's imperial eclecticism".

Dārā Shokūh suggests that he was both a daring and fearless innovator (discovering the ancient lore of Indian religion and philosophy for Islam, and a consequent 'restaurator ordinis pristini' which was a half-forgotten feature of Muḥammad's original preaching). That is why I believe that his achievement, especially his works synthesizing the Hindu-Muslim religious traditions, may be characterized as a unique experiment within Islam.

This peculiar Janus-faced character of Dārā Shokāh raises another interesting point, namely the problem of his actuality or his untimeliness. If we look at the cultural history of the late Delhi Sultanate and the early Mughal period, we cannot help but observe a kind of spiritual uncertainty and religious fermentation which fostered the desire to seek out new value-systems and to become familiar with new ideas and ways of life. Prof. Gorekar has aptly characterized the background of this spiritual unrest: "When the Muslims reached India, Brahmanism had triumphed over its formidable rivals, Buddhism and Jainism, but in order to consolidate its influence over the masses, Brahmanism had made a compromise with the Buddhist doctrines and the Pre-Aryan practices. This new composite religion was rather impersonal and speculative, and hence it could not at once satisfy the heart and give moral guidance. Thus the need for an ethical and emotional cult was badly felt. The presence of Islam, wherein the unity of God and the democratic principles play an important part, gave rise, through the liberal preaching of the saints and mystics in India, to the religious revivalism in Hinduism. ... This religious revivalism was marked by attempts at reform from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century of the Christian era. Consequently, Ramanuja in the South, Ramananda and Kabir in Uttar Pradesh, Nanak in the Punjab, Chaitanya in Bengal, Nandev in the Deccan, Meera Bai in Rajputana, and Tukaran in Maharashtra, by precept and practice, firstly, denounced the caste institution in the Hindu society; secondly they emphasized the oneness of God and the true spirit of religion; and thirdly, they appealed to the hearts of the people by singing to them religious hymns in the language of the people. ... *Bhakti Marga*, devotion blended with love of God, developed and deistic sects like Vaishnavism, Kabirpanthi and Sikhism considerably changed the outlook of Hinduism."²⁰ This mutual approach was mainly promoted by the activity of the different orders of dervishes, especially by the Chishtiya, Suhrawardiya (from the 13th century), by the Qādiriya (from the 15th century) and by the Naqṣbandiya (from Akbar's age) and, of course, by a number of minor sūfī orders (such as the Kāzerūniya, Kubrāwiya, Ṣaṭṭāriya, Ni^ḥ matullāhiya, etc).²¹ The members of these mystic orders may be rightly

²⁰ NIZAMUDDIN S. GOREKAR: Influence of Islamics on Indian Culture: Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies (AMU) 22, 1989, 64f, cf. L. MASSIGNON, Essai sur les origines de lexique technique de la mystique musulmane (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1922), 69f.

²¹ See the comprehensive study on Ṣūfism in India by S. A. A. RIZVI (n. 1.); idem: The Wonder that was India II. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1987), 231–276; M. GABORIOU: Les ordres mystiques dans le sous-continent indien, in: A. POPOVIC–G. VEINSTEIN (Eds.): Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam (Paris: Editions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 105–134. See also the relevant remarks by P. HARDY in: M. ELIADE (Ed.), The Encyclopaedia of Religions (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1995) VII, 394ff.

regarded as 'bridge-people' who adjusted the original mould and teachings of a more austere and rigid Islamic *taṣawwuf* to local demands:²² a. "Sufism had become more a devotional than a mystical movement, embracing a collection of cult associations which centered on the *pīr* or shaykh, a figure more approachable than that of the Arabian prophet or the *ʿālim* for many in South Asia", b. "the shaykh or the *pīr* was being seen as a charismatic figure with special personal efficacies, rather than as a teacher and guide along a path to personal experience of the truths of God"; and c.: "The *dargāh*, or tomb, was beginning to supplant the *khāngāh* in popular imagination." A similar important factor to their success was their willingness to use the local vernacular and last, but not least, they could win the rural and the small town people with their everyday practice which, in some cases, did not reject the use of music and poetry.

Dārā Shokūh chose, for some reason, deliberately the Qādiriya order²³ which was in the 15th century firmly established in India. One of his personal motives was, no doubt, that his spiritual master, the great Miyān Mīr,²⁴ whom he called "the second Ġunayd",²⁵ belonged to this order. I think, however, that two other considerations also influenced his choice. First, the Qādiriya²⁶ had a true universal appeal: its members came from all strata of society, from peasants through city-dwellers to rulers. It has been highly appreciated even by non-Muslims. And, second, the great advocate of pantheistic mysticism in Islam, Ibn al-ʿArabī had a high respect for ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī, the founder of al-Qādiriya and Ibn al-ʿArabī was highly esteemed by Dārā Shokūh. In his *Mağmaʿ al-bahrayn* he puts him on the same line as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī his spiritual guide,²⁷ and in his *Risāle-ye Haqq-nomā*, written in 1056/1647, after his initiation into the Qādiri order, he drew heavily from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.²⁸ We may, however, certainly assume that his thinking and his attitudes to Indian religious traditions was influenced not so much by these partial, though doubtless important details, but by Ibn al-ʿArabī's pantheistic mysticism anchored in his central idea called *waḥdat al-wuğūd*. This doctrine of the unity of being means that there is only One Essence or Self which by his manifestation or coming into Existence appears in a multitude of beings and it is this divine Self which is the True, the Absolute and it is the hidden Essence of all that exists. The relationship of the many to the One or that of Existence to Essence is the favourite theme of Dārā Shokūh's *rubāʿīyāt*. Some examples:

²² For this expression and the following points see P. HARDY'S analysis in the above-mentioned article.

²³ About this order see: EI, s.v. Kādiriya (D. S. Margoliouth); S. A. A. RIZVI, HSI II. 55–150.

²⁴ D. Sh. in his *Sakīnat al-awliyāʾ*, written in A.H. 1052/1642 A.D. gave a detailed account of the Qādiri order with special reference to Miyān Mīr and his disciples, see: B. J. HASRAT, op. cit. 64–104, especially pp. 76–80, see further: A. A. A. RIZVI, Muslim Revivalist Movements, 323–6, 341–3, 407–9.

²⁵ *Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn* 102.

²⁶ Cf. EI IV., 609, s.v. Kādiriya (D. S. Margoliouth).

²⁷ MB, 102.

²⁸ B.J. HASRAT 123; RIZVI (n. 24), 351f.

Yek derre na-didam ze khoršid ġodā
 Har qeṭre-ye āb-ast ‘ayn-e daryā
 Haqq-rā če nām kas be-tawānad khwāndan?
 Har nām ke hast, hast az asmā’-e khodā

(“We have not seen an atom separate from the Sun,
 Every drops of water is the sea in itself.
 With what name should one call the Truth?
 – Every name that exists is one of God’s name”)²⁹

Or:

Ey ān-ke khodā’ i-rā be-ġuy har-ġā
 To ‘ayn-e khodā’ i na-ġodā’ i ze khodā
 Īn ġostan-e tō hamīn be-ān mi-mānad
 Qeṭre be miyān-e āb wa-ġuyad daryā

(“O, thou, who seekest God everywhere,
 Thou verily are the God and not separate from Him.
 Already in the midst of a boundless ocean,
 Thy quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean.”)³⁰

And indeed, his whole-hearted acceptance of this pantheistic mysticism was the invisible hand which led him straight as a dart to Hinduism. *Waḥdat al-wuġūd* may be regarded as a bridge between Islamic pantheism, never accepted by the Muslim orthodoxy, and the non-duality known as Advaita Vendanta. It is not mere chance that this basic doctrine is, time and again, his central problem, in his writings, and his main concern was to prove, on a sound scientific basis, that it is not in contradiction with the teachings of the Qur’ān. The political as well as the social implications of the monistic/pantheistic versus theistic religious choices have been noted by Muhammad Habib: “The doctrine of *waḥdat al-wuġūd* implied the complete submergence of the communalist ideas that had been prevalent among the Muslims, e.g. exclusive right to salvation as well as to the goods of this world, the duty of fighting non-Muslims merely because they worshipped their God or gods in different fashion. ... It was not to be expected that such a doctrine would go unchallenged or that its opponents would fail to appeal to the lowest elements of Muslim orthodoxy. The acknowledged leader of the opposition was Sheikh ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn of Simnān, who spoke of Ibn ‘Arabī in very abusive terms, insisted on burning his works and postulated his own doctrine of *waḥdat aš-šuhūd*. However, the two doctrines reduced to slogans: “God is everything” (*waḥdat al-wuġūd*) and everything is from God (*waḥdat aš-šuhūd*) were destined to fight each other in the centuries to come. Belief in *waḥdat al-wuġūd* led to tolerance, secularism, amiable relations between all religious and racial communities. ... The doctrine of *waḥdat aš-šuhūd* led to the worship of the external Sharī‘a ... and communal hatred.”³¹ Dārā Shokūh’s attempt represented the culmination of the first trend, which, however (and this is the answer to

²⁹ B.J. HASRAT, 145.

³⁰ Op. cit. 148.

³¹ Preface to RIZVI XIII.

his actuality or untimeliness), appeared in history at a time when the unitarian and anticommunalist trends, flourishing in 15–16th centuries and ending with Akbar's age, were eclipsed by the revivalist movements leading to Aurangzeb's renewal of Islamic orthodoxy. Dārā Shokūh's *Mağma° al-baḥrayn* and *Sirr-e Akbar* stand on the confluence of two religions and cultures, and they have not lost their actuality, even today.

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ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMS OF THE LATIN FUTURE ACTIVE INFINITIVE AND PARTICIPLE

The widespread explanation of the development of the form of the Latin future active infinitive *-tūrus*, *-a*, *-um* (*-ī*, *-ae*, *-a*) *esse* (its more general form is: *-tūrum*³ *esse*) seems to be too complicated and unacceptable. Generally it is explained from a *-tū* dative (locative) formed from the supine stem, and *erom* < **esom* merged into it which consists of the *es-* stem of the verb *esse* and the ending *-om* > *-um* belonging to the *-o-* declension. This *-om* > *-um* is an infinitive ending.¹ (The sound *s* of the verb *es-* certainly developed into *-r-* between two vowels and the accusative ending *-om* became *-um*.) The *e* of *erom* merges into the ending *-ū* of the supine (*-ū* + *e-*) and the sound *-ū-* of *-tūrum* developed from it.²

¹ See J. P. POSTGATE, The Future Infinitive Active in Latin: IF 4, 1894, 252 ff. Postgate expounded his concept, which is included in my first paragraph, in his very careful paper. He supposed the existence of the Old Italian form **esom* and this **esom* is supported by the infinitive forms of the Oscan *ezum* and the Umbrian *erom* (which are equivalents of the Latin *esse*, but formed in a different way). His concept was considered to be more acceptable than the previous ones (see later) and the following works introduced this one with some reservation. Thus: F. SOMMER, Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre. Heidelberg 1902. 633; F. STOLZ–J. H. SCHMALZ–M. LEUMANN–J. B. HOFMANN, Lateinische Grammatik. München 1928⁵. 342 f.; E. KIECKERS, Historische lateinische Grammatik. Teil II. München 1931. 234 f.; J. SZIDAROVSKY, A görög és a latin nyelv hang- és alaktana. Budapest 1932. 413 and 418 ff.; I. M. TRONSKIY, Istoričeskaya grammatika latinskogo yazyka. Moskva 1960. 286 f.; A. MEILLET–J. VENDRYES, Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques. Paris 1968⁴. 363; Hirt (see H. HIRT, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil IV. Heidelberg 1928. 108) also thought it possible that **esom* is hidden in the Latin *datūrum* < **datū-erom*. BRUGMANN (see K. BRUGMANN, Grundriss der vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Bd. II. Strassburg 1892. 1268) also accepted the idea that Old Latin had an indeclinable infinitive *-tūrum* which became declinable and to which *esse* was added. See also: L. R. PALMER, The Latin Language. London 1972. 279 f. PALMER and SZIDAROVSKY say that there is no such infinitive suffix in Latin as *-om*, this being the weakness of Postgate's concept. According to SZIDAROVSKY, the positive side is that POSTGATE admits the common origin of the future infinitive and of the future participle, the negative side is that he separates them from the *-tūra* forms and SZIDAROVSKY does not find this concept to be a safe explanation.

² On the other hand, it is unusual in Latin that another whole word is added to an inflected word, therefore it is probably out of the question here too, and this explanation discussed in my previous paragraph is unacceptable for me for this reason as well.

The ending *-ūrum* was originally invariable, consequently the form *-ūrum* did not agree with the accusative of the acc. c. inf. either in gender or in number. In Old Latin *-ūrum* appeared as this indeclinable form without regard for the gender, case, or number of the noun to which it refers, e.g. *illi polliciti sese facturum omnia* (Cato Orig. 5,15, quoted by Priscian II,475,23), and *non putavi hoc eam facturum* (Labe-rius, quoted by Gellius 1,7,12).³ Later, however, on the analogy of the perfect passive infinitive, the ending *-ūrum* has been in concord with the accusative of the acc. c. inf. in gender, number, and case. This latter means that in the case of the acc. c. inf. the ending *-ūrum* agreed with the accusative,⁴ and in case of the nom. c. inf. it was in concord with the nominative.⁵ Besides, as it developed in the case of the perfect passive infinitive, the infinitive *esse* often occurred together with it.⁶

In addition there was another future infinitive formed from the *-s*-stem of the verbs having an *-s*-future, with the infinitive ending *-ere* of the third conjugation. Even this form was used by Plautus in the case of the acc. c. fut. inf.: *illum confido domum in his diebus me reconciliassere* (Capt. 167–168).⁷

This theory of the development of the infinitive form *-tūrus*³ *esse* seemed to be complicated and unlikely to me for decades and I gave expression to my view that this is not the right explanation of its development. Some scholars already referred to the fact earlier that there exists no infinitive in Latin ending with *-un*⁸ and that the

³ These examples are given by SOMMER as well (l.c.), and POSTGATE (op. cit. 254) gives further examples just as the grammars mentioned before. At any rate, the Roman grammarians already drew attention (Gellius, 2nd century A.D., Priscian, 6th century A.D.) to the fact that the infinitive ending *-ūrum* was in the beginning an invariable form without regard for the gender, case, or number of the noun to which it refers in archaic Latin (and here and there in classical Latin). Gellius already concluded that such a form is not a participle but an infinitive.

⁴ Naturally, this future infinitive form can be found in acc. c. inf. only after those verbs and expressions that can govern the acc. c. inf. and nom. c. inf. used in all the three times, not only in present. (There are expressions in which only a present form of the acc. c. inf. and nom. c. inf. is found, e.g. *iubeo te abire, cogo eum obmutescere*, etc.)

⁵ Because it has a nominative form as well, I find it more justified to give its nominative form in textbooks and in scientific literature, as the same would be justified in the case of the perfect passive infinitive. The correct form would be *laudaturus*¹ (*esse*), because *esse* does not always appear together with it, as the form *laudatus*¹ (*esse*) would be the correct form of the perfect passive infinitive.

⁶ According to the studies of POSTGATE only in one-fifth of the cases (op. cit. 252 f.).

⁷ On these forms of indicative *capso*, *faxo*, etc., and 'optative' *faxim*, *ausim*, etc., and infinitive *impetrassere*, *capessere*, etc. see e.g. SOMMER, op. cit. 624 ff.; A. MEILLET–J. PERROT, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*. Paris 1977. 177. I also consider these forms to be desiderative futures formed with *-s-*, just as A. ERNOUT, *Historische Formenlehre des Lateinischen*. Heidelberg 1913. 125 f., and in my opinion a Greek influence played a role in their development (the same forms can be found in Latin as in Greek [indic., opt., inf.], except for the participle because we do not find it formed from this form in Latin). The development of this future system, which development imitated the Old Greek way of formation with *-s-*, can be ascribed only to the year 200 B.C. (In order to avoid rhotacism, *-ss-* is used in intervocalic positions.) This future system can be found especially in the works of those authors who "translate" a lot from Greek. This infinitive, in my concept, is superseded by *-tūrum* and its developed forms of Latin origin.

⁸ See SZIDAROVSKY, op. cit. 413; SZANTYR (see M. LEUMANN–J. B. HOFMANN–A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Grammatik*. Bd. II: F. B. HOFMANN–A. SZANTYR: *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. München 1965. 342 f.) designates this form of fut. act. inf. as unexplained ("unerklärt"), and LEUMANN (this op. cit. Bd. I: M. LEUMANN, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München (1926–1928)¹ 1977.

infinitive form *erom* of the verb *es-* does not occur in Latin.⁹ The solutions before the above-mentioned idea did not seem to be convincing, because – in my opinion – they were not elaborated enough.¹⁰ Neither could the experiments that arose later, convincingly solve the problem of this ‘mysterious’ form.¹¹

There are two linguistic phenomena stimulating me to attempt another explanation for the development of the form *-tūrus*³ that considers the problems arisen so far.

The first one is the use of a Latin nomen agentis, ending in nominative *-tor* (Indo-European suffix *-tṛ*), parallel with the supine form: Sall. Iug. 108: *Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam Aspar nomine multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab*

618 f.) does not like this concept with the ‘dialectal’ infinitive suffix *-om*. See the objections of other scholars for further details as well on the quoted pages of LEUMANN.

⁹ See PALMER, op. cit. 280. TRONSKIY, op. cit. 287, also mentions that according to POSTGATE we do not have to think that an Umbrian *erom* was added to the Latin supine dative form, so in Postgate’s opinion it is not a loan-form but a preservation of an Old Italian infinitive form that was slowly replaced by the infinitive *esse* in Latin.

¹⁰ BOPP (see F. BOPP, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send, Armenischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*. I–III. 1868–71) dealing with the periphrastic future of the Sanskrit (I mention it below), mentions Latin *datūrus* as the semantic equivalent of Sanskrit *dātā* (II. 540), and he says (542) that Latin uses this form *-tor* widened into *-tūro* only in case of the future participle. He is only dealing with the *-s*-type infinitive as a future infinitive in Latin (III. 278). KÜHNER (see R. KÜHNER–F. HOLZWEISSIG, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. Teil I. Hannover (1912²) 1994.) says (696) that the future active participle was probably developed from the noun *-tor* and he refers to the passage of Bopp that is quoted by me as well, and at the same time he accepts Postgate’s theory about the future active infinitive (689). (In my opinion these two forms clearly belong together but if it is not pointed out how it developed from *-tor*, the obvious solution could be rejected.) BRUGMANN (op. cit. II. 364) also says that the connection between the Latin participle ending in *-tūru-s* and the nomen agentis *-tōr-* cannot be denied, but the *-ū-* is not clear (and gives (I. 85) examples of the alternation of *ō* and *ū* but he does not explain these (not successful) examples). KRETSCHMER (see P. KRETSCHMER, *Excurs über ōu im Lateinischen*, in: *Indogermanische Accent- und Lautstudien*: KZ 31, 1892, 463 f.) denies the origin from the suffix *-tōr-* and declares (without sufficient base) that Latin *-ō-* never becomes *-ū-*. He derives this future form from a form *tū + ro* by means of a suffix *-ro-*, and he admits that nothing refers to the future in this suffix at all. ZIMMERMANN (see A. ZIMMERMANN, *Zur Herkunft der lat. Abstracta auf tūra (sūra)*: KZ 42, 1908, 303 ff.) dealing with the suffix *-tūra* contradicts to Kretschmer, and deals with the changes of *ō* and *ū*, but does not take us closer to the explanation of the suffix *-tūrus*, and of the change *ō > ū* (and *o > ō*) in *-tūrus*.

¹¹ In LEUMANN’S opinion (see M. LEUMANN, l. c.) the future active participle seems to be a derivative *-ūrus* from the participle *-to-* or a derivative *-rus* from the supine. He thinks that the future periphrastic conjugation developed from this participle since Old Latin (Plautus, Cato (2nd century A.D.)) as an addition to the present and perfect system and the origin of the future active infinitive is the infinitive of the periphrastic conjugation, and the usage of this infinitive became independent, and the *-tūrum* and *-tūrus* – in his view – is the imitation of the Greek future active infinitive (λύσειν), an invariable form, and of the Greek future active participle (λύσων), a declinable form. Even if I disregard the last comment because of its impossibility, there are huge mistakes in the concept that is unable to reject Kretschmer. It is well known that *-tūrum* occurred first, then *-tūrus*⁴ *esse*, and then the periphrastic conjugation of *-tūrus sum*, and finally the independent future active participle as a participium coniunctum. This upsetting or disregard of the chronological order of the linguistic data is totally unacceptable. (Neither the development of the future meaning, nor even the change of the long *ū* in the case of *-to > -tū*, nor the origin of long *ō* in *-ūrus* is explained here.) SIHLER (see A. L. SIHLER, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York–Oxford 1995. 621.) accepts this unacceptable concept of Leumann, and moreover derives the fut. act. inf. (in accordance with POSTGATE’S concept) differently from the fut. act. part. (612).

Iugurtha, postquam Sullam adcitum audierat, orator et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia... In this sentence the supine represents undoubtedly an adverbial construction of purpose and the *orator* is a nominative predicative,¹² but it also expresses purpose (even if it has no mark of it¹³). At any rate, the form *orator* has a value parallel to the supine in this sentence (but, of course, its grammatical form is different and it does not represent the same part of sentence).

The other phenomenon is a periphrastic future tense in classical Sanskrit that consists of a nomen agentis with the formative syllable *-ṭṛ* (e.g. *dātṛ-*) and of the present imperfect form of the verb *asmi* 'I am', hence *dātā* (= sing. nom.) + *asmi* = *dātāsmi* = 'I shall give', *dātāsi* 'you will give'; in 3rd person singular only *dātā* (!) (sing. nom.), 3rd person plural only *dātāras* (plur. nom.).¹⁴ So, as Sanskrit shows us, the suffix *-ṭṛ* has a meaning referring to the future that of course we do not feel in the translation of the Latin word *liberator* but this meaning is still obvious from the Sanskrit usage. In Latin the *-tūrus* fut. act. part. is parallel with this nomen agentis ending in *-tor*, as shown by Ammianus Marcellinus (18,2,18): ... *qui suam locaturus securitatem in tuto et legationis nomine precator venerat pro Urio et...*¹⁵ Hence it can be established that the suffix *-ṭṛ* gives future meaning to this nomen agentis in Latin too, but this fact has not been realized so far.¹⁶

Thus, we can think that the Latin future active infinitive consists of the form *liberātōr*¹⁷ and the ending *-um* of the supine¹⁸ and the form **liberātōr-um* > *libe-*

¹²I call this part of the sentence 'praedicativum' in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. The characteristic of this 'praedicativum' is that it refers to a word that has a value of a noun in the sentence but belongs to a verbal form (or sometimes adjective) of the sentence and is governed by it, subordinate to it. At the same time it is in concord with that word having the value of a noun, to which it refers. Not only the attribute is in concord with the noun-valued word, but there is such a concordance in four cases in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit: 1. in the case of the attribute, 2. in the case of the 'praedicativum', 3. in the case of an apposition (also similar), 4. in the case of the structures with inverted attribute (such as in the abl. abs.). (See Cs. TÖTTÖSSY, The Participium Absolutum in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, in: *Indologica Taurensia* (Official Organ of the International Sanskrit Studies), Vol. III–IV: Proceedings of the Second World Sanskrit Conference (Torino, 9–15 June, 1975). Torino 1976. 477 ff.)

¹³Just as in *Ipse... Genuam repetit... Italiam defensurus* (Liv.21,32,5), *defensurus* is a 'praedicativum' (participium coniunctum), and this participle expresses purpose, but it is not an adverbial construction of purpose.

¹⁴See K. BRUGMANN, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Strassbourg 1904. 548; H. HIRT, op. cit. IV. 96 f.; W. D. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*. Delhi 1989. 336 f.

¹⁵The form *-tūrus* is used here when there is a depending case next to it (*securitatem*), but the form *-tor* is used when there is nothing similar near it, but even then they have the same grammatical and syntactical value ('praedicativum').

¹⁶Surely a person could think of it who is also dealing with Sanskritology as well, and not only with Latin and Greek Linguistics, while Indoeuropean linguists did not take into consideration the Latin supine-ending, and it did not arise as a possibility even among Latin linguists.

¹⁷The Latin future active infinitive is formed from the stem of the verb, not from the perfect passive participle. Similarly in Sanskrit the noun *kartē-* is formed also from the stem of the verb *kar-* by the suffix *-ṭṛ-* as Latin *-tor* / *-tōr-*, from which *-tūrus* developed (according to my above concept). Even the Sanskrit infinitive form *kartum* (which corresponds exactly to the Latine supine) is formed from the stem of the verb. Therefore all the scholars are mistaken (and among them LEUMANN, cf. note 11 above), who believe that the form *-tūrus* is formed (and developed) from the stem of the perf. pass. part., because this form is formed from the weakest stem in Sanskrit as well, e.g., in the case of the above-mentioned verb, *kṛta-* (cf. also the relation between the Latin *ster-n-ō* and *strātus* < **stī-tos*). In Latin the stem of the verb can be found most of all in the supine form (according to the above facts as

rātūrum was only used in the beginning¹⁹, while later the form *liberātūrus*³ *esse* prevailed in usage. If the form **liberātōr-um* should be translated and defined, we could attribute the meaning 'into liberator' or 'onto liberator' or 'becoming a liberator' (in the future in all three interpretations) to it.²⁰

We add two more explanations:

First we have to explain why the form with the long vowel can be found here all the time, and why this *-ō-* became *-ū-* here, second, why the supine ending was added to it with this *-um* form, not together with its *-t-* added stem as a *-tum* form.

The explanation of this second phenomenon is obvious. We can find the accusative ending of a *-u-* stem noun here. The stem-affix *-t-* is unnecessary here, because it creates an abstract noun from the verb (similarly to the English '-ship', e.g. friendship, dictatorship), but Latin does not wish to use such an affix here. In this case the suffix *-t-* is necessary and enough, and analogically only the suffix *-um* of the supine is added to the noun formed with the *-t-* suffix. Of course, this is not the usual declension of the suffix *-t-*, but the addition of the suffix *-um*, the meaning of which had developed in the supine already. (This is not the accusative ending of the *-o-* declension because, in my opinion, only the supine form and only this supine suffix-ending (also used in Latin previously) effected the development of the form *-tūrum*.) The reason, why the suffix *-um* and not *-tum* was added to the noun formed with the suffix *-t-*, could even be that the suffix *-um* of the supine could be extracted from the supine ending *-tum* or (for phonetical reasons) *-sum*, because the Latin speaker could feel the suffix *-um* as the ending of the supine.²¹

My explanation to the two parts of the first question is as follows:

well, and, besides, *-t-* is added to the stem of the verb both in the case of *-tūrus* and *-tum*, which causes same phonetic change (e.g. *essor*, *sessurus*, and *sessum*), and that is why the perfect stem, which generally coincides with the supine, appears to be the basis of formation. Actually, if the Latin speaker could not find the stem of the verb, then he formed this form mainly from the imperfect stem (e.g. *moriŋ tūrus* [perf. pass. part. *mortuus*], *fugitūrus*, *paritūrus* [perf. pass. part. *partus*]) but also *ignosciturus*, and he used only as a last refuge the stem of the perf. pass. part. (on the ground that it seems to be coinciding with the supine, e.g. in the case of *strātus*). Therefore the above concept also clarifies the relation of the stem of the fut. act. inf. and the fut. act. part., as far as their formation is concerned, to the stem of the perf. pass. part., better than the research up to this time (KIECKERS: op. cit. II. 232 f., SOMMER: op. cit. 649 f., etc.), because the distance (also concerning their stems) from the perf. pass. part. is made clear by what I have expounded.

¹⁸ Certainly the Latin supine-ending *-um* is also an Indo-European infinitive ending, and the only infinitive in classical Sanskrit is formed by the ending *-tum* (*-t-* suffix, *-u-* stem). (There are many (about 35) kinds of infinitive forms in the Ṛgveda, see WHITNEY, op. cit. 349 ff.)

¹⁹ As the form *-tūrum* was indeclinable in the beginning, I consider its ending to be that of a supine and as we cannot find a form *-tūrom* in the case of *-tūrum* (this change from *-om* into *-um* took place in the 2nd century B.C.), I can see the supine-ending *-um* here (which is formed after the *u* declension), and this is important in my concept also from the phonetic point of view. (We always find *u* and never *om* in the endings of this infinitive.)

²⁰ This supine-ending was added to the *-tōr-* in the Latin meaning of the accusative of the supine.

²¹ The *-t-* of the suffix *-tum* is unnecessary because we have the suffix *-t-*, but the Latin speaker did not analyse and did always not cut the words well. Hence, as the ending *-tūra* can also be *-sūra* (*ūsūra*), the form *fig-ūra* occurs as well. The word *necubi* is split as *nec* and *ubi* although it should have been cut as *ne-cubi* (*necunde*, etc. in a similar way).

In the declension, except in the singular nominative, the form *-tōr-* is used in all the cases, which is the strongest grade of ablaut of the suffix *-tŕ-*. It is well known that originally only the singular nominative was strong-graded: it has the form *-tōr* and it happened only on the base of this nominative form that the strong grade *-tōr-* replaced *-tor-* in the declension in all the cases. Later, however, the singular nominative became *-tor*, because the *-r* at the end of the word makes the preceding vowel short (just as *-m*, *-t*, *-nt* at the end of the word).²² In this case, as the suffix *-um* is added not to the singular nominative but to the used stem-form (e.g. *liberātōr-*), the long-pronounced *-ō-* is used here, as well as before all the case endings in the declension.²³

The reason for the shift *ō > ū* is the same change of sounds that can be seen partly in *praetōriānus*, *praetōrius*, and in the forms *cubitōrius*, *dormitōrium*, *sūdātōrius*, and partly in the forms²⁴ *praetūra*, *cubitūra*, *cultūra*, *pictūra*.²⁵ We can summarize it as follows: if the *-r-* was followed by a palatal vowel (e.g. *-i-*) then *-tōr-* remained *-tōr-* with *-ō-*. However, if the *-r-* was followed by a velar vowel (such as *-a* or *-u*), then the *-ō-* of *-tōr-* became *-ū-*.²⁶ (The change is similar in the case of the *-l-*.)²⁷

The further history of this suffix *-*tōr-um > -tūrum* can be summarized as follows:

The ending *-ūrum* was indeclinable in the beginning. It developed as a suffix of the infinitive (and superseded the infinitive *-sere / -ssere*), so later, on the analogy of the perfect passive participle, it became declinable as *-tūrus*³ in constructions containing the infinitive, and *esse* was added to it as it is usual in the case of the perfect passive participle. The *-tūrus*³ *sum* periphrastic future active conjugation

²² See PALMER, op. cit. 221 f.

²³ See PALMER, op. cit. 247.

²⁴ Similarly: *quaestūra*; *cēnsor*, *cēnsūra*. but *cēnsōrius*; *dictātor*, *dictātūra*, but *dictātōrius*; furthermore *conditōrium*, etc.

²⁵ The connection of this suffix *-tūrus* which is found in the future infinitive and which became the suffix of the future active participle without the *esse*, and of the noun suffix *-tūra*, has not been clarified so far, and it is missed by others as well (SZIDAROVSKY, op. cit. 413). I conceive this connection as follows: the suffix *-tūra* developed from this *-tōr-*, which refers to the doer of the action but the *-a* changes it into the noun-suffix designating activity (*-tūra*). Similarly *dormitōrium* is formed from *dormītōr*. (This *dormitōrium* has noun-like forms of the adjective derived from the noun.) ZIMMERMANN (op. cit. 309 f.) correctly pointed out KRETSCHMER's mistakes, and took his stand in favour of the connection between *-tor* and *-tūra*, but he could not find a successful phonetic explanation. BENVENISTE (see E. BENVENISTE, Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen. Paris 1948) derives the suffix *-tūra* from a *-tu-* verbal abstract (101), and, leaving Zimmermann's partial results out of consideration, explains the future active participle by means of the suffix *-ro-* added to the *-tu* (104), that is not acceptable for me.

²⁶ This change from *ō* into *ū* is so clear and it prevails so consistently in the given examples that it has to be admitted by everybody. A substantial element of my concept is, on the one hand, that it explains and accounts for the indeclinability of the suffix *-um* and, on the other hand, that by means of the suffix *-tōr-* (I refer to Sanskrit) it makes the future meaning understandable.

²⁷ If *-l-* is followed by *-i*, the *-i* remains unchanged before it, but if it is followed by *-e*, *-a*, *-o* or *-u*, the *-i-* before the *-l-* becomes *-u-*: *familiā*–*famulus*, *similis*–*simulare* (PALMER, op. cit. 219).

developed from this *-tūrus esse* and later *-tūrus*²⁸ was used alone without *sum* as a participle conjunct²⁸ in the meaning of the future active participle.²⁹

The future-system of the Latin language is formed, beside the future-valued use of the future passive infinitive,³⁰ only by this future active infinitive and future active participle.³¹

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²⁸ Old Latin uses the future active participle only in the periphrastic conjugation with *sum* (or *esse*). Its attributive use has occurred since Cicero, e.g. several times in the case of *futurus*, and once he uses *venturus*. We find it used as an attribute by Virgil and Livy as well (SZANTYR, op. cit. 390). In the same manner: R. KÜHNER–C. STEGMANN: Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Teil II. Bd. I. Hannover (1955³) 1992. 760.

²⁹ This is also a chronological order, which is completely clear from the facts mentioned above.

³⁰ In this case the future meaning is given by the infinitive *īrī* following the supine form, but in the future active infinitive it is given by the suffix *-tōr-* itself.

³¹ The use of the gerundive with *sum* only obtained the function of a future at the end of the 3rd century A.D., otherwise, up to that time, the gerundive (as the gerund) had only imperfect (present) meaning without *sum*, and with *sum* as well, because they have an imperfect form developed from an imperfect stem. See Cs. TÖTTÖSSY, The System of the Adiectivum Verbale in the Latin Language: Annales Univ. Sci. Budapest., Sectio Classica 1, 1972, 69 ff., idem: A latin gerundivum használatának alakulása: Ann. Univ. Litt. et Art. Miskolc 3, 1993, 137 ff.

JÓZSEF VEKERDI

DAS SEEFAHRTENMOTIV IN DER GRIECHISCHEN UND ALTINDISCHEN ERZÄHLUNGLITERATUR

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Die viel umstrittene Frage der griechisch-indischen Wechselbeziehungen betreffend behauptete M. Winternitz über den altindischen Roman, daß „die Annahme eines griechischen Vorbildes gar nicht in Frage kommt. Keinesfalls läßt sich nachweisen, daß irgendein Roman von den Griechen zu den Indern oder von den Indern zu den Griechen gekommen sei. Wahrscheinlich ist nur, das einzelne kleine Erzählungen, Märchen, Schwänke, witzige Anekdoten und vor allem einzelne Motive sowohl hinüber- als auch herübergewandert sind. Doch wird dabei mehr an mündlichen Gedankenaustausch als an unmittelbare litterarische Beeinflussung zu denken sein“.¹

Ein Vergleich der Rolle, welche das Seefahrtenmotiv in der griechischen und in der altindischen Literatur spielte, bestätigt diese Behauptung, und führt zu weiteren entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Erwägungen.

Das Thema der Seefahrten war in der griechischen Literatur seit vorhomerischen Zeiten populär. Wunderbare Abenteuer der Seefahrer werden von der Odyssee angefangen bis Antonios Diogenes (1–2. Jahrhundert), Oppianos (2. Jahrhundert) und den Alexander-Roman (3. Jahrhundert) erzählt. Utopistische Romane wurden von Euhemeros, Iambulos u. a. (4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) durch die Rahmenerzählung von einer Schifffahrt eingeleitet. Auf der Ebene des Alltagslebens verwendete die neue Komödie Schiffbruch, Piraten u. ä. zur Lösung.²

Letztere Anwendung des Motivs wurde vor allem im hellenistischen Roman ein beliebtes Mittel, die Widerwertigkeiten der Helden zu schildern, so z. B. in Xenophons Ephesiaka, bei Apollonius Tyrius, Heliodoros, Achilleus Tatios, Chariton, Longos (3.–4. Jahrhundert).

Im Gegensatz zur griechischen Beliebtheit des Themas ist in der frühen altindischen Literatur das Motiv der Seefahrt völlig unbekannt. Sogar in den verschiedenen Varianten des Rāma-Sagenkreises (Vālmikis Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma-Episode im Mahā-

¹ M. WINTERNITZ, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Bd. III. Leipzig 1920, 371–374: Indischer und griechischer Roman.

² Zwar im Original nicht erhalten geblieben, aber bei Plautus befindet sich das Motiv im Stichus und Rudens, bearbeitet nach Menandros und Diphilos.

bhārata, buddhistische Bearbeitung in Jātaka 469, alles um die Zeitrechnungswende) wird kein Wort darüber gesagt, daß die Insel Lankā vom Festland mit Schiffen erreicht werden könnte. Auch in der ältesten Tamil-Literatur des südindischen Küstengebietes – obwohl die römischen Schiffe dasselbe zwischen dem 1. vorchristlichen und 3. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert regelmäßig besuchten – kommt Seefahrt nie zur Erwähnung. Dasselbe betrifft die Fachliteratur. Im Arthaśāstra des angeblichen Kauṭilya (etwa um die Zeitrechnungswende) wird der Binnenhandel auf den Flüssen ausführlich behandelt, vom Seehandel wird nicht gesprochen.

Der scheinbar früheste Hinweis auf Seefahrten – und zwar ausgesprochen auf Seeabenteuer – befindet sich im ältesten Teil des buddhistischen Pāli-Kanons, im Majjhimanikāya 76–79, wo in der Einleitung die Mönche zu Buddhas Lebzeiten (6.–5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) über allerlei Geschichten schwatzen, über Kriege, Könige, Räuber, Städte, Weiber, *Seegeschichten* usw. Doch bei einer näheren Betrachtung des viermal wörtlich wiederholten einleitenden Textes erweist sich derselbe als ein später Zusatz, denn der Wortlaut ist mit der typischen einleitenden Rahmenerzählung der viel später zusammengestellten Jātaka-Geschichten identisch, und auch die genannten Themen sind die der Jātaka-Erzählungen. Das Erscheinen des interpolierten Motivs im Majjhima-nikāya ist jedenfalls ein Beweis dafür, daß zur Zeit der endgültigen Fixierung des Textes des Pāli-Kanons (etwa in den ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten) das Thema der Seeabenteuer bereits zu einem beliebten Motiv des mündlichen Erzählungsschatzes geworden ist, was früher nicht der Fall war.

So sind die frühesten indischen Denkmäler der Seefahrten in den Jātakas des Pāli-Kanons zu finden, in einer Sammlung von 547 Tierfabeln, Legenden und Novellen, deren Entstehungszeit bzw. Zusammenfassung zu einer Sammlung zwischen dem 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und 4. oder 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr. anzusetzen ist. Insgesamt gibt es etwa 11 Jātakas, in welchen das Motiv der Seefahrt vorkommt, und zwar fast immer in der Form eines Handelsunternehmens von Kaufleuten. Also hat das Motiv als eine eng begrenzte Schablone in der indischen Literatur eine Anwendung gefunden. Die Vielfalt der Bearbeitung in der hellenistischen Literatur (Utopie, Seeräuber, Trennung von Angehörigen, Liebesgeschichten usw.) fehlt hier. Allein dieser Umstand beweist, daß eine Beeinflußung von indischer Seite her mehr als unwahrscheinlich ist, und die Chronologie macht das zu einer Sicherheit. Denn alle Jātakas, in denen das Motiv vorkommt, scheinen zu den späteren oder spätesten Stücken der Sammlung zu gehören (Nr. 4, 190, 196, 339, 360, 439, 442, 463, 466, 518, 539). Alle sind im Novellenstil gehalten, was für die klassische und spätklassische Erzählliteratur in Sanskrit, sowie für die wohl gleichzeitigen (oder nicht viel früheren) Legenden in der buddhistischen und Jaina-Literatur kennzeichnend ist.

Vier (oder fünf) aus diesen elf Jātakas weisen eine auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit aus der Odyssee bekannten griechischen Motiven auf. Bereits Winternitz hat darauf hingewiesen, daß Jātaka 196 unwillkürlich an die Kirke-Episode der Odyssee erinnert.³ Schiffbrüchige kommen auf eine Insel, wo menschenfressende Unholdinnen die Männer an sich locken, mit ihnen der Liebe genießen, und bei der Ankunft von

³ Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, Bd. II. 1920. 106.

neuen Schiffbrüchigen die früheren töten. Nr. 466 enthält das Motiv einer glücklichen Insel (vgl. die Phaiaken in der Odyssee), wo die Schiffbrüchigen süße Früchte genießen und nicht weiter wollen (vgl. die Lotophagoi), dann aber gegen die Schutzgottheiten der Insel vergehen (vgl. die Kühe des Helios), die Insel besudeln und von den erzürnten Göttern überschwemmt werden (vgl. den Zorn des Poseidon). Nr. 463 beschreibt die Schifffahrt der Kaufleute, deren Schiff von einem riesigen Strudel fast verschlungen wird (vgl. Charybdis), nur durch die Klugheit und Tugend des Leiters gerettet wird. Der Held von 439 fährt von einer Insel zur anderen (wie Odysseus), ergötzt sich mit gespenstischen Frauen (vgl. Kalypso) und gelangt zum Schluß in eine Höllenstadt, wo die Sünder gepeinigt werden (vgl. die Höllenfahrt des Odysseus).⁴ Und wenn in Nr. 539 König Mahājanaka nach einem Schiffbruch durch eine Meeresgöttin aus den Wellen gerettet wird, ist man geneigt, an die HelferIn Ino zu denken, umso mehr, da weder der Name noch die Funktion dieser Meeresgöttin in der indischen Literatur anderswo belegt ist.

Da für die buddhistischen Wandermönche der schriftlich niedergelegte Text des homerischen Gedichtes in keinem Fall zur Quelle dienen konnte, ist man gezwungen, anzunehmen, daß die Abenteuer des Odysseus in der griechischen Volkskultur folklorisiert wurden, oder ähnliche Motive unabhängig von Homer in der altüberlieferten oralen Tradition fortlebten.

Ein indirekter Beweis dafür, daß dieses Motiv als oral übernommenes griechisches Lehnwort in der buddhistischen volkstümlichen Erbauungsliteratur erachtet werden kann, ist die völlig andersartige Gestaltung des Seefahrtenthemas in der späteren Sanskritmärchen. Auch hier begegnet uns einige Male das Motiv, hier aber weist es keine Beziehungen zu den oben erwähnten griechischen Geschichten auf. In Daṇḍins Daśakumāracarita (7. Jahrhundert) spielt sich merkwürdigerweise eine Seeschlacht zwischen Griechen und Indern ab (Kap. 6) und in der später zugefügten Einleitung des Romans wird Schiffbruch als Trennungsmotiv (wie im hellenistischen Roman) zweimal angedeutet. In der Vetālapañcaviṃśati (8. Jahrhundert?) kommt es zweimal vor (Nr. 7, 12), beides Mal handelt es sich um eine wunderbare Stadt unter dem Meer. Im Kathā-sarīt-sāgara (11. Jahrhundert) sind vier Belege zu finden (Kapitel 18, 26, 56, 123): ein Riese unter dem Wasser, Strudel unter dem Wasser, riesiger Fisch, bzw. Wiederholung von Jātaka 439.

Andererseits kann aber die Möglichkeit eines allgemeinen griechischen literarischen Einflusses in der gattungsgeschichtlichen Entwicklung der altindischen Prosaliteratur nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Die Gattung der Novellen war früher in der indischen Literatur unbekannt. Sie blühte erst nach der Griechenherrschaft in Nordwest-Indien auf, zu einer Zeit, in welcher auch vieles andere (Skulptur, Münzprägung, Astronomie, Mathematik, vielleicht Schauspiel) einen offensichtlichen griechischen Einfluß aufweist. Früher gab es in Indien Mythen, Epen, Fabeln, Legenden, aber keine novellistischen (zumal prosaischen) Erzählungen aus dem Alltagsleben,

⁴ Die Schilderung der Höllenstrafen ist auch sonst ein beliebtes Thema so in der buddhistischen wie auch in der Jaina-Literatur und ist u. a. auch aus dem Mahābhārata bekannt, aber nur hier begegnen wir diesem Motiv im Rahmen einer Höllenfahrt, und zwar einer Seefahrt.

oder phantastischen Geschichten auf der menschlichen Ebene. So sind wir vielleicht berechtigt, anzunehmen, daß diese neue Erzählungstechnik (die dann nach den Jātakas bei Daṇḍin, in der Vetālapaṇcaviṃśati, Śukasaptati usw. etwa vom 6. Jahrhundert an belegt ist⁵), ihr Entstehen mindestens teilweise den Beziehungen mit den (freilich mündlichen) griechischen Erzählungen der Zeit verdankt.

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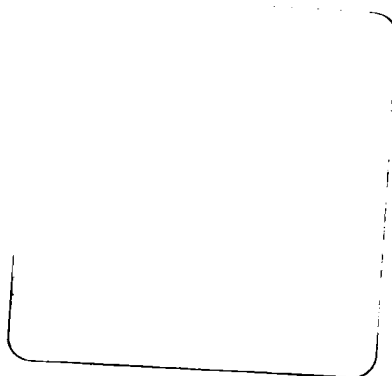
⁵ Als frühester Vertreter der Gattung mag vielleicht Guṇādhya gelten, dessen Brhatkathā aber nur in späteren Bearbeitungen erhalten geblieben ist, und auch die Entstehungszeit sich nicht genau bestimmen läßt, aber wahrscheinlich fällt sie mehr oder weniger mit den vermutlichen Daten der diesbezüglichen Jātaka-stücke zusammen. Auffallenderweise kommen die Griechen bei Guṇādhya wiederholt zur Erwähnung, wenigstens den Bearbeitungen nach. – Aus anderem Gesichtspunkt kam zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen V. Pisani, der an den Einfluß der Milesiaka der Aristides denkt, *Riflessi indiani del romanzo ellenistico-romano*, in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Serie II. vol. IX*, 1940, 145 sgg. Vgl. ders., *Le letterature dell' India*, Milano 1970, 94. – Anders E. ROHDE, *Über griechische Novellendichtung und ihren Zusammenhang mit dem Orient*, in: *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 1960, 578–601.

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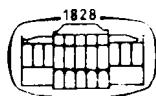
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TAMÁS ADAMIK

BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE *AD HERENNIIUM*: AUTHOR, DATE, ITS RELATION TO THE *DE INVENTIONE*

Most literary products have some Archimedean point starting out of which we can seize their essence and we can find out the purpose of their author. This Archimedean point may be an attribute¹ or a part that differs from the other parts and the whole and so it calls the attention of the readers to itself.² The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, too, has such Archimedean point. It is the preface of book 4 which differs from the other prefaces and epilogues of the work in respect of size: it is ten times longer than the prefaces of the other books. Every word of this preface is of didactic character.

THE DIDACTIC CHARACTER OF THE WORK AND THE PERSONALITY OF ITS AUTHOR

From the didactic character of the work I conclude that its author cannot be so young as Fr. Marx supposes. He states that the style of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is infantile and he explains it by saying that its author was young.³ According to my opinion his pupil, Gaius Herennius was young, not the author who treats his topic in accordance with the age of his pupil. He states, for example, on the usefulness of good memory: “Once you know its uses you will be able to appreciate this advice”⁴ (3, 24, 40). In the epilogue of book 4 he promises Herennius: “If, Herennius, you exercise yourself diligently in these, your speaking will possess impressiveness, distinction, and charm. As a result you will speak like a true orator” (4, 56, 69). From these statements we can deduce that the author had already acquired some political

¹ Cp. the attribute *immemor* of Catullus’ 64: F. KLINGNER: *Catullus Peleus-Epos*. München 1956.

² Cp. this method of analysis: D. O. ROSS: *Style and content in Catullus* 45. CPh 60, 1965, 256–259.

³ *Incerti auctoris De ratione dicendi ad C. Herennium recensuit* FR. MARX. Lipsiae 1894, Prolegomena 86 ff.

⁴ I cite the English text of edition: Cicero ad C. Herennium *De ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)* with an English Translation by H. CAPLAN. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1968.

practice and made a career. Already H. Caplan criticized Marx' opinion and he gave the reason of it: "The confusion between student and teacher arises necessarily from the theory that we have here only a student's notebook."⁵ G. Achard, too, emphasises that the author was a man of middle age, between 25 and 45 years.⁶

Our author has determined pedagogical ideas. He stresses, e.g. often the unity of theory and practice: "Theory without continuous practice in speaking is of little avail; from this you may understand that the precepts of theory here offered ought to be applied in practice" (1, 1, 1). "Now let us again and again jointly insist (for the matter will concern us both) upon our seeking, constantly and unremittingly, by study and exercise, to master the theory of the art" (4, 56, 69).

Even more uncommon is his pedagogical optimism which permeates his whole work but it manifests itself most evidently in the question of the examples. He discusses the question in detail from where the authors of rhetorical treatises should take their examples. His train of thought is as follows: a) "Were I granting that we should borrow examples, I should establish that we ought to select from one author alone" (4, 5, 7). He gives reasons for his statement in the following way: b) "For if the student believes that all qualities can exist in one man, he himself will strive for a mastery of them all" (4, 5, 7). "But if he despairs of this achievement, he will occupy himself in acquiring a few qualities, and with these be content" (4, 5, 7). c) "Now it is disadvantageous for the student to believe that one person cannot possess all qualities; and so I say, no one would fall into this opinion if the rhetoricians had drawn examples from one author alone" (4, 5, 8). This line of argumentation demonstrates clearly that he suggests to his pupil that one man is able of everything. This idea is a case of absolute pedagogical optimism.

The author goes on in his argumentations. d) But neither is this solution good because "borrowed examples simply cannot be so well adapted to the rules of the art because in speaking each topic is in general touched lightly, so that art may not be obvious. ... It is afterwards, in speaking, that the orator's skill conceals his art, so that it may not obtrude and be apparent to all. Thus also to the end that the art may be better understood is it preferable to use examples of one's own creation." (4, 7, 10). So from the point of both pedagogy and rhetoric it is better when the author of a rhetoric writes himself the illustrating examples. But it is better from the point of art, as well: "Now if to discern what is written artistically proves your mastery of the art, then a far better proof of this mastery is to write artistically yourself" (4, 4, 7).

But he has still one reason to use his own examples: e) "Finally, I have been led to this method by another consideration also – the remoteness from our own usage of the terms I have translated from the Greek. For concepts non-existent among us could not have familiar appellations. The translated terms, therefore, must seem rather harsh at first – that will be a fault of the subject, not mine. The rest of my treatise will be devoted to examples. If, however, these which I have here set down had been borrowed from other sources, the result would have been that anything apt in this book would not be mine, but whatever is a little rough or strange would be as-

⁵ H. CAPLAN: op. cit. Introduction XXII.

⁶ *Rhétorique à Herennius*. Texte établi et traduit par G. ACHARD. Paris 1989, Introduction XXII.

signed to me as my own particular contribution. So I have escaped this disadvantage also" (4, 7, 10).

It follows from the foregoing that the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* did write the examples of book 4. Now, this is the neuralgic point of Herennius philology. From Fr. Marx⁷ on there are scholars who call in question this statement and claim of the author. They declare that our author tells a big lie because they revealed about some examples that the author had taken them over from other sources. In order to answer these charges we have to see what the author does say about the nature and use of the examples. *Primum omnium, exempla ponuntur nec confirmandi neque testificandi causa, sed demonstrandi*. – "First and foremost, examples are set forth, not to confirm or to bear witness, but to clarify". He continues as follows: *Non enim, cum dicimus esse exornationem, quae verbi causa constet ex similiter desinentibus verbis et sumimus hoc exemplum a Crasso: 'quibus possumus et debemus' testimonium collocamus, sed exemplum*⁸ (4, 3, 5). According to our author "borrowed examples simply cannot be so well adapted to the rules of the art" – *ne possunt quidem ea quae sumuntur ab aliis, exempla tam esse adcommodata ad artem*. "Thus also to the end that the art may be better understood is it preferable to use examples of one's own creation." – *Ergo etiam ut magis ars cognoscatur, suis exemplis melius est uti* (4, 7, 10). From these statements it is clear what the author regards as his own creation concerning examples: his own creation is *ad artem adcommodare*. All this means that he took over from somewhere a topic, a subject-matter, and he transformed it to an example adapted to a rule of the art.

I illustrate the working process of the author by the following example. In order to clarify the *complexio* (symploké, interlacement) the author gives as an example the following text: "*Qui sunt, qui foedera saepe ruperunt? Karthaginienses. Qui sunt, qui crudelissime bellum gesserunt? Karthaginienses. Qui sunt, qui Italiam deformaverunt? Karthaginienses. Qui sunt, qui sibi postulent ignosci? Karthaginienses*" (4, 14, 20). This example recalls to the mind the Punic Wars, and it is anti-Carthaginian. G. Nenci supposes that this example is borrowed from a speech of Cato against the Carthaginians, and he regards it as a fragment of Cato,⁹ but Malcovati did not enter it in the fragments of Cato and she is right because, on the one hand, we cannot demonstrate that in the speech of Cato the same text existed, and, on the other, if the same topic existed with Cato, it is probable that our author adapted it to the *complexio*. Quintilian cites this example word for word, and he does not say that it is from Cato.

⁷ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 114 ff.; K. BARWICK: Die Vorrede zum zweiten Buch der rhetorischen Jugendschrift Ciceros und zum vierten Buch des Auctors ad Herennium. *Philologus* 105, 1961, 300–314; A. E. DOUGLAS: Clausulae in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as Evidence of its Date. *CQ* 10, 1960, 68–76; J. V. UNGERN-STERNBERG: Die populären Beispiele in der Schrift des Auctors ad Herennium. *Chiron* 3, 1973, 149–152; G. CALBOLI: *Cornifici Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*. Bologna 1969, 42–46.

⁸ I cite the Latin text of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* from my edition: *Cornifici Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*. With a Hungarian Translation by T. ADAMIK. Budapest 1987.

⁹ G. NENCI: La De bello Carthaginiensi di Catone Censore. *Critica Storica* 1, 1962, 1, 363–368.

There is an other very instructive example. Our author clarifies the figure *ratiocinatio* by the following example: *Maiores nostri si quam unius peccati mulierem damnabant, simplici iudicio multorum malefactorum convictam putabant. Quo pacto? Quam impudicam iudicant, ea veneficii quoque damnata existimabatur. Quid ita? Quia necesse est eam, quae suum corpus addiderit turpissimae cupiditati, timere multos. Quos istos? Virum, parentes, ceteros, ad quos videt sui dedecoris infamiam pertinere ...* (4, 16, 23). In the case of this example we can prove that our author took over the topic from Cato because Quintilian attests it: *Si causam veneficia dicat adultera, non M. Catonis iudicio damnanda videatur, qui nullam adulteram non eandem esse veneficam dixit?* (5, 11, 39). But this very sentence demonstrates also that our author adapted the same thought to the figure *ratiocinatio*.

If we compare the parallels which the modern scholars collected as a proof of the author's lie,¹⁰ we can see that the parallel texts are different from the text of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. J. v. Ungern-Sternberg, e.g. cites the first sentences of C. Memmius' speech from Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and he says that it is very similar to the example which our author gives to illustrate the figur *licentia*.¹¹ The text of C. Memmius is as follows:

Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicae omnia superet: opes factionis, vostra patientia, ius nullum, ac maxime quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum, quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxiis inimicis exurgitis atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse (Iug. 31, 1–3).

The parallel text of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is as follows:

'Miramini, Quirites, quod ab omnibus vestrae rationes deserantur? quod causam vestram nemo suscipiat? quod se nemo vestri defensorem profiteatur? Adtribuite vestrae culpa, desinite mirari. Quid est enim, quare non omnes istam rem fugere ac vitare debeant? Recordamini, quos habueritis defensores; studia eorum vobis ante oculos proponite; deinde exitus omnium considerate. Tum vobis veniat in mentem, ut vere dicam, negligentia vestra sive ignavia potius illos omnes ante oculos vestros trucidatos esse, inimicos eorum vestris suffragiis in amplissimum locum pervenisse.' (4, 36, 48).

Although there are some similarities between these two examples and both can function as example of *licentia* the differences are greater than the similarities. If we suppose that our author took over this example from the speech of Memmius, we have to state that he changed it thoroughly in order to adapt it better to the figure of *licentia*. But the contrary is more probable: Sallust is influenced by the text of *Rhet. Her.*

Now the question arises whether the author can say that he gives his own examples, if he only adapted the examples the topic of which he had taken over from oth-

¹⁰ FR. MÜNZER: Eine Probe rhodischer Beredsamkeit in lateinischer Fassung. *Philologus* 89, 1934, 215–225.

¹¹ J. v. UNGERN-STERNBERG: op. cit. 158–161.

ers? We can answer this question positively because the Roman authors regarded as their original work if they adapted and translated a Greek text into Latin and if they did it first. Appius Claudius Caecus, Plautus, Terentius, e.g., transformed Greek sentences and comedies into Latin and the Romans accepted their works as original.¹² In that sense the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is original, as well, because he first adapted the text of his examples to the rules of the art, independently from where he had taken the topic of his examples. All that means that we can acquit him of the charge of lying.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE *RHETORICA AD HERENNIIUM* AND THE *DE INVENTIONE* OF CICERO

Other crucial question is the relationship between the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *De Inventione* of Cicero. This question touches upon the dating and the person of the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* closely. There are three general points from which I conclude that the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was written in the 80s B. C. a) There are a lot of examples which mirrors a tumultuous and tragic period of Roman history: the struggle of *populares* and *optimates* from the Gracchi up to Marius and Sulla. This fact means that the author had personal experiences at this time. b) The author declares clearly that if he would take over examples from others he could take them *a Catone, a Gracis, a Laelio, a Scipione, Galba, Porcina, Crasso, Antonio* (4, 5, 7). Now the two youngest of this series of orators, Crassus died in 91, Antonius in 87 B. C. Our author mentions nobody who lived after 87 B. C. c) My third point is of rhetorical character. Our author highlights that he took over the Greek rhetorical theory and he had to translate the Greek rhetorical terms into Latin: *nomina rerum Graeca, quae convertimus, ea remota sunt a consuetudine. Quae enim res apud nostros non erant, earum rerum nomina non poterant esse usitata. Ergo haec asperiora primo videantur necesse est, id quod fiet rei, non nostra difficultate* (4, 7, 10). That is, our author wrote the first systematic rhetoric in Latin on the basis of Greek sources.¹³ There is no cause to doubt the statement of the author because we can verify concerning the rhetorical terms that he translated every term into Latin. And if he is right in the question of the rhetorical terms, he has to be right in the question of the examples because he stresses at the end of the preface of book 4 that he approves of the rhetorical theory of the Greeks, he has not followed

¹²On originality in general see: L. BIELER: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Berlin–New York, 1972, I, 8: “Man hat die ‘Originalität’ der römischen Literatur oft bezweifelt. Zutreffender wäre es vielleicht, nach ihrer Spontaneität zu fragen, denn Originalität ist erst im späten achtzehnten Jahrhundert ein Kriterium künstlerischen Wertes geworden”; G. CALBOLI: *op. cit.* 46–49.

¹³Cp. L. SPENGLER: *Die Definition und Einteilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten*. RhM 18, 1863, 494–495: “Erste ist eine vollständige Rhetorik ganz nach griechischen Quellen, nur abgekürzt, wie der Verfasser es für seine Römer geeignet hielt”; O. SIEVERS: *Kritische Beiträge zur Rhetorik an Herennium*. RhM 28, 1873, 568: “Er war der Erste, welcher eine Rhetorik in lateinischer Sprache verfasste, in seiner Weise also epochemachend.”

their method of example: *cum artis inventionem Graecorum probassemus, exemplorum rationem secuti non sumus* (4, 7, 10).

It follows from the foregoing points that out of the dating possibilities proposed by modern scholars only that of Fr. Marx can be correct: the work was written between 86–82 B. C.¹⁴ On the basis of other arguments G. Achard shares roughly the same opinion: he puts the writing of the work between 84–83.¹⁵ Two years, however, seem to be too short to make such a complete synthesis of Greek and Roman rhetoric and to collect themes for the examples and to adapt them to the rules of the art. The year 83 is perhaps correct as *terminus ante quem*, but I think that he could begin to compose his *Rhetoric* in 86 B.C. because Marius and the *populares* ruled in Rome from that year, and in 82, Sulla's cruelties could hinder him from writing such a complex work.

It has been demonstrated already by many scholars that Cicero could not be the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*¹⁶. But it has been also demonstrated that there is some relationship between the *De inventione* of Cicero and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. There are, namely, similarities in the two works and even there are to be found more than 40 sentences which agree word for word. If not Cicero wrote the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, how can we explain these agreements? This question is not yet cleared up convincingly.¹⁷ Certain scholars think that Cicero borrowed from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*,¹⁸ others on the contrary: the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* – from the *De inventione*.¹⁹ Latter having dropped these opinions, the researchers stressed the importance of common sources that could be a) the traditional subject-matter of rhetorical instruction,²⁰ b) in rhetorics written in Latin,²¹ c) common Latin and Greek written sources together.²²

¹⁴ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 153 ff. W. KROLL: Der Text des Cornificius. Philologus 89, 1934, 63; M. J. HENDERSON: The Process "*De repetundis*". JRS 41, 1951, 71–88; E. A. DOUGLAS: op. cit. 76–77; L. HERMANN: L. Annacus Cornutus et sa rhétorique à Herennius Senecio. Latomus 39, 1980, 144–160. Cp. H. JORDAN: Zu lateinischen Prosaikern. Hermes 8, 1874, 79; Ed. WÖLFFLIN: Bemerkungen über das Vulgärlatein. Philologus 34, 1876, 142–143.

¹⁵ G. ACHARD: op. cit. Introduction XIII.

¹⁶ The first scholar who doubted the authorship of Cicero was R. REGIUS: Utrum Ars rhetorica ad Herennium Ciceroni falso inscribatur. Venetiis 1491. According to R. PHILIPPSON the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* had been attached to the rhetorical works of Cicero in the 4th century A. D.

¹⁷ Cp. K. MANITIUS: Deutsche Literaturzeitung 77, 1956, 21: "ist noch nicht befriedigend gelöst"; Cicero *De inventione*. With an English translation by H. M. HUBBEL. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1968, Introduction XII: "no definite agreement has been reached".

¹⁸ L. SPENGEL: op. cit. H. JORDAN: op. cit. 81; O. SIEVERS: op. cit. 568; M. SCHANZ–C. HOSIUS: Geschichte der römischen Literatur. München 1927, I, 587.

¹⁹ PETRUS BURMANNUS SECUNDUS: Ciceronis (vel incerti auctoris) rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri quattuor et de inventione libri duo. Leyden 1761, Praef. XVI ff.; F. OSAN. Jb. f. Philol. 1857, 779–781; A. WEIDNER: M. Tulli Ciceronis artis rhetoricae libri duo. Berlin 1887. Proleg. XIV ff.

²⁰ Both authors worked independently from each other but they have a common teacher: BADIUS ASCENSIVS: *Prolegomena*. Paris 1508; G. THIELE: *Quaestiones de Cornificii et Ciceronis artibus rhetoricis*. Diss. Greifswald 1889, 90–95.

²¹ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 129 ff.; G. HERBOLZHEIMER: Cicero rhetorici libri und die Lehrschrift des auctor ad Herennium. Philologus 81, 1926, 391–426.

²² J. ADAMIEZ: Ciceros de inventione und die Rhetorik ad Herennium. Diss. Marburg, 1960, 94–97; G. CALBOLI: op. cit. 28–29.

According to my opinion in order to solve this complex question we have to call again the preface of book 4 to help. I would like to emphasize that I take this preface seriously so as the preface of book 2 of *De inventione*. K. Barwick was wrong to suppose that the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* translated the preface of book 4 from Greek, and Cicero made the same with the preface of book 2 of the *De inventione*²³. This statement cannot be proved, nevertheless it has been accepted by many scholars because of the great prestige of K. Barwick and Fr. Marx.

I compared thoroughly the preface 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* with the prefaces of the *De inventione* and I came to the conclusion that Cicero had written his prefaces arguing about the preface 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. As we have seen the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* stressed that it is the best if a writer of an art composes his own examples on the art. Against this Cicero emphasizes that it is better to take the examples from others and doing this he uses similes, words and phrases which he took over from the preface 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for example:

a) Our author clarifies with the sculptor Lysippus that a teacher has to illustrate his teaching with his own examples in the following way: "Not thus did Chares learn from Lysippus how to make statues. Lysippus did not show him a head by Myron, arms by Praxiteles, a chest by Polycleitus. Rather with his own eyes would Chares see the master fashioning all the parts; the works of other sculptors he could if he wished study on his own initiative" (4, 6, 9). Cicero clarifies the opposite idea with the example of Zeuxis who selected five most beautiful girls in order to paint a picture of Helen. Cicero comments on it as follows: "He chose five because he did not think all the qualities which he sought to combine in a portrayal of beauty could be found in one person, because in no single case has Nature made anything perfect and finished in every part"²⁴ (Inv. 2, 1, 3). As if Cicero was going to say to our author that the process of borrowing was not so simple as our author has imagined it.

b) The key-words are the same in both prefaces: *exemplum, eligere, ars, multus, omnis, unus, praecipere, praeceptum, commodum, inventor, fontes, ratio (method), praestare, conscribere*.

c) The subject matter of the debate is the choosing (*eligere*) in both prefaces: *res parvas diligenter eligere, idonea maxime eligi, difficile est eligere de multis, selegere, sententias eligere, de orationibus aut poematis eligeris exempla, eligendi, selectores, licet enim eligerent* (Rhet. Her.) – *eligendi potestatem, delegit, a multis eligere, exemplum eligendi potestas, eligere potuit, eligendi potestas, eligenda, electa* (Cic.).

d) According to our author the Greeks hold the opinion as follows: "For when we can take an example from Ennius, or offer one from Gracchus, it seems presumptuous (*adrogantia*) to neglect these and to have recourse to our own examples" (4, 1, 2). Our author refutes this opinion and he calls it puerile (4, 3, 4). But the Greeks justify their opinion in the following way: "If this could be accomplished by

²³ K. BARWICK: op. cit. 307–314; FR. MARX, op. cit. Proleg. 112 ff.

²⁴ The English text of the *De inventione* I cite from the edition: Cicero, *De inventione*. With an English translation by H. M. HUBBEL. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1968.

industry (*industria*) alone, we should yet deserve praise for not having avoided such a task" (4, 1, 3). The answer of our author is: "Then beware of appearing inexperienced in greater matters, if you are going to find the same delight in a petty thing as in a great" (4, 4, 6).

In the preface of book 2 of *De inventione* Cicero writes as follows: "And it is also true of other pursuits that if men would choose the most appropriate contributions from many sources rather than devote themselves unreservedly to one leader only, they would offend less by arrogance (*arrogantia*), they would not be so obstinate in wrong courses, and would suffer somewhat less from ignorance" (2, 2, 5). Cicero replies to the statement, too, that choosing is the sign not only of industry but of knowledge: "Therefore if the value of the principles set forth in these volumes is equal to the enthusiasm with which they were chosen, certainly neither I nor anyone else will regret my industry" (*industria*) (2, 3, 9). From this statement I conclude that Cicero argues with the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* about choosing from many sources or from one.

e) The verb *libare* occurs first in the meaning 'to make a choice selection of' in these two prefaces: *Vide, ne facias inprudenter, qui tuo nomini velis ex aliorum laboribus libare laudem* (Rhet. Her. 4, 3, 5); *omnibus unum in locum coactis scriptoribus, quod quisque commodissime praecipere videbatur excerpsimus et ex variis ingeniis excellentissima quaeque libavimus* (2, 2, 4).

f) The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* uses the phrases *de arte – ex arte* three times in the preface of book 2: *Quod si artificiosum est intelligere, quae sint ex arte scripta, multo est artificiosius ipsum scribere ex arte* (4, 4, 7); Cicero took over these phrases and adapted them to Hermagoras in the preface 1 of *De inventione*: *oratori minimum est de arte loqui, quod hic fecit, multo maximum ex arte dicere, quod eum minime potuisse omnes videmus* (1, 6, 8).

So I think it likely that Cicero made use of the preface of book 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. The question arises whether it is possible from the point of method and from that of chronology. From the point of method we can regard it as possible because our author says – as we have seen –, that he took over the material of his rhetoric from Greek sources and he first translated the rhetorical terms into Latin because earlier this system of rhetoric did not exist in Latin. He deviated from the Greeks in two respects: a) He did not follow their use of examples. b) He will treat only rhetoric: "That is why I have omitted to treat those topics which, for the sake of futile self-assertion, Greek writers have adopted. For they, from fear of appearing to know too little, have gone in quest of notions irrelevant to the art, in order that art might seem more difficult to understand" (1, 1, 1). This fact precludes the possibility of using Cicero's *De inventione*.

Against this Cicero asserts that he collected all the writers of rhetoric (*omnibus in unum locum scriptoribus*), and he chose from them the best (*ex variis ingeniis excellentissima quaeque libavimus* 2, 2, 6). He mentions that he made use both of the followers Aristotle and Isocrates and those who alloyed these two trends: *qui ab utrisque ea quae commode videbantur in suas artes contulerunt* (2, 3, 8). Accordingly, already before Cicero's time the Aristotelian and Isocratean rhetorical systems

were mixed therefore the Aristotelian features of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *De Inventione* cannot be used to date these works.²⁵ Finally, Cicero states that he used every rhetorical textbook in order to write his *De inventione*: *quos ipsos simul atque illos superiores nos nobis omnes, quoad facultas tulit, proposuimus et ex nostro quoque nonnihil in commune contulimus* (2, 3, 8) – “All of these as well as the earlier authorities I have had before me as far as possible, and have contributed some ideas of my own to the common store.” From this sentence we can conclude that Cicero collected all the available rhetorics written both in Greek and Latin and he could have used the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, as well.

The point of view of chronology is more difficult. The greatest difficulty is made by Fr. Marx, who determined the date of the *De inventione* as 91 B.C.²⁶ If his dating were correct, it would preclude that Cicero had known the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. The later researchers accepted his opinion, e.g. Herbolzheimer states that the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was written between 86–82 B. C. and continues as follows: “Ferner setzt Marx mit Recht Ciceros libri rhetorici unter Berufung auf dessen eigenes Zeugnis (de orat. 1, 5) um 91 an. Folglich ist die Benutzung des Auctor durch Cicero schon chronologisch unmöglich”.²⁷

Marx based this dating on Cicero's statement: *quae pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata ac rudia exciderunt vix hac aetate digna et hoc usu quem ex causis quas diximus tot tantisque consecuti sumus* (De or. 1, 5). To say Cicero fifteen-year-old on the basis of phrase *puer aut adolescentulus* is hazardous. Firstly, because one speaks generally about his own first work abusively: “O, that time I had been very young,” that is, the use of *puer* and *adolescentulus* here carries the connotation of the inexperienced, the naive. Secondly, the term *puer* was used by Romans until twenty-year-old, the term *adolescentulus* until thirty-year-old (Varro apud Servius ad Aen. 5, 295). The terms, *puer*, *adolescentulus* are however used loosely. Cicero himself, e.g., refers to his speech *Pro Roscio Amerino* later as follows: *Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus* (Or. 107). In 43 B. C. he writes about Octavianus who was 20-years-old that years, in the following way: *Puer enim egregius praesidium sibi primum et nobis, deinde summae rei publicae comparavit* (Fam. 12, 25, 4). Sallust designates Caesar *adolescentulus* at 37 years of age (Cat. 49, 2).

Another argument against the dating 91 is that Philo of Larissa, head of the ‘New’ Academy, arrived at Rome in 88 B. C., and Cicero became his student: *eodemque tempore, cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello profugisset Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus* (Brut. 306). – “At this time Philo, then head of Academy, along with a group of loyal Athenians, had fled from Athens because of the Mithridatic war and had come to Rome. Filled with enthusiasm for the

²⁵ Otherwise: L. C. WINKEL: Some Remarks on the Date of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. *Mnemosyne* 32, 1979, 327–332.

²⁶ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 77 ff.

²⁷ G. HERBOLZHEIMER: op. cit. 392.

study of philosophy I gave myself up wholly to his instruction".²⁸ Now, the impact of Philo's criticism and scepticism is to be found in the *De Inventione*: *Quare nos quidem sine ulla affirmatione simul quaerentes dubitanter unum quidque dicemus, ne, dum parvulum hoc consequamur, ut satis haec commode perscripsisse videamur, illud omitamus quod maximum est ne cui rei temere atque arroganter assenserimus* (2, 3, 10). – "Therefore without affirming positively, I shall proceed with an inquiring mind and make each statement with a degree of hesitation, lest in gaining the small point of having written an apparently useful book, I fall short of the chief goal, not to be rash and hasty in giving my approval to any item."

Third argument against the dating of 91 I take from *Brutus* of Cicero in which the great orator enumerates the stations of his studies. It is clear from this work that he began the study of rhetoric after 90 B. C., and after 87 B. C. began these three years of which he writes: *At vero ego hoc tempore omni noctes atque dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar* (308). – "During this time I spent my days and nights in study of every kind". He worked with Diodotus the Stoic in philosophy and he received training in dialectic, as well. The result of his philosophical studies is to be found in the *De inventione*, e.g. he breaks a lance on Aristotle's behalf against Hermagoras (1, 7–9). Besides, he wrote the preface of book 1 in order to clarify that rhetoric without *sapientia*, that is without philosophy, is harmful, but with it can be the most useful art: *Nam hinc ad rem publicam plurima commoda veniunt, si moderatrix omnium rerum praesto est sapientia* (1, 4, 5). "For from eloquence the state receives many benefits, provided only it is accompanied by wisdom, the guide of all human affairs". On the basis of the above-mentioned arguments I would date *De Inventione* of Cicero between 84–80 B. C. as the earliest time, because R. Philippson revealed the influence of Posidonius on the *De Inventione*.²⁹ If Philippson is right, it can be supposed that Cicero put his work into final shape after his journey to Rhodes.

So from the point of method and chronology it can be possible that Cicero knew the preface of book 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.³⁰ If my conclusion is correct, it can be supposed, too, that those 40–50 sentences which are common in the *De Inventione* and in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, were taken over by Cicero from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. This opinion can be supported by our author who writes on *insinuatio* as follows: *nisi quia de insinuatione nova excogitavimus, quod eam soli nos praeter ceteros in tria tempora divisimus* (1, 9, 16). – "except for the innovation I have devised on Introductions by Subtle Approach. I alone, in contrast with the rest, have distinguished three occasions for the Subtle Approach". These three occasions are: a) *Si causa turpitudinem habebit* (if the cause has a discreditable

²⁸ I quote the English text of *Brutus* of the edition: Cicero, *Brutus*. With an English translation by G. L. HENDRICKSON. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1962.

²⁹ R. PHILIPPSON: Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift 38, 1918, 631: "Ich halte es daher immerhin noch für möglich, daß er zwar das Grundstück seinen Notizbüchern entnahm, die er als 'puer aut adulescentulus' gesammelt hatte, ihn aber nach seiner Reise noch einmal hauptsächlich auf Grund seines Verkehrs mit Posidonius durcharbeitete und dann erst herausgab."

³⁰ M. H. HUBBEL regards this opinion as impossible today: op. cit. XII: "No one, nowadays, attempts to prove that Cicero copied the Auctor, or served as his source."

character), b) *si persuasus auditor* (if the hearers have been convinced), c) *si defessi erunt audiendo* (if the hearers have been fatigued by listening) (1, 6, 9–10). Cicero lists the same three occasions: *turpitudine, persuasum, defessi* (1, 17, 23).

Cicero treats the rhetorical *inventio* more minutely than our author. He discusses topics which our author regards as superfluous. Cicero, e.g. takes over the doctrine of *stasis* (*status, constitutio*) from Hermagoras, besides he discusses the doctrine of *quaestio* and *causa* of Hermagoras (1, 6, 8). Our author regards as superfluous to treat the *quaestio* of Hermagoras therefore he omits it. Besides Cicero's style is more exuberant in the *De Inventione* than that of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. The mentioned common sentences are mostly dry and prosaic definitions therefore from the point of view of style it is more probable that Cicero took them over from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* than inversely or from a common source, because they fit well into the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

WAS THE *RHETORICA AD HERENNIIUM* KNOWN IN ANTIQUITY?

From the above-mentioned an important conclusion can be drawn: If Cicero knew the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, other Roman authors could have known it, as well. I know that my conclusion contradicts the *communis opinio* of the researchers which is worded most recently by G. Achard as follows: "Quant à l'ouvrage il reste inconnu pendant des siècles, enfoui peut-être dans les coffres de la famille Herennia. Pas de référence chez Rutilius Lupus qui au début de l'Empire connaît pourtant par Gorgias d'Athènes une doctrine proche. Nous avons dit que Quintilien ignorait le manuel."³¹

In order to illustrate the possibility of my opinion I refer only to three Roman authors: Sallust, Quintilian and Aulus Gellius. There are a lot of statements in the works of Sallust which mirror the ideas of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In the preface of *Bellum Catilinae*, e.g., the following sentence is to be found: *Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur* (1, 4). The ideas concerning *forma corporis* and *virtus* we can find in two examples of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: *Formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut vetustate* (4, 27, 38); *Omnes bene vivendi rationes in virtute sunt conlocandae, propterea quod sola virtus in sua potestate est* (4, 17, 24). The idea of importance of *virtus* Sallust words in the following way, too: *Quae homines arant navigant, virtuti omnia parent* (2, 7). Sallust stresses the idea that the rulers and commanders have to have the same *virtus* both in war and peace as follows: *Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret* (2, 3). In one of his examples the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* praises Scipio in the following way: *Scipio Numantiam sustulit, Scipio Karthaginem delevit, Scipio pacem peperit, Scipio civitatem servavit* (4, 46, 59). That is, he highlights the idea that a statesman has to have the same *virtus* both in war and peace. About the succession of

³¹ G. ACHARD: op. cit. Introduction XXXIII.

statesmen Sallust declares: *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur* (2, 6). This idea is to be found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in the following way: *melior imperator novus, qui accipit exercitum, quam ille, qui decedit* (4, 46, 59). There is a strange description of corrupt and depraved women in *Bellum Catilinae*. Sallust states about them as follows: *Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere* (24, 4). After this declaration follows the famous characterization of Sempornia about whom Sallust writes in the following way: *lubido sic adcesa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat: luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat* (24, 4; 25, 3–4). Now, the idea that a woman, who cuckolds her husband, wants to kill him, as well, is vividly expressed in the illustrating example of *ratio cinatio* of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4, 16, 23) and so on.

Now, let us see Quintilian, who cites some examples which are to be found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. I quote only three of them. Our author writes: *Qui sunt, qui foedera saepe ruperunt? Kartaginienses. Qui sunt, qui crudelissime bellum gesserunt? Kartaginienses. Qui sunt, qui Italiam deformaverunt? Kartaginienses. Qui sunt, qui sibi postulent ignosci? Kartaginienses* (4, 14, 20). Quintilian cites this example word for word introducing it by the phrase: *Quale est* (9, 3, 31), but he does not mention his source. Our author states: *Gradatio est, in qua non ante ad consequens verbum descenditur, quam ad superius ascensum est, hoc modo: ... Africano virtutem industria, virtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit* (4, 15, 34). Quintilian defines *gradatio* as follows: *Est autem ipsa quoque adiectionis; repetit enim, quae dicta sunt, et, priusquam ad aliud descendat, in prioribus resistit*. In this definition of the verb *descendat* is not without interest for us because it occurs in the definition of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, as well. Quintilian quotes two examples for *gradatio*. One of them is *ex Graeco*, the other from a Latin author. He introduces it with the words: *Sit tamen tradita et Latina: Africano virtutem industria, virtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit* (9, 3, 55–56), that is he cites one of the examples of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* again word by word. My third example concerns the figure *adnominatio*. Our author writes as follows: *Ex eodem genere est exornationis, cum idem verbum ponitur modo in hac, modo in altera re, hoc modo: ... Nam amari iucundum est, si curetur, ne quid insit amari* (4, 14, 20–21). *Adnominatio est, cum ad idem verbum et nomen acceditur commutatione vocum et litterarum, ut ad res dissimiles similia verba adcommoventur. ... Productione eiusdem litterae hoc modo: Hinc avium dulcedo ducit ad avium* (4, 21, 29). ... *Sunt autem aliae, quae non habent tam propinquam in verbis similitudinem et tamen dissimiles non sunt; ... Demus operam, Quirites, ne omnino patres conscripti circumscripti putentur* (4, 22, 30). Quintilian cites all these examples and criticizes them: *quod etiam in iocis frigidum equidem tradi inter praecepta miror, eorumque exempla vitandi potius quam imitandi gratia pono: "amari iocundum est, si curetur ne quid insit amari". "Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit"* (9, 3, 66). *Pessimum vero: "ne patres conscripti videantur circumscripti"* (9, 3, 71–72).

Finally I would like to say that if we examined the *Noctes Atticae* of Gellius, we would find parallels, e.g., our author writes: *Sin nihil eorum fieri potest, utatur extrema defensione: dicat non se de moribus eius apud censores, sed de criminibus adversariorum apud iudices dicere* (2, 3, 5). Aulus Gellius remembered this sentence when he wrote: *frustra id fieri atque dici: rem enim de petenda pecunia apud iudicem privatum agi, non apud censores de moribus* (14, 2, 8). I am convinced that if we examined other ancient authors we would find even more traces of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, e.g. in the *Ars Rhetorica* of Fortunatianus.³² By the way, W. Kroll emphasizes the same: some variations of text of the *codices E* are older than those of the *codices M*, and they originated in antiquity. He writes as follows: *at si non iacuit Cornificius in bibliotheca privata lectusque est a quibusdam rhetoribus, expectes varias lectiones antiquis temporibus ortas*.³³ I regard his comment on *Viminacium* as instructive. The reading of *codices M Viminacium* is not so old as that of *codices E Bithynam*. He writes about this problem as follows: *Sed quaerendum est, quando mentio oppidi Moesici (nam Hispanum plane ignobile erat) irrepere potuerit; id quod ante imperatorum aetatem fieri non posse ... Sequitur ut illa aetate Cornificius lectus et tractatus sit*.³⁴

THE AUTHORSHIP OF CORNIFICIUS

Hieronymus quotes the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as the work of Cicero, but it is clear that Cicero could not have written it. Raffael Regius was the first who proposed Cornificius as the possible author of this work. Since the edition of C. L. Kayser³⁵ the authorship of Cornificius has been generally accepted, even by Fr. Marx, who however changed his mind first in his review of Thiele's book,³⁶ then in his *editio maior* of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.³⁷ Since that time the authorship of Cornificius has been challenged,³⁸ and defended.³⁹ Who challenge it, ascribe it to an *incertus auctor* except L. Hermann, who attributes it to L. Annaeus Cornutus, what seems to be absurd.⁴⁰

³² Cp. Consulti Fortunatiani: *Ars Rhetorica*. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione italiana e commento a cura di LUCIA CALBOLI MONTEFUSCO. Bologna 1979, 253.

³³ W. KROLL: *Cornificianum*. In: *Mélanges Bidez* II, 1934, 558.

³⁴ W. KROLL: op. cit. 561.

³⁵ *Cornifici Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium libri IIII*. Recensuit et interpretatus est C. L. KAYSER. Lipsiae 1854, Praef. VI–XIII.

³⁶ FR. MARX: *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift* 10, 1890, 999–1009.

³⁷ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 69 ff.

³⁸ H. CAPLAN: op. cit. VIII–XIV; *Rhétorique à Herennius*, texte revu et traduit par H. BORNECQUE. Paris 1932.

³⁹ W. KROLL: *Rhetorik*. RE Supplbd. 7, 1940 1100 ff.; G. CALBOLI: *Cornificiana* 2. L'autore e la tendenza politica della *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna. Classe di Scienze Morali Anno 58. Memorie Vol. LI–LII, 1963–64. Bologna 1965, 57–108; G. CALBOLI: *Cornifici Rhetorica* 3–11.

⁴⁰ L. HERMANN: op. cit.

The authorship of Cornificius seems to be well founded on the basis of Quintilian's following quotations:⁴¹

1. *pluresque invenias in ea opinione, ut id demum, quod pugna constat, enthymema accipi velint, et ideo illud Cornificius contrarium appellat* (5, 10, 2). – Rhet. Her.: *Contrarium est, quod ex rebus diversis duabus alteram breviter et facile confirmat* (4, 18, 25);

2. *Quod idem dictum sit de oratione libera, quam Cornificius licentiam vocat* (9, 2, 27). – Rhet. Her.: *Licentia est, cum apud eos, quos aut vereri aut metuere debemus, tamen aliquod pro iure nostro dicimus* (4, 36, 48);

3. *sermones hominum adsimulatos dicere dialogus malunt, quod Latinorum dixerunt sermocinationem* (9, 2, 31). – Rhet. Her.: *Sermocinatio est ..., in qua constituetur alicuius personae oratio adcommodata ad dignitatem* (4, 43, 55).

4. *"Qui sunt, qui foedera saepe ruperunt? Karthaginienses. ..."* (9, 3, 30). – Rhet. Her. 4, 14, 20. See above.

5. *Gradatio* (9, 3, 54, 56). – Rhet. Her. (4, 25, 34). See above.

6. *quae dicitur adnominatio* (9, 3, 66; 69–71). – Rhet. Her. 4, 14, 20–21; 4, 21, 29. See above;

7. *ne patres conscripti videantur circumscripti* (9, 3, 71–72). – Rhet. Her. 4, 22, 30. See above;

8. *Contrapostium autem vel, ut quidam vocant, contentio ... "non ut edam, vivo, sed, ut vivam, edo"* (9, 3, 81, 85). – Rhet. Her.: *Contentio est, cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur* (4, 15, 21); *Contentio est, per quam contraria referentur* (4, 45, 58); *Commutatio est, cum duae sententiae inter se discrepantes ex traiectione ita efferuntur, ut a priore posterior contraria priori proficiscatur, hoc modo: Esse oportet, ut vivas, non vivere, ut edas* (4, 28, 39);

9. *Quaedam verborum figurae paulum figuris sententiarum declinantur, ut dubitatio. Nam cum est in re, priori parti adsignanda est, cum in verbo, sequenti: "sive malitiam sive stultitiam dicere oportet"* (9, 3, 88). – Rhet. Her.: *Dubitatio est. ...: Offuit eo tempore plurimum rei publicae consulum sive stultitiam sive malitiam dicere oportet sive utrumque* (4, 29, 40);

10. *finitio; nam et hoc Cornificius atque Rutilius schema lexeos putant* (9, 3, 91). – Rhet. Her.: *Definitio est, quae rei alicuius proprias amplectitur potestates breviter et absolute* (4, 25, 35).

11. *Adicit his Caecilius periphrasin, de qua dixi, Cornificius interrogationem, ratiocinationem, subiectionem, transitionem, occultationem, praeterea sententiam, membrum, articulos, interpretationem, conclusionem. Quorum priora alterius generis sunt schemata, sequentia schemata omnino non sunt* (9, 3, 98). – Rhet. Her.: *interrogatio* (4, 15, 22), *ratiocinatio* (4, 16, 23), *subiectio* (4, 23, 33), *transitio* (4, 26, 35), *occultatio* (4, 27, 37), *sententia* (4, 17, 24), *membrum* (4, 19, 26), *articulus* (4, 19, 26), *interpretatio* (4, 28, 38), *conclusio* (4, 30, 4).

From the above-mentioned parallels of Quintilian the scholars concluded in the following way: a) Cornificius wrote a rhetoric; b) Some rhetorical terms occur only

⁴¹ Some of these parallels are to be found already at C. L. KAYSER: op. cit. VI ff.; H. CAPLAN: op. cit. IX ff.; G. CALBOL: *Cornificiana* 2, 2 ff.

with him; c) These terms are to be found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; d) The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was written by Cornificius.

Fr. Marx advanced three arguments against this conclusion: a) Quintilian does not quote anything out of the 1–3 books.⁴² b) Cornificius did not write a systematic rhetoric, only about the figures.⁴³ c) Cornificius lived later, under Augustus. But the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* originated between 86–82 B. C., consequently Cornificius could not have written it.⁴⁴

Against the first argument of Marx I stress that Quintilian knew book 1 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Concerning *status (constitutio)* he writes as follows: *Tres fecit et M. Antonius his quidem verbis: "paucae res sunt, quibus ex rebus omnes orationes nascuntur, factum non factum, ius iniuria, bonum malum". Sed quoniam, quod iure dicimur fecisse, non hunc solum intellectum habet, ut lege, sed illum quoque, ut iuste fecisse videamur, secuti Antonium apertius voluerunt eosdem status distinguere, itaque dixerunt coniecturalem, legalem, iuridicalem, qui et Verginio placent* (3, 6, 45). Now, the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* says: *Causarum constitutiones alii quattuor fecerunt: noster doctor tres putavit esse. ... Constitutiones itaque, ut ante diximus, tres sunt: coniecturalis, legitima, iuridicialis* (1, 11, 18). I suppose that Quintilian refers to the book 1 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* when he asserts that the followers of Antonius (*secuti Antonium*) accepted three *status* because according to its author his *doctor* taught there were only three *status*.⁴⁵ Chronologically it is quite possible that his teacher was Antonius. By the way, already E. Wölfflin raised this possibility.⁴⁶ This coincidence is not accidental because in an other passage Quintilian again hints at the book 1: *Quapropter ne illos quidem probaverim, qui partitionem vetant ultra tris propositiones extendere: quae sine dubio, si nimium sit multiplex, fugiet memoriam iudicis et turbabit intentionem, hoc tamen numero velut lege non est alliganda, cum possit causa pluris desiderare* (4, 5, 3). According to Quintilian some authors of rhetoric forbid the division to have more than three parts. Book 1 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* really forbids it: *Eam plus quam trium partium numero esse non oportet; nam et periculosum est, ne quando plus minusve dicamus* (1, 10, 17). It is true that in these two passages Quintilian does not refer to Cornificius but in antiquity the practice of quotation was another than today nobody quoted precisely. Quintilian himself – as we have seen above – sometimes mentions names, sometimes not, when he cites. By the way, analysing the sources of Quintilian J. Cousin refers many times to the *Rhetorica ad Herennius* and to Cornificius,⁴⁷ and today already can be said that Quintilian knew books 1–3, as well.

I shall illustrate only by the treatment of *memoria* that Cicero and Quintilian knew book 3 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In history of Roman rhetoric the

⁴² FR. MARX: Op. cit. Proleg. 70: *Primum aut oculi mihi caecutiunt aut nusquam Quintilianus locum quendam adtulit Cornificii qui legatur in libris ad Her. I II III.*

⁴³ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 71.

⁴⁴ FR. MARX: op. cit. Proleg. 73.

⁴⁵ Cp. C. L. KAYSER: op. cit. p. VIII n. 5.

⁴⁶ E. WÖLFFLIN: Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik 9, 1896, 321.

⁴⁷ J. COUSIN: Études sur Quintilien. Amsterdam 1967, I, 849 (Cornificius).

Rhetorica ad Herennium deals first with *memoria* in detail (3, 16, 28–24, 40). The author begins his treatment as follows: *Nunc ad thesaurum inventorum atque ad omnium partium rhetoricae custodem, memoriam, transeamus* (3, 16, 28). After that he discriminates between *memoria naturalis* and *artificiosa*, and he emphasizes that the good *naturalis memoria* is in need of *doctrina*. About the *artificiosa memoria* he writes as follows: *Constat igitur artificiosa memoria locis et imaginibus. Locos appellamus eos, qui breviter, perfecte, insignite aut natura aut manu sunt absoluti, ut eos facile naturali memoria comprehendere et amplecti queamus, ut aedes, intercolumnium, angulum, fornicem et alia, quae similia sunt. Imagines sunt formae quaedam et notae et simulacra eius rei, quam meminisse volumus; quod genus equi, leonis, aquilae memoriam si volumus habere, imagines eorum locis certis conlocare nos oportebit* (3, 16, 29). He illustrates by a simile the nature of *loci* and *imagines*: *Nam loci cerae aut chartae simillimi sunt, imagines litteris, dispositio et conlocatio imaginum scripturae, pronuntiatio lectioni* (3, 17, 30). Then he highlights the importance of the order of the *loci*: *Item putamus oportere ex ordine hos locos habere, ne quando perturbatione ordinis inpediamur, quo setius, quoto quoque loco libebit, vel ab superiore vel ab inferiore parte imagines sequi, et ea, quae mandata locis erunt, edere possimus* (3, 16, 30). The distances of the *loci* should be middle-sized from each other: *Intervalla locorum mediocria placet esse* (3, 19, 32). The images should be similar to the things and words: *Duplices igitur similitudines esse debent, unae rerum, alterae verborum* (3, 20, 33). In question of memory the nature is the teacher: *Docet igitur nos ipsa natura, quid oporteat fieri* (3, 22, 35). The images should be conspicuous: *insignes et novae diutius manent in animo* (3, 22, 35). Then he again stresses the importance of the nature: *Nihil est enim, quod aut natura extremum invenerit aut doctrina primum, sed rerum principia ab ingenio profecta sunt, exitus disciplina comparantur* (3, 21, 36).

Cicero deals with *memoria* in book 2 of *De oratore*: Antonius exposes the *ars memoriae* (2, 86, 315–88, 360). He treats it shorter: in half size of that of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and he embellishes this topic with historical examples of Themistocles, Simonides and so on, but the doctrine remains the same as that of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Antonius emphasizes the importance of the order: *ordinem esse maxime, qui memoriae lumen adferret* (353). Then he exposes the doctrine of *loci* and *imagines*: *Itaque iis, qui hanc partem ingenii exercent, locos esse capiendos et ea, quae memoriae tenere vellent, effingenda animo atque in iis locis collocanda: sic fore, ut ordinem rerum locorum ordo conservaret, res autem ipsas rerum effigies notaret atque ut locis pro cera, simulacra pro litteris uteremur* (354). Here Antonius uses the simile of *cera*, as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* did. Antonius highlights the role of nature: *quare confiteor equidem huius boni naturam esse principem* (356), as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Then he stresses that the *ars memoriae* is useful: *verum tamen neque tam acri memoria fere quisquam est, ut non dispositis notatisue rebus ordinem verborum aut nominum aut sententiarum complectatur, neque vero tam hebeti, ut nihil hac consuetudine et exercitatione adiuvetur* (357). The opinion of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is the same. The description of *loci* and *imagines* is the same, as in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: *Quare, ne in re nota et pervolgata multus*

et insolens sim, locis est utendum multis, inlustribus, explicatis, modicis intervallis, imaginibus autem agentibus, acribus, insignitis, quae occurrere celeriter, quae percutere animum possint (358). Antonius distinguishes between *memoria rerum et verborum*, as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: *Multa enim sunt verba, quae quasi articuli conectunt membra orationis, quae formari similitudine nulla possunt; eorum fingendae sunt nobis imagines, quibus semper utamur. rerum memoria propria est oratoris; eam singulis personis bene positus notare possumus, ut sententias imaginibus, ordinem locis comprehendamus* (359).

Quintilian treats the *ars memoriae* as long as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (11, 2, 1-50). He, too, as Cicero, embellishes this topic with examples: he tells the story, how Simonides invented it: *nata est igitur, ut in plerisque, ars ab experimento. loca deligunt quam maxime spaciosa, multa varietate signata, domum forte magnam et in multos diductam recessus* (17-18). His main source is Cicero, he cites him: *Opus est ergo locis, quae vel finguntur vel sumuntur, et imaginibus vel simulacris, quae utique fingenda sunt, notamus, ut, quo modo Cicero dicit, locis pro cera, simulacris pro litteris utamur. illud quoque ad verbum ponere optimum fuerit: 'locis est utendum multis, inlustribus, explicatis, modicis intervallis, imaginibus autem agentibus, acribus, insignitis, quae occurrere celeriterque percutere animum possint'* (21). He states that sometimes the doctrine of *loci* and *imagines* can be useful: *Equidem haec ad quaedam prodesse non negaverim, ut si rerum nomina multa per ordinem audita reddenda sint. namque in iis, quae didicerunt, locis ponunt res illas: mensam, ut hoc utar, in vestibulo et pulpitem in atrio et sic cetera, deinde relegentes inveniunt, ubi posuerunt* (23). The example of Quintilian is instructive: the house and its parts. Cicero does not use this example, but the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* does: *ut aedes, intercolumnium, angulum, fornicem et alia* (3, 16, 29), ... *in primo loco rei totius imaginem conformabimus; aegrotum in lecto cubantem faciemus* (3, 20, 33). Both Cicero and Quintilian use the verb *notare*: *dispositis notatisque rebus* (Cic. 357), *aliquo signo, quo moneantur, notant* (Quint. 19). This idea is expounded by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in detail: *Et, ne forte in numero locorum falli possimus, quintum quemque placet notari: quod genus, si in quinto loco manum auream conlocemus, si in decimo aliquem notum, cui praenomen sit Decimo* (3, 18, 31). Quintilian, however, criticizes this associative technic of memory and he suggests another method of memorizing (26-27).

Now, the question arises whether Quintilian used the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, too, besides Cicero. I answer this question positively. Besides the exemplum of the house which is to be found at the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* Quintilian, too, praises the nature et experience: *magis admirari naturam subit* (5), *nata est igitur ... ars ab experimento* (17). As we have seen, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* does the same. But what is more important, in his introduction to memory, Quintilian quotes the following sentence: *neque inmerito thesaurus hic eloquentiae dicitur* (1). The verb *dicitur* proves that he quotes this sentence and he quotes it imprecisely: he does not cite it word for word, and he does not mention the author. It is easy to find the original sentence: it is the first sentence of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to *memoria*: *Nunc ad thesaurum inventorum atque ad omnium partium rhetoricae custodem, memo-*

riam, transeamus (3, 16, 28). This sentence is cited by Cicero, too, twice very freely: *quid dicam de thesauro rerum omnium memoria?* (De or. 1, 5, 18), and *earum rerum omnium custos memoria* (Part. or. 1, 3). It is almost sure that Quintilian cites the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, not Cicero because the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* says this sentence in the treatment of memory, and Quintilian's *thesaurus ... eloquentiae* is similar to *thesaurus ... rhetoricae* of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. So both Cicero and Quintilian use the ideas and terms of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* concernant memory.

Marx founded his second argument on Quintilian's following utterance: *Haec omnia copiosus sunt executi, qui non ut partem operis transcurrerunt, sed proprie libros huic operi dedicaverunt, sicut Caecilius, Dionysius, Rutilius, Cornificius, Visellius alique non pauci* (9, 3, 89). Refuting this argument of Marx G. Calboli⁴⁸ points out that book 4 of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is much longer than its other books, on the one hand, on the other, the verb *transcurrere* means in the sentence at issue *to treat shortly*, what we cannot say about the book 4 because it treats the figures in detail. I agree with Calboli and I remind that the *Codex Herbipolitanus* divides the book 4 in three books: book four 1, 1–12, 18 (preface, the kinds of style, construction); book 5: 13, 19–34, 46 (figures of diction, tropes); book 6: 35, 47–56, 69 (figures of thought, postface). This division of *Codex Herbipolitanus* is of vital importance because it proves that in antiquity the book 4 was written on three scrolls, for it was too long. This practice was known in antiquity, e.g. Pliny the Younger writes about the rhetoric of his uncle so: *Studiosi tres (sc. libri), in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit* (Ep. 3, 5, 5). All that means that Cornificius dedicated *proprie libros* to figures.

But this does not mean that Quintilian thinks Cornificius wrote only about the figures because he lists him, too, among the authors of rhetoric in his survey of history of Roman rhetoric: *Romanorum primus, quantum ego quidem sciam, condidit aliqua in hanc materiam M. Cato, post M. Antonius incohavit: nam hoc solum opus eius atque id ipsum imperfectum manet. secuti minus celebres, quorum memoriam, si quo loco res poscet, non omitam. praecipuum vero lumen sicut eloquentiae, ita praeceptis quoque eius dedit unicum apud nos specimen orandi docendique oratorias artes M. Tullius, post quem tacere modissimum foret, nisi et rhetoricos suos ipse adulescenti sibi elapsos diceret, et in oratoriis haec minora, quae plerumque desiderantur, sciens omisisset. scripsit de eadem materia non pauca Cornificius, aliqua Stertinius, non nihil pater Gallio, adcuratius vero priores Gallione Celsus et Laenas et aetatis nostrae Verginius, Plinius, Tutilius* (3, 1, 19–21).

This passage leads us to the third argument of Marx: On the basis of Quintilian's survey it seems that Cornificius lived after Cicero, therefore he could not have written the *Rhetoric ad Herennium*. Marx' statement is considerable, and other scholars, too, accept it, e.g. Koehler⁴⁹ and Caplan.⁵⁰ If they were right, the authorship of Cornificius would be excluded definitively. But the main premiss of this con-

⁴⁸ G. CALBOLI: *Cornificiana* 2, 42 ff.

⁴⁹ C. KOEHLER: *De rhetoricis ad C. Herennium*. Berliner Diss. 1909, 5–38.

⁵⁰ H. CAPLAN: *op. cit.* XII–XIV.

clusion is doubtful because Quintilian's lists of authors mirror sometimes not the correct chronological order. Already Th. Stangl pointed out that in his lists Quintilian is not led by strict chronological sequence,⁵¹ otherwise he would not have changed the order of names in his lists, e.g.: *Cornificius atque Rutilius* (9, 3, 91); *Caecilius, Dionysius, Rutilius, Cornificius, Visellius* (9, 3, 89); *Celsus ... Visellius ... Rutilius quidem Lupus* (9, 2, 101). E. Bolaffi stresses the same⁵² in the lists of Greek and Latin authors: *Aristophanes tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque* (10, 1, 66); *Attius atque Pacuvius* (10, 1, 97). G. Calboli, too, found chronologically uncorrect lists:⁵³ *apud Ciceronem ... videmus Enni, Acci, Pacuvi, Lucili, Terenti, Caecili et aliorum inseri versus* (1, 8, 11); *quod est facilius in Apris et in Ursis et Nasone aut Crispo* (11, 2, 31). All this means that Quintilian was led by other points of view, too, in his lists than chronology, e.g. by the importance of the authors in the treated theme. For example in his survey of history of Roman rhetoric after Antonius he says that he omits the minor authors of rhetoric, and he immediately comes to Cicero, but after Cicero he mentions Cornificius: *scripsit de eadem materia non pauca Cornificius* (1, 16, 21). The phrase *eadem materia* means here the whole rhetoric, not only the figures, and the litotes *non pauca* means 'much'. It is plausible that Quintilian here changed the order of the names because Cicero is more important in the history of Roman rhetoric than Cornificius.

In conclusion I would like emphasize two things: a) The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was known and used in antiquity. b) It seems to be not absurd that it was written by Cornificius.

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⁵¹ TH. STANGL: Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift 30, 1910, 397–402.

⁵² E. BOLAFFI: La critica filosofica e letteraria in Quintiliano. Berchem–Bruxelles 1958, 61.

⁵³ G. CALBOLI: Cornificiana 2, 41.

ISTVÁN BORZSÁK

LACHEN UND WEINEN

In Stud. Ant. (1997, 81ff.) versuchten wir zu zeigen, wie sich der Gebrauch des Verbes *procumbere* (*prosterni, proici...*) im Wandel der Jahrhunderte – bei Vergil, Lucan und Tacitus – ändert und was diese Änderung menschlich widerspiegelt. Daneben warfen wir die bizarre Frage auf, warum denn Tacitus das Beiwort *continuus* (*perpetuus, assiduus...*) nicht mochte. In unseren jetzigen Ausführungen verfolgen wir kein anderes Ziel, als anhand einiger Textstellen den Ernst des – laut der gewöhnlichen (sicherlich problematischen) Völkercharakterologie (heutzutage ‘Imagologie’ genannt) – ernsthaften (ja düsteren) *vir vere Romanus* abtasten zu wollen: wie kommt es, daß die maßgebenden Helden des Livius oder Tacitus vor der Öffentlichkeit nie lachen?

Auf diesen seltsamen Umstand wurden wir während unserer Liviuslektüren aufmerksam. Vor vielen Jahren haben wir – im Zusammenhang mit der so oft erwähnten „charakteristischen“ Römertugend der *gravitas* – P. G. Walsh zitiert, der in seinem Buch „Livy. His historical aims and methods“ (Cambridge 1961, 78) nach Vergleichung mehrerer Textparallelen behauptet hat, daß die würdevollen Römer des Livius nicht einmal dann lachen, wenn es beim betreffenden Quellenautor ausdrücklich bezeugt wird. Diese konsequente Bemühung des Livius dürfte beim respektlosen Leser Heiterkeit erregen (his insistence on the need for personal dignity... in the conduct of affairs may cause the irreverent reader some amusement). Man blättere die Bücher *ab urbe condita* vergebens durch, da gebe es keinen lachenden Römer, höchstens einen, dem gelegentlich ein flüchtiges Lächeln entlockt wird. Dieses Ausmerzen der scherzhaften Elemente (this suppression of all jocular elements) könnte uns irreführen, wenn wir geneigt wären, uns den römischen Charakter in so düsteren Farben vorzustellen: Livius „dehumanisiere“ einen Marcellus oder Flamininus, wenn er ihnen das Lachen und den Scherz „herausschneidet“ (excises). So siehe Livius „methodically“ die scherzhaften Anspielungen in seiner Quelle (Polyb. XVIII 2,6; 4,3) aus; er komme mit einem taktlosen Hinweis des Philippos auf die (Halb)blindheit des Aetolers Phainias aus (XXXII 34,3 *iocatus in valetudinem oculorum Phaeneae*): *et erat dicacior natura, quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis tempe-*

rans. Ebenso verfährt Livius, als er über den gezwungenen Witz des Marcellus referiert: die verheerende Wirkung von Archimedes' Kriegsmaschinen auf die Römer wird verschwiegen; man liest nur von der Erfolglosigkeit des Sturmangriffes gegen Syrakus (XXIV 34,16 *absistere oppugnatione placuit*); der Historiker habe es unter seiner Würde gehalten, das Wortspiel des römischen Feldherren (die Doppeldeutigkeit des Wortes *sambuca*: Polyb. VIII 8,6 ἐπισκώπτων τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις) zu verewigen.

Wir wollen auch die Fortsetzung (Walsh, 79) nicht vergessen: „Like Tacitus, he (Liv.) is sensitive about unseemly behaviour.“ So nimmt er vom in seiner Quelle (beim Annalisten Quadrigarius: Gell., N.A. IX 13,5) zu lesenden Ordinären (vom Herausstrecken der Zunge seitens des Barbaren) Abstand und gestaltet seinen Bericht (VII 10,5) der Erlesenheit des augusteischen Zeitalters entsprechend. In diesem Zusammenhang weist Walsh auf R. Syme's Tacitus-Monographie (I 342) hin: „Tacitus insists on this *dignitas* in history no less than Livy.“¹

Seinerzeit ergänzten wir die von Walsh beigebrachten Stellen mit der Darstellung der *gravitas* des Siegers bei Pydna. Laut Plutarch (Aem. Paul. 34,3 f.), der sein Wissen aus mehreren Quellen (u.a. aus Polybios) schöpfte, habe Aemilius Paullus dem Perseus, der der Schmach des Vorgeführtwerdens im römischen Triumphzug enthoben werden wollte, lächelnd gesagt: es habe in seiner Macht gestanden, enthoben zu werden (vgl. Cic., Tusc. disp. V 40,118 *Paullus Persi deprecanti, ne in triumpho duceretur, in tua id quidem potestate est*). Genauer formuliert: der siegreiche Feldherr hat auch bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht gelacht, sondern auf die Bitte des sich unmännlich erniedrigenden Perseus mit rücksichtslosem Hohn reagiert: ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀνανδρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοψυχίας ... καταγελῶν „ἀλλὸ τοῦτό γ'“ εἶπε „καὶ πρότερον ἢν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ἂν βούληται.“ Livius kann sich einen lachenden Helden nicht einmal vorstellen, haben wir seinerzeit geschrieben, desto mehr einen *weinenden* (wie Scipio d. J. auf Karthagos Ruinen):² als derselbe Aemilius Paullus die trauernden und Tränen vergießenden Boten des Perseus erblickt, *et ipse inlacrimasse dicitur sorti humanae* (Liv. XLV 4,2 f.), teils vor Freude, teils im Bewußtsein der ehemaligen Größe der Stadt bzw. des kläglichen Untergangs der athenischen Kriegsflotte. Übrigens hatte auch Scipio d. Ä. das Schicksal der fürstlichen Frauen in Neu-Karthago beweint (Polyb. X 18,13 ἡναγκάσθη δακρῦσαι) – genauso wie sein Vorbild Alexander d. Gr. (Curt. Ruf. III 12,6).

¹ Dafür ein einziges Beispiel: die Darstellung von Vitellius' schimpflichem Ende (Hist. III 84,5 *foedum spectaculum*). Von den widerwärtigen Einzelheiten (wie z.B. vom Spottnamen des Antonius Primus usw.), die in der Parallelüberlieferung zu lesen sind, nimmt auch Tacitus Abstand, zur selben Zeit gestaltet er jene widerlichen Realitäten zur Tragödie eines Menschen (und der „ewigen“ Stadt), wobei er auch der *Würde* des gestürzten Kaisers nicht vergißt, die selbst in seiner Entehrung bewahrt wird: *una vox non animi degeneris excepta...*

² Appian beruft sich in seinem Bericht (Pun. 132) auf Polybios als Augen- und Ohrenzeugen: Scipio brach in Tränen aus, als in ihm der Gedanke auftauchte, alle früheren Reiche (*ἄρχαι, imperia*) – Troja, Assyrien, das Reich der Meder und Perser sowie dasjenige der Makedonen – wären genauso der μεταβολῇ unterworfen wie die Menschen. So – eingedenk der Zukunft Roms – habe er das homerische εἶσαται ἡμῶν zitiert. Vgl. dazu A. HENRICHs, *Graecia capta*. Harvard Stud. Class. Phil. 97, 1995, 250 ff.; früher A. MOMIGLIANO, *Alien wisdom*. Cambridge 1975, 22 ff.; ED. FRAENKEL, *Rome and Greek culture*. Inaugural lect. Oxford 1935, 28 f. = Kl. Beiträge zur klass. Phil. II (Roma 1964) 597: „It is a Greek outlook on life and a Greek conception of history, the theory of the necessary vicissitudes of human fate and of the cycle in the life of nations.“

Es würde zu weit führen, wenn man diese „Antezedentien“ als Parallelen zu Jerusalems Beweinung auffassen wollte (Lk. 19, 41: „und als er nahe hinzu kam, sah er die Stadt an, und weinte über sie und sprach: ... denn es wird die Zeit über dich kommen ...“, vgl. Lk. 21,6, bzw. Jer. 13,17 und 14,17). Die *positive* Beurteilung von Scipio als gottesfürchtigem Heiden in der Historiographie späterer Jahrhunderte dürfte durch die vermutete christliche Parallele von Karthagos Beweinung erklärt werden. Ähnlich ist das Fortleben des weitgerühmten Siegeszuges des Aemilius Paullus in der Erbauungsliteratur späterer Zeiten: Die inbrünstigen Gläubigen wollten in Plutarchs Erzählung³ die Präfiguration des Palmsonntageinzuges Christi entdeckt haben.

Scipios „paradoxes Benehmen“ erinnerte etliche Forscher⁴ an Herodots Xerxes, der anlässlich der Truppenschau in der Nähe von Abydos, nachdem er alles betrachtet hatte, sich glücklich pries, dann aber weinte (VII 45 ὡς δὲ ὦρα πάντα ... ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε). Auf Artabanos' verwunderte Frage antwortete Xerxes (46): „Mich überkommt das Mitleid, wenn ich denke, wie kurz das menschliche Leben ist. Von allen diesen Menschen wird nach hundert Jahren keiner mehr leben.“ (Vor der Schlacht bei Plataiai philosophiert ein vornehmer Perser ebenso: IX 16.)⁵

A. Henrichs verweist (a.a.O.) außer dem xerxeischen Weinen nicht nur auf die soeben erwähnte Szene, sondern auch auf eine andere Herodotstelle (III 14), wo sich das Mitleid selbst beim wahnsinnigen Kambyses regte, als er den weinenden Psammenitos und die anderen (Kroisos und die dabei stehenden Perser) gleichfalls weinend sah. Auch Demaratos gehört hierher: Xerxes lacht (VII 103,1 γελᾶσας), als ihm der aus Sparta vertriebene König die Wahrheit sagt, daß nämlich die Hellenen sehr wohl wagen werden, sich ihm, dem Herrn eines Riesenheeres, entgegenzustellen. Derselbe Demaratos wird nach Thermopylai dem Großkönig unverblümt sagen (VII 209,2): „Du lachtest über mich, als ich dir voraussagte, was kommen würde ...“ Ja, das Hohngelächter eines Tyrannen ist eine Äußerung der *hybris*, worauf – unabwendbar – der schimpfliche Sturz folgen muß. Man fühlt sich an unseren Peter Bornemisza (Abstemius; einen Melanchthonschüler) erinnert, der auf das Titelblatt seiner freien ungarischen Paraphrase der Elektra des Sophokles (Wien, 1558) nicht ohne Grund das neutestamentliche Motto setzen ließ: „Weh euch, die ihr hier lachtet! denn ihr werdet weinen und heulen“ (Lk. 6,25, vgl. Jak. 4,9).

Der soeben zitierte A. Henrichs verweist daselbst (252, 30) auf eine Studie von S. Flory, der zur Abydos-Szene des Herodot eine geistreichelnde Bemerkung machte: „If Polybius had not read Herodotus, Scipio had.“⁶ Das kann man freilich nicht kontrollieren; Henrichs fügt nur hinzu, letztlich sei die Psychologie von Scipios Tränen interessanter als die Frage ihrer Historizität. Ebenda (S. 251) liest man, daß wir da offensichtlich mit einem literarischen Motiv zu tun haben.

³ Plut., Aem. P. 32 ff.; vgl. I. BORZSÁK, Das Bild der Antike im XVI. Jh. Budapest 1960, 173 ff. und 469 ff. (ung.)

⁴ Vgl. A. HENRICHs, a.a.O. 252 f.

⁵ Dazu vgl. I. BORZSÁK, A síró Xerxés (Der weinende Xerxes). Stud.Ant. 12, 1965, 231 ff. = Eos Kumanieckiana 1966, 39 ff.

⁶ S. FLORY, Laughter, tears and wisdom in Herodotus. AJPh 99, 1978, 145 ff.

Als Motto eines anderen einschlägigen Aufsatzes⁷ findet sich ein bedenkenswerter Satz: „Strong and indiscriminate laughter is a mark of vulgarity.“ Das wird man freilich nicht auf das „unauslöschliche Gelächter“ der Olympier (Il. I 599; Od. VIII 326) beziehen. Die außerordentliche Fröhlichkeit wurde auch vom vergnügungssüchtigen Publikum in Rom höchstens als des Königs der Götter würdig empfunden (vgl. Plaut., Amph. 916 *equidem ioco illa dixeram dudum tibi ridiculi causa*; 962),⁸ und desgleichen wagte auch Livius etwas Derbes, das den gemeinen Mann zum Lachen bringt, nur mit einem Hinweis auf den Dienst an der „gemeinsamen Sache“ des römischen Staates (XLV 39,17 *re bene gerenda domi militiaeque*) vorzutragen. Das laute Gelächter (loud uncontrolled laughter) ist bei Herodot genauso wie in der moralisierenden römischen Geschichtsschreibung den Tyrannen vorbehalten.⁹ Einmal haben wir unsere Ausführungen (über Tacitus' Nachleben in Ungarn)¹⁰ mit einem Zeugnis von S. Petőfis Tacitus-Kenntnissen geschlossen, wo der Dichter (Dez. 1848) vom höhnischen Gelächter des Tyrannen spricht. Seinerzeit haben wir diese Darstellung des Tyrannen mit Diderots „Tyran“ und noch mehr mit dem Tiberius- (Nero-, Domitian-) Porträt des Tacitus verglichen (vgl. Tac., Ann. VI 31,2 *quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem* ...). Erst später¹¹ gelang es uns, diese „eines Tyrannen würdige“ Darstellung des Tiberius aus derjenigen des Agathokles von Syrakus (Diod. XX 72) herzuleiten: Tacitus hat die romanhaft ausgemalte sizilianische Schauergeschichte des nach Effekten haschenden Duris ans Ufer des Tiberis verlegt.

Wie anders ist das leise Lächeln des Sokrates, als er im Begriffe ist, sich aus den Fesseln des körperlichen Lebens zu lösen! (Plat., Phaid. 115 C.) Und ähnlicherweise lächelt Maternus, nächste Verkörperung des Tacitus, des „hoheitsvollen, ernsten, viel zu stolzen, um etwa zu lügen“ (wie F. Kazinczy, führende Persönlichkeit der ungarischen Literatur um 1800 den Historiker charakterisiert hatte): *remissus et subridens* (Tac., Dial. 11,1). Gut, aber was kann man dann mit dem Schlußsatz dieses Dialogus anfangen? (42,2 *cum adrisissent, discessimus*.) Damit werden wir uns in keine Inkonzsequenz verwickelt haben: Man begegnet diesem humanen, jeden Streit abmildernden Lächeln wiederholt – fast refrainartig – im Dialog *De oratore* des Cicero, im (neben dem *Brutus*) nächsten Muster des taciteischen *Dialogus de oratoribus* (II 28 *hic Catulus adrisit*; II 30 *postea quam adriserunt*; II 145 *adrisit hic Crassus*; II 367 *tum Cotta ridens* ...), wo II 230 von einem eventuellen *facetius dictum* die Rede ist. Auch das wird von *gravitas* und *auctoritas* gebührend temperiert.

Quod erat demonstrandum.

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⁷ S. HALLIWELL, The uses of laughter in Greek culture. CQ 41, 1991, 279 ff.

⁸ Vgl. W. STOCKERT, Der plaut. Amphitruo, eine Tragikomödie. Im Sammelband „Laughter down the centuries“, hrsg. von S. JÄKEL und A. TIMONEN, II (Turku 1995) 117 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.* III. (Turku 1997) 271.

¹⁰ Stud. Ant. 2, 1955, 188.

¹¹ Stud. Ant. 31, 1984, 225.

ANDREAS FOUNTOLAKIS

ON THE LITERARY GENRE OF LYCOPHRON'S ALEXANDRA

In an attempt to shed new light on issues pertaining to the generic characterization of Lycophron's *Alexandra*¹ this short note focuses on certain aspects of its compositional technique which may subsequently clarify for the first time some of its affinities to epic poetry and the adoption of techniques which are peculiar to tragedy.

Both the probable identification of the *Alexandra*'s author with the Hellenistic tragedian Lycophron² as well as the metre and the length of the poem, which is not much different from that of a Greek tragedy³, count towards the supposition that it stands closer to the genre of dramatic poetry. Yet the lack of significant and clearly structured action – as opposed to the Aristotelian *ἄνευ μὲν πρῶξεως οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραγῳδία*⁴ – as well as the perplexity and obscurity of language and thought, which characterize this work, count against the hypothesis that it could be intended for

¹ The linguistic, formal and structural uniqueness of Lycophron's *Alexandra* has resulted in the expression of various, often opposing, views concerning its generic classification. The *Suda* (s.v. *Λυκόφρων*) refers to the *Alexandra* as a *σκοτεινὸν ποίημα*, an 'obscure poem', without making further suggestions with respect to its genre. As is noted by U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*. Berlin 1924. II. 148–9, its stylistic features make extremely difficult, if not impossible, its classification. The *Alexandra* has nevertheless been considered as a tragic monody by G. CANTER, *In Lycophronem Prolegomena II, Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra, ex Fide Manuscripti Emendationibus Factis*. Parigi 1601. Its generic affinities to tragedy are also noted by G. HERMANN, *De Bachmani Editione Lycophronis*, in *Opuscula*. Leipzig 1834. V. 230, F. SUSEMIHL, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*. Leipzig 1891–2. I. 275 and F. SPIRO, *Prolog und Epilog in Lycophrons Alexandra*: *Hermes* 23, 1888, 194. By contrast, the generic proximity of the *Alexandra* to the narrative forms of epic has been stressed by E. CIACERI ed., *La Alessandra di Licofrone*. Catania 1901, repr. Naples 1982. 6–8 and L. HENZEL, *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie*. Diss. Giessen 1908. 43. An examination of the narrative structure of the *Alexandra* in the light of modern literary theory is provided by M. FUSILLO, *L'Alessandra di Licofrone. Racconto Epico e Discorso "Drammatico"*: *ASNSP ser. 3*, 14, 1984, 495–525, where further literature on the subject is cited (esp. pp. 495–6).

² Cf. Σ Arist. i. IA Koster, pp. 22, 48; N. HOPKINSON ed., *A Hellenistic Anthology*. Cambridge 1988. 229–30; see also Hurst's introduction in M. FUSILLO, A. HURST, G. PADUANO ed., *Licofrone. Alessandra*. Milan. Biblioteca Letteraria 10 1991.

³ Cf. G. O. HUTCHINSON, *Hellenistic Poetry*. Oxford 1988. 257.

⁴ *Poetics* 6. 1450a. 11.

production, in the sense that it could not be meant for on-stage presentation by two actors wearing masks and costumes in front of a scenery. Not only would its content and linguistic complexity make it unintelligible for a theatre audience, but also these two features bring it closer to poetical works such as Callimachus' *Aetia*, despite the significant differences between the two works in terms of style and quality⁵. It appears therefore unlikely that such a poem, if not intended exclusively for the literati, would readily appeal to the wider theatrical audiences of the Hellenistic era⁶.

Moreover, the deviation of the *Alexandra* from the five-act rule, which dominated the structure of Hellenistic tragedy⁷, weighs heavily against the assumption that it could be brought on the stage. The five-act structure of Ezekiel's *Exagoge*⁸ as well as of those Senecan tragedies which may have been patterned on Hellenistic models⁹ indicate that a play, which would not have complied with that rule, could be considered as a marginal case which would not be so easily acceptable by the public. The prescriptive observations of Horace in A. P. 189–90 relating to the existence of five acts in tragedy may, according to Brink¹⁰, be traced back to Neoptolemus of Parium¹¹, but in any case reflect the existence of a similar Peripatetic literary theory and suggest acquaintance with Hellenistic practice. The only dramatic form of the Hellenistic age which is closer to *Alexandra*'s structure is the *paignion*¹²: a short monologue presented before the beginning of the main play as a *Vorprogramm*. However, the serious content of the *Alexandra* as well as its length make extremely

⁵ Cf. R. PFEIFFER ed., Callimachus, II vols., 3rd edn. Oxford 1965. Vol. II, xliii; R. PFEIFFER, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*. Oxford 1968. 120; HUTCHINSON (n. 3) 258; HOPKINSON (n. 2) 230.

⁶ Cf. P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II vols. Oxford 1972. Vol. II, 872; E. CSAPO and W. J. SLATER, *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor 1995. 186–9.

⁷ Cf. W. BEARE, *The Roman Stage. A Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic*. London 1968. 208, 215; O. TAPLIN, *XOPOY and the Structure of Post-Classical Tragedy*: LCM 1, 1976, 47–50, esp. 48–9; R. J. TARRANT, *Senecan Drama and its Antecedents*: HSCIP 82, 1978, 213–63, esp. 220.

⁸ The first act comprised Moses' monologue and his meeting with the six sisters of Sephora, who probably formed the Chorus of the play. The second one was related to Moses' dream and its interpretation. The third act consisted of Moses' conversation with God and the scene with the burning bush. The fourth act was centred on the description of the Red Sea. Finally, the fifth one was associated with the discovery of the Oasis at Elim and the description of the Phoenix. The transition from one act to another is implied by the change of location. Cf. I. TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL, *Une Tragédie Grecque à Sujet Biblique*: Acta Orientalia 2, 1952, 143–64; J. WIENEKE, *Ezechielis Iudaei Poetae Alexandrini Fabulae Quae Inscribitur Exagoge Fragmenta*. Diss. Münster 1931; O. ZWIERLEIN, *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*. Meisenheim am Glan. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 20, 1966. 140; G. M. SIFAKIS, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama*. London 1967. 123; B. SNELL, *Szenen aus griechischen Dramen*. Berlin 1971. 172–4; TAPLIN (n. 7) 49; H. JACOBSON (ed.), *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*. Cambridge 1983. 28–36.

⁹ All the tragedies of Seneca have five acts with the exception of the *Oedipus*, which has six, and the *Phoenissae* which is deprived of clear structure as well as of Chorus and is therefore closer to the form of the *Alexandra*.

¹⁰ Cf. C. O. BRINK ed., *Horace on Poetry. The 'Ars Poetica'*. Cambridge 1971. xii–xiii.

¹¹ Cf. J. U. POWELL ed., *Collectanea Alexandrina*. Oxford 1925, repr. 1970. 27–8; H. J. METTE, *Neoptolemos von Parion*: RhM 123, 1980, 1–13.

¹² Cf. H. REICH, *Der Mimos I*. Berlin 1903. 417–615, esp. 417–423; H. WIEMKEN, *Der griechische Mimos. Dokumente zur Geschichte des antiken Volkstheaters*. Bremen 1972. 197–9.

doubtful the possibility of a similar presentation which would resemble mimic performances¹³.

The narrative form of the *Alexandra* suggests that it might well be a kind of *Lese* or *Rezitationsdrama*, but it would certainly be far-fetched to consider it as an epic narrative¹⁴. The abundant mythological references, which are conveyed in the form of a Messenger's speech, are not strange to the tragic myth and the ways in which similar references are incorporated in the dramatic action, while the historical details relating to Rome at Alex. 1226–80 and 1446–50 are now thought to be interpolations due to a later poet¹⁵. In addition to the peculiar to tragedy iambic metre of the *Alexandra*, one of the most significant arguments against its consideration as an epic poem derives from a tendency, which is detected in it, towards the maintenance of a kind of dramatic illusion. As happens in fifth-century tragedy¹⁶, the *Alexandra* of Lycophron is deprived of any sort of direct address or reference to its audience. The second person singular of the Messenger's speech at 1 (ἰστορεῖς), 3 (σύγγνωθι), 9 (κλύοις ἄν), 1469 (ἔταξας) and 1471 (ᾧτρυνας) is related to the vocatives δέσποτ' at 3, ᾧναξ at 9, and ἄναξ at 1467, as well as the σὸν at 19, the σοὶ at 1468 and the σὼν at 1473, and refers directly to Priam. Although the language of the Messenger in the prologue (1–30) as well as in the epilogue (1461–74) does not differ radically from that of Cassandra's prophecy, it would be erroneous to argue, as Hutchinson does¹⁷, that it exhibits the same obscurity. Verses 31–1460 are clearly marked by the poet's intention to imitate the obscurity of a prophetic utterance¹⁸, whereas the content of 1–30 and 1461–74 is relatively intelligible. The addresses to Priam as well as the stylistic differences between the language of the Messenger and that of Cassandra reflect a demand which is made upon the audience's imagination so as to construct a new reality dominated by the dramatic illusion¹⁹. This is also indicated by the poet's obvious eagerness to make clear that the report of Cassandra's prophecy is not addressed to the audience but to Priam. It is remarkable that Lycophron's intentions are made clear twice: firstly in the prologue, when the Messenger says that κλύοις ἄν,

¹³ Cf. E. FANTHAM, *Mime. The Missing Link in Roman Literary History*: CW 82, 1989, 153–63. In P. Oxy. 1025, next to the name of Aurelius Euripas, a mime performer, there is the name of a certain Aurelius Sarapas, who is referred to as a Homerist. Although it is not clear what is meant by that term, it is by no means unlikely that reference is made to mimic presentations of scenes from Homer (so CSAPO and SLATER [n. 6] 171), rather than to the traditional Homeric rhapsodic performances. It is worth noting that a histrionic presentation of the *Alexandra*, despite its generic distance from the mime, would not be much different in style and content.

¹⁴ Cf. FUSILLO (n. 1) 495–7.

¹⁵ As has been persuasively argued by S. WEST, *Lycophron Italicised*: JHS 104, 1984, 127–51.

¹⁶ Cf. D. M. BAIN, *Audience Address in Greek Tragedy*: CQ n.s. 25, 1975, 13–25; O. TAPLIN, *Greek Tragedy in Action*. London 1978. 187 n. 5; O. TAPLIN, *Fifth-Century Tragedy and Comedy. A Synkrisis*: JHS 106, 1986, 163–74.

¹⁷ Cf. HUTCHINSON (n. 3) 258 n. 71; see also WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (n. 1) 147 n. 2.

¹⁸ Cf. S. WEST, *Notes on the Text of Lycophron*: CQ n.s. 33, 1983, 114–35, esp. 115; for the narration through prophecy see HENZEL (n. 1) *passim*.

¹⁹ By contrast, in both archaic and Hellenistic epic the opening words of the poem shed light upon the act of narration itself emphasizing thus the role of the narrator as such. This type of self-referentiality not only dissolves any sort of dramatic illusion, but also presupposes a kind of self-conscious involvement of the audience in the narration process. Cf. S. GOLDHILL, *The Poet's Voice. Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature*. Cambridge 1991. 287, 289, 292.

ῥῶναξ, κἀναπεμπάζων φρενὶ / πυκνῇ διοίχκει δυσφάτους αἰνιγμάτων / οἶμας τυλίσσω
 at 9–11, and secondly in the epilogue, when the same person says at 1467–71 ἐγὼ δὲ
 λοξὸν ἦλθον ἀγγέλλων, ἄναξ, / σοὶ τόνδε μῦθον παρθένου φοιβαστρίας, / ἐπεὶ μ'
 ἔταξας φύλακα λαΐνου στέγης / καὶ πάντα φράζειν κἀναπεμπάζειν λόγον. / ἐτητύμως
 ἄπορρον ὄτρυνας τρόχιν.

On the contrary, audience address is one of the techniques adopted by Greek epic so as to diminish the distance between the narrator and the hearer, and make the latter even more emotionally involved in the action²⁰. Instances of the phenomenon occur in Homer's *Iliad* 3,392–4, 4,223–5, 4,429–31, 5,85–6, 15,697–8 and 17,366–7²¹ as well as in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 1,725–6, 1,765–7, 2,171–4, 3,1265–7, 4,238–40, 4,428–9, 4,927–8 and 4,997²². What is thus brought to the foreground of the narrative is not so much the described action as a narcissistic tendency of the epic poem to lay stress on the narration process, to re-define the narrator and the audience as such, to remind the latter of their role as recipients and not as participants. Audience address is an invitation to emotional participation whose self-referential character results in a kind of awareness on the part of the audience that, despite its ostensible emotional impact, negates any sort of emotional involvement²³. By contrast, the lack of similar occurrences from the *Alexandra* not only safeguards a kind of dramatic illusion, which is peculiar to tragedy, but also suggests the absence of the generic self-awareness which is so blatantly manifested in epic.

That the *Alexandra* may have been primarily intended for reading has always been a possibility which could not be easily denied. However, Lycophron's attempts to create the kind of illusory atmosphere, which normally emerges from tragic plays intended for performance, suggest that the *Alexandra* must be something other than a mere *Lesedrama* whose narrative structure would bring it closer to the genre of epic. Its compositional technique indicates that what would be required in its potential presentation to the public in order to preserve the links between the narrator and the audience, which in tragedy are maintained through the production of a fictitious reality greatly assisted by the actors' movements and in epic by mediating elements

²⁰ Cf. [Long.], *Subl.* 26. Whether this type of emotional involvement of the audience in the described action is actually achieved or not is a question which should be addressed separately.

²¹ Cf. A. PARRY, *Language and Characterization in Homer*: HSCIP 76, 1972, 9–22; E. BLOCK, *The Narrator Speaks. Apostrophe in Homer and Virgil*: TAPhA 122, 1982, 12–5; I. J. F. DE JONG, *Narrators and Focalizers. The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*. Amsterdam 1987, 54–60; S. RICHARDSON, *The Homeric Narrator*. Nashville 1990, 174–8. Similar effects are achieved by the poet's apostrophe to an epic character as happens in Hom. Il. 16,20 16,787, Od. 14,55, 17,272, 17,380, 22,194. As is noted by M. FERNANDEZ-GALIANO (ad Hom. Od. 17,272), 'apostrophe is one of the special poetic devices Homer selected (was it in the tradition already, or his own contribution?) for heightening his audience's interest and sympathy for some of his favourite characters'.

²² Cf. C. S. BYRE, *The Narrator's Addresses to the Narratee in Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*: TAPhA 121, 1991, 215–27.

²³ This is precisely what is aimed at by Brecht's celebrated *Verfremdungseffekt* in which audience address is regarded as a means of avoiding the identification of the spectators with characters, who have heroic power over their lives or suffer, as well as the suspension of reasonable thinking which comes as a result of increased emotionalism. Cf. K. A. DICKSON, *Towards Utopia. A Study of Brecht*. Oxford 1978, 231.

such as audience address²⁴, is some kind of quasi-theatrical delivery²⁵. For this reason, the likelihood is that the Alexandra was a kind of Rezitationsdrama whose technique required recitation in public with appropriate use of theatrical intonation and gesticulation²⁶.

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²⁴ Cf. M. PFISTER, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*, trans. by J. Halliday of *Das Drama*. Cambridge 1988. 13, 70–71.

²⁵ It should be borne in mind that gesticulation was not entirely alien to the way in which epic poetry was presented to the public. In Plato's *Ion* (esp. 535c–e) it is implied that in the fourth century the rhapsodes' performances of the Homeric poems could hardly be distinguished from dramatic performances: an observation which suggests firstly that gesticulation was thought to be improper to the delivery of epic before the fourth century and secondly that the growing emphasis, which was placed by fourth-century theatrical aesthetics on the significance of dramatic movement, had been expanded not only into oratory, but also into the rhapsodic presentation of Homer (cf. Plato, *Laws* 3,701a).

²⁶ Bearing in mind that the differences between *Lesedrama* and *Rezitationsdrama* in terms of emotional impact and audience reception are practically imperceptible, it becomes obvious that the consideration of the Alexandra as a *Rezitationsdrama* and not as a *Lesedrama* can stand only as a tentative suggestion and not as firm conclusion.

PÉTER HAJDU

PRUDENTIUS PSYCHOMACHIA

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, who is usually regarded as the greatest Christian Latin poet, can be called the most important innovator of late Latin poetry¹ with right, too. From the viewpoint of literary genres, his most audacious and most influential experiment was the *Psychomachia*, which, on the one hand, challenged the most imposing traditional pagan genre: the epic, starting the Christian continuation of the gentlest line of ancient literary tradition; on the other hand, it founded a new literary genre, which was to become very popular in the Middle Ages, that of the pure allegorical poems.

With the domination of the romantic view that the allegory is something unpoetical, the work was to lose its popularity enjoyed through hundreds of years. Its importance in the history of literature was acknowledged also in the last century, but its esthetic evaluation was throughout low. Scholars of our century, however, are speaking about it with increasing appreciation.

What makes this work really interesting for today's readers is the multilevel-system of the significance. What maintains the continuous intellectual tension of the reader is the method that the text highlights different levels of significance at almost every moment. Greater structural units (complex allegories like the battle itself and the building of the church afterwards) have several meanings at the same time. On the other hand, different elements of the narrative progression highlight different aspects by turns but, of course, without any ordinary alternation. It is just natural that such a system cannot work as poetry unless the plot bearing the allegorical significances itself is well formed and vivid, too. That of the *Psychomachia* is.

Not to see that the text must be interpreted in different levels of significance simultaneously is likely to cause a low esthetic evaluation. If the existence of only one allegorical meaning was supposed, very many passages of the poem would have to remain resistant to the interpretation, making the poem seem full of meaningless, superfluous and disturbing elements.

¹ W. KIRSCH, *Die lateinische Versepeik des 4. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1989, 239.

Which are these different levels of the allegorical significance the plot relates to? Christian Gnilkka differentiates between a microcosmical and a macrocosmical level.² It is an archaic idea that a single human being can be regarded as a microcosm, the working of which is analogous to that of the state, the society or the whole world that means to that of a macrocosm. It is not the case in the *Psychomachia* that one of them recalls the other; it is neither the representation of a microcosm through which we get to know a macrocosm, nor inversely. It is a heroic narrative that relates to both of them at the same time, which would be, of course, impossible without an analogy also existing between them.

On the microcosmical level the epic represents, as it is shown by the title, the battle of the soul, the inner struggle of the human being. In the analysis of Wolfgang Kirsch, the macrocosmical level is broken down into several further levels.³ First of all, he separates a biblical level of significance, which is the level of world history at the same time: "It is evident in some passages that this biblical view must be seen also as that of the world history (the virtues originate from Juda, 383–385; *Superbia* is talking about the mankind as something belonging to her since Adam's Fall, 224–227), as something universal (*Luxuria* is coming *occiduis de mundi finibus*, 310), and something anthropological (The human being belongs to *Superbia* from his birth on, 216–219; *Avaritia* has so far defeated all men, 513–523)".⁴ From this point of view the Vices and the Virtues cease to be powers struggling in the human being: they are external and immortal powers whose battle field, on this level, is not a single man but the whole world.

The second level is that of church history. Church history is, of course, a part of world history, but when Jesus redeemed mankind and the world became closer to salvation, Church became the most important scene of world history. The text obviously shows many times that the story takes place after Jesus Christ.⁵ According to Kirsch, the battle is fought not only in the single human being and in the world but also in the Church within it. In my opinion, however, this is no *pugna in ecclesia* but a *pugna ecclesiae*: the Church is fighting against the Sins, which means against attacks coming from outside. Neither *veterum Cultura deorum* nor *Haeresis* can be parts of the Church (by no means from a catholic point of view), therefore the Church cannot be the battle field itself. Nevertheless, the *Psychomachia* has, no doubt, a level of Church history. *Libido* attacks servants and maids of God (line 56), *Avaritia* attacks the priests (501–508). The Church historical approach is evident both in the first and the last duels, in the battles against the Idolatry and the Heresy.

² In his very important early book: CHR. GNILKA, *Studien zur Psychomachie des Prudentius*, Wiesbaden 1963, 29ff. He has, however, admitted the existence of an eschatological dimension in a note of a later paper, too: CHR. GNILKA, *Interpretation frühchristlicher Literatur. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Prudentius*, in: *Impulse für die lateinische Lektüre*, Frankfurt a. M. 1979, 167, with a reference to a passage of W. STEIDLE, *Die dichterische Konzeption des Prudentius und das Gedicht contra Symmachum*, *Vig. Christ.* 25, 1971, 260ff.

³ W. KIRSCH (n. 1) 254ff.

⁴ W. KIRSCH (n. 1) 256.

⁵ For example: *Pudicitia* alludes to Mary's birth as something happened in the past, and *Sobrietas* terrifies *Luxuria*'s horses by the military sign of a cross (*vexillum crucis*).

In the *Psychmachia*, the Virtues kill the Sins. They do away with them for ever. *Libido* will be lying *semper prostrata* (line 54), and *Pudicitia* demonstrates that the battle can never start again by washing her sword clean and putting it on the altar of the church (98–108). However, it is a commonplace in the patristic literature that the struggle of the soul is permanent because the sins' attacks are returning again and again. This undeniable contradiction is one of the old problems of the interpretation. What Kirsch neglects is that the problem is not simply to make the work's attitude consistent to the patristic tradition; but also within the text itself of the epic, both conceptions appear. The tradition of the permanent struggle of the soul is represented by Prudentius both in the opening and final prayers:

*"O quotiens animam vitiorum peste repulsa
sensimus incaluisse Deo, quotiens tepefactum
caeleste ingenium post gaudia candida taetro
cessisse stomacho!"* (899–902)

It might be more appropriate if the duels were finished by the Sins' flight, which really happens in the case of some less important Sins accompanying either *Luxuria* or *Avaritia*. Of course, no epic can be written without someone being killed, but the contradiction is more important than it could be explained this way. According to Kirsch, it is only an eschatological level of the decisive battle at the history's end where this contradiction is not present, therefore, the Sins' final destruction must be interpreted on this level of significance.

What I think to be problematic in Kirsch's approach is the obscurity of the difference between the biblical level, which has a historical significance, and the eschatological one, which represents the end of history. If the world history, on the ground of biblical hints, seems to be a struggle between superhuman forces, Virtues and Sins, the narrative itself must seem to be the final battle of this long waged war. The final victory is the end of history. But any process and its end must be on the same level of significance. The epic, however, never represents the process. Merely the characters fighting the final battle refer in their speeches to the world history as to a range of antecedents of the present battle. *Pudicitia*, for instance, says in her triumphal speech that Judith's victory over Holofernes was a prefiguration of her present victory and *Libido* had lost her whole title to human being by Mary's birth. However, there is no ground to think that the actual story, that one character kills another, refers either to Judith's story or to Jesus' birth. The two biblical events and their typological interpretations point out, indeed, the eschatological level as the one where the story must be interpreted. Every biblical excerpt has such a function: they break the allegory of the soul's battle, and switch to a different level of significance.

On these grounds, there can be neither an independent biblical nor a world historical level of significance. Therefore the epic has three levels; that of the singular human being, that of Church history, and the eschatological one.

As it is stated above, the multilevel system of the allegorical significance is the most important feature and a considerable poetical innovation of the poem. Never-

theless, we can ask how full and coherent the significances on the different levels are. The significance of an allegorical poem can usually be so if the plot itself bearing the allegorical significance (or significances) is also well structured. If the passages of the plot are connected in an unorganical way, the allegory cannot be but a set of references without any full and coherent meaning. Theoretically, a reversed mechanism is also possible. The consistent allegorical meaning can create the coherence of the plot's seemingly disparate elements.

The following attempt at the interpretation of the work is based on the presupposition that there is some coherence in the composition of the epic, especially in its diegetic strategies. This must be stressed in advance because the *Psychomachia* is usually accused of want of such a coherence. It is said that the plot contains two main passages unconnected; the narrative of the battle and the description of the church have no connection, except that the construction of the church would be impossible without the previous battle.⁶ It is also said that the narrative of the battle is dissolved to separate single combats, which are something like a series of separate reliefs instead of a unique picture of a great, simultaneous battle; and the order of these single combats is also contingent: any of them could be omitted or exchanged for another one.⁷ The only exception would be the unity of last three single combats, which are cobuilt into a continuous sequence because *Avaritia* comes to pick up the valuables strewn by *Luxuria* and her followers, and *Avaritia*'s death makes the triumph of the Virtues possible, during which *Discordia* tries to assassinate *Concordia* leading the procession.⁸ Step-up is said to be the only organizing feature: increasingly long and complicated scenes follow each other every time.⁹

The only structural feature that suggests an ideological unity in the composition is said to be the framework technique: the epic is framed by two prayers to Christ; the battle scenes are framed by two single combats of *Fides*, one against *veterum Cultura deorum*, one against *Heresis*, and this frame is connected to the opening words of the preface, too: *senex fidelis*; inside the preface, the story of the war against the kings is framed by two exegetical passages.¹⁰

On the other hand some scholars speak about the symmetrical structure of the work. Macklin Smith thinks that a work that has two different parts has a balanced structure, though its symmetry, which imitates divine perfection, is not perfect if the parts are not of similar length. According to Georgia Nugent, the division of the plot into the battle and the church building is insignificant because it disregards the distinction between the triumphal ceremony with the speeches of *Concordia* and *Fides*, and the church building itself. What is significant, however, is the perfect symmetry of eleven passages, because the three long central passages are framed by four and

⁶ KIRSCH (n. 1) 246. This and the following ideas (except that of the step-up) are very widespread. I refer to places of the cited wordings.

⁷ KIRSCH (n. 1) 248.

⁸ GNILKA 1963 (n. 2) 38f.

⁹ GNILKA 1963 *ibid.*

¹⁰ KIRSCH (n. 1) 245ff.

four shorter ones.¹¹ These theories of symmetry, of course, also emphasize that the passages of the *Psychomachia* are disparate, suggesting a symmetry built of disparate build-stones.

Before discussing the idea that is supposed to give coherence to the plot, I would like to draw the attention to another feature that is to make a unity of the different parts; that is the system of the returning motives.

In the first single combat, it is characteristic of the virtue (*Fides*) that she is fiery. The fighting spirit of hers is described as follows: *repentinus laudis calor ad nova fervens proelia* (24–25), and she dresses the martyrs in *ardens ostrum* at the end of the scene (39). In the following single combat, it is the vice, the *Libido* that will be fiery. Her weapon is a *picea ardenti sulpure pinus* (43), she is a *furia flagrans* (46).¹²

Pudicitia cannot be wounded because this *provida virtus* is clad in armour (125–7). In a later passage, *Fraus* will be said *praescia belli* (260), but her foresight will fail; it is to destroy somebody from her own army.

It can be regarded as a part of this system that some motives of the Biblical stories referred to in the speeches will return in the narrative; what has been said will happen, too. *Pudicitia* having killed *Libido* refers to Judith's story who cut off the head of the hostile king (*cervix Holofernis caesa* 60–61). In the second single combat from here, *Spes* will cut off *Superbia*'s head (*caput orantis flexa cervice resectum eripit* 282–283). There is an eye-catching line in *Superbia*'s speech, a hexameter containing nothing but five abusing adjectives (229). *Spes* having killed *Superbia* refers to the story of the haughty Goliath, and she describes the giant in a line that contains nothing but five abusive adjectives (295). It seems to be probable that the motive of the stone killing Goliath returns in the next combat, in which *Sobrietas* smashes *Luxuria* by a stone, though the first one is a *lapillus*, the other a *silex molaris*. (Nevertheless, this millstone-like rock smashes only the nearest parts to the mouth.)

So there is, apart from the system of frames, another system suggesting the unity of the text and that of the intellectual structure.

The unity of the plot, however, can be perceived if we notice that the context of the soul's permanent struggle against the vices, suggested by the opening and final prayers, is but a conventional pretent; Prudentius represents the ideal way of the soul's struggle: the hard progress of a human being to perfection.¹³ The eschatologi-

¹¹ M. SMITH, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: A reexamination*, Princeton 1976, 120f.; S. G. NUGENT, *Allegory and Poetics: The Structure and Imagery of Prudentius' "Psychomachia"*, Studien zur kl. Phil. 14, Frankfurt a. M.–Bern etc. 1985, 66.

¹² The return of the fire motive is included in the comments of R. HANNA, *The Sources and the Art of Prudentius' Psychomachia*. Cl. Phil. 72, 1977, 111f, though what he emphasizes is the inversion of the suggested source, so, according to him, it is important as a repetition of an external text and not as a repetition of a prior motive of the same text.

¹³ The scholarly literature usually denies that the sequence of battles has any importance. M. SMITH (n. 11) 125 for example says: "But the order of battle is chaotic. No attempt to relate the particular sequence of battles to a larger psychological process is convincing." R. HANNA's (n. 12) conception is similar to mine, apart from his stress on intellect: "The poem moves with a controlled progress – from direct action designed to control the senses vigorously... through a rational control of physis processes to a suprarational concord which accepts God's way automatically." (p. 113)

cal level is not the only one where the contradiction of the patristic tradition and the *Psychomachia*'s conception can be explained; it can be so on the level of the singular human being, too. The struggle is continual, in general; the vices re-attack the believer again and again. The epic, however, describes the optimal way of this struggle where the soul steps on a higher degree every time without any deviation or relapse, and it reaches perfection at the end. It is what makes the vices' extinction possible.

It is true that an image of a great simultaneous battle does not arise, because the single combats really follow each other while the soul makes its progress. The first vices it faces are easy to overcome, but it has to extirpate increasingly permeated vices that are increasingly hard to recognize¹⁴ and defeat.

The first combat, the defeat of Idolatry, is in fact a simple choice between pagan religion and Christianity; it is the *sine qua non* for every combat that follows, so it is no more than the starting point of a faithful's progress. Then follows the termination of bodily desire and tempers (*Libido* and *Ira*), which is just natural for a Christian longing for a pure life.

What begins with *Superbia*'s appearance is the battle against vices that totally permeate the human social life, the Christian's attempt at breaking free from the conditions of living in the society. Idolatry, bodily desire, anger, and violence are apparent and unambiguous vices. *Superbia*'s name and epical appearance also suggest that she is a cardinal sin. From her speech, however, it will be clear that this extreme form is not her only one. She has had humanity under her rule since it left Paradise (224–227), as well as each individual since their birth. Her enemies are *Mens humilis* and, which is more important, *Spes, edita cuius / et suspensa ab humo est opulentia divite regno* (202–3) that means whose richness is in the heaven that means who is the hope of a heavenly richness. She hates them because they make people idle in this world through their vain promises. Therefore *Superbia* is not merely haughtiness, but every ambition, every effort of social rise, the result of which is usually the activity in the social life of the human being, so which, according to her, sustain society. The believer, who aspires to perfection, has to break with all this; he must not care about the world. It is just natural in an epic world that the poetic vision represents merely the most striking phenomena of this attitude. In the *Psychomachia* the acting vices are leaders, the protagonists of their part; there is an army behind them, though no details are reported of this. This is the epic representation of the idea that the singular vices signify whole phenomena, of which they are the extreme examples.

In the case of *Luxuria*, there is no explicit allusion at such a generalized meaning. The sin herself makes no speech here. Considering, however, that she has a success without precedent, making the majority of virtues' army change over her side, we have to conclude that to go in a golden coach encrusted with jewels is not the only way of being seduced by *Luxuria*. I dare suppose that to defeat *Luxuria* also means to break with something generally accepted; it can mean not to seek enjoyment in things like a good meal or drink, beautiful clothes and pretty objects. If it is

¹⁴ NUGENT's whole conception (n. 11) is based on the difficulty of recognizing a vice.

so, the total defeat of *Luxuria*'s seduction must be asceticism, which would really be suited to the way of thinking of Prudentius' age.

In *Avaritia*'s case, this double nature, which was to be guessed from the significance of *Luxuria*, is apparent in the epic action, too. Seeing that she cannot have any success in her extreme form, she suddenly changes it to a moderate one, and she also has a new name: *Frugi, parce cui vivere cordi est et servare suum* (554–555). Though her action is still the same, she says that it means taking care of her children. In her speech, she says, as *Superbia* did, that her power on men has been unlimited until now (511–525). This implies that she can seduce anybody in her moderate form, that in fact means camouflaging the real one, and a great sin is hidden behind some seemingly honest behaviour. It is the case again that the soul has to face something that people regard natural in the social life and therefore are impregnated with.

We can understand why it is the last single combat of the battle if we interpret *Operatio*'s description by means of the biblical quotation.

*"Omne onus ex umeris reiecerat, omnibus ibat
nudata induviis, multo et se fasce levarat,
olim divitiis gravibusque oppressa talentis
libera nunc miserando inopum quos larga benigne
foverat effundens patrium bene prodiga census.
iam loculos ditata fide spectabat inanes
aeternam numerans redituro fenore summam."* (577–583)

The description quotes the story of the rich youth (Matthew 19.16–30; Marc 10.17–31; Luke 18.18–30¹⁵). The youth asks Jesus what else he should do if he has always kept the Commandments. Jesus says, "*si vis perfectus esse vade vende quae habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo et veni sequere me.*" The youth leaves sadly, and in the end Jesus says to the disciples: "*omnis qui reliquit domum vel fratres aut sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit.*" As a consequence, *Operatio* is like a rich youth who has obeyed Jesus' words and is already counting his treasure in heaven and its interests. The story, however, makes it also evident that this is the last step towards perfection, and that is why, in the epic, the combat against *Avaritia* must be the last one of the human soul seeking the way of perfection. The soul's struggle can end up only by dispensing the wealth and the total retirement from social life.

On the virtues' triumphal march, however, it turns out that it was a premature jubilation; there remained one danger even for the purified soul – some heresy can entrap it.

After *Haeresis*' defeat, *Concordia* gives a speech, a hymn of peace in the virtues' camp. The word *pax* not only means the calmness reached, but also is a paraphrase of love instead of the word *caritas* that is impossible to put in a hexameter.¹⁶

¹⁵ I will quote the Vulgate version of Matthew.

¹⁶ GNILKA 1963 (n. 2) 41ff.

Love is the greatest one of Christian virtues, nevertheless it did not participate in the battle. Its reason is not that a struggle is totally alien to it, or that there is no single vice that could have opposed to it; the reason is that it is only the soul that has already defeated all the vices that love can fill. Love is the synthesis of virtues and the reward for the struggle. It is not a want of struggle, it is the achieved harmony.

Though the purpose of the battle was not to make it possible for the church to be constructed, *Fides* says that the battle receives its reason from this construction retrospectively (816–819). According to the description of the virtues' assembly, the virtues are parts of the soul (740–745). The walls of Wisdom's church are made of various kinds of gems, and according to the final prayer, these gems are the virtues themselves: *Virtutum gemmas componat sede piata* (911). So in the man that is purified and elevated to love, the soul is built into church that means into Christ's home.¹⁷ This is the state of the Christian's final perfection.

What has been said so far seems to be alright but it is worth having a look at how a human being can follow this way to perfection. Not without divine support, of course. The epic suggests in some places that in his struggle he is supported by Christ. The exegetic passage of the *Praefatio* explains Abraham's 318 slaves as a symbol of divine support. According to Ambrose, 318 is the sum of a *T*, which is the Greek number of 300, but also the sign of the cross, and *IH*, which are 18 and the two first letters of Christ's name in Greek; and that is why the number of the slaves means that Abraham has won not by his mighty army, but by the merit of his faith.¹⁸ Consequently, the slaves' number attaches the divine support to Christ's person. This is also stressed by the opening and final prayers. At the end of the battle, the virtues feel that Christ is delighted to see their victory (640–643). There is a simile connecting their festal march with the festival of the Jews after crossing the Red Sea (640–643). As stated, the *tertium comparationis* is the act of singing, but the whole situation seems to be similar. These two victories of the Old Testament (that of Abraham over the kings and that of the Jews over the Egyptians) make a frame of the main battle, and both are typological signs of the very victory. Abraham's story suggests the importance of divine support, the second one stresses that the victory is nothing but God's act.¹⁹

All these allusions are situated around (either before or after) the allegorical main plot. There is, however, another feature, which is inside the main plot, being a part of its texture, and which is continuously indicating (and making us realize) the divine support. This feature is the *talio*. It is an issue of Christian Gniska's researches that the principle of *talio* permeates the allegorical main plot and has a basic influence on its scenic representation.²⁰ He was looking for a solution to the old problem of the interpretation, that of the awful scenes. Many scholars regarded these awful scenes as contradictory to Christian poetry, and the brutality by which the virtues kill their enemies as incompatible with the virtues' Christian character. According to

¹⁷ *Sapientia* is a usual name of the Son.

¹⁸ Ambrosius, *De Abraham* 1,3,15. (I 287. F)

¹⁹ Chr. GNILKA, *Ein Zeugnis doppelchörigen Gesangs bei Prudentius*. *JbAC* 30, 1987, 62.

²⁰ GNILKA 1963 (n. 2) 47ff.

Gnilka's book, the solution is the *talio*, the motive of retribution. Though he withdrew this conception of his own in 1979 and suggested that there was an ancient and accepted tradition of awful scenes which Prudentius had not rejected but made use of²¹, he could not, of course, withdraw the idea that the principle of *talio* has an important role in the *Psychomachia*'s scenic representation, for this issue was based on a detailed analysis of the scenes themselves. However, he, even in the first version, did not ask what function the principle of *talio* has in the whole ideological structure of the poem. Without this question it would seem that the *talio* had no function but it was the purpose itself; this would mean that the *talio* was the ideological centre of the epic's world view. The *talio*, being a primordial way of legislation which ordains that the punishment should be identical with the crime either in a concrete or in a metaphorical or in a metonymical way, stresses the divine origin of law and order. It can be the centre of a world view, in which the effectiveness of divine justice is complete. As for the levels of significance in *Psychomachia*, this is possible on the eschatological level, maybe on the ecclesiastical level too, but such a central importance of the *talio* is totally impossible on the level of the singular human being, which seems to be the most important one on the basis of the title, of the exegetical parts of the *Praefatio* and of the opening and final prayers. Consequently, we must seek the function of the *talio*. And its function is to indicate and to make us realize continuously that the singular human being is able to reach perfection with divine support, and only with divine support.

It can be seen now that the allegorical meaning of the soul's struggle covers the epic's plot completely and it gives complete and coherent significance both to each separate element of the plot and to its whole progress. It is worth examining whether it does so to the two other levels of significance, too.

On the ecclesiastical level, there is a kind of progress from past towards the Church's increasingly topical questions. In the first scene, *Fides* possesses the special features of martyrs. She is ambitious, and she loves to challenge danger. Her followers are martyrs, too.²² It looks as if it were happening in the remote past of Church history. Her enemy is called The Cult of *Ancient* Gods. By the time the *Psychomachia* was written – although pagan religion had not completely ceased – it had not been able to challenge the supremacy of Christianity for a long time. Julian's days – even Symmachus' ones too, no doubt – had gone for ever. The last single combat, however, attached a real topical question, that of the heresies. Problems of bodily desire were already dealt with by Paul's letters, but it took a long time for the clergy's relation with *Avaritia* to become a problem. As a consequence, a general tendency of temporal progress from past to present can be seen in the sequence of battle scenes.

The Virtues' triumphal march seems to refer to double choir singing, usual in liturgy of Prudentius' age. This way of singing expresses and strengthens the congregation's unity, which is especially represented by the fact that it is *Concordia* who

²¹ GNILKA 1979 (n. 2) 156–9. About this tradition cf. M. FUHRMANN, Die Funktion grausiger und ekelhafter Motive in der lateinischen Dichtung. Die nicht mehr schönen Künste. München 1968, 23–66.

²² GNILKA 1963 (n. 2) 32.

leads the march.²³ Accordingly, the festival does have a significance on this level, and it might continue the progress in time, too. However, the construction of the church seems to be a completely new vision of the Church. It would be difficult to find an explanation to any temporal sequence of the vision of Church as an army and as the house of God, especially because the last one is as old as Christianity itself.

On this level of significance, therefore, most elements of the plot (maybe all of them) have a meaning, but the whole progress of the plot does not have a complete meaning. At most, it is in the battle scenes that there is some coherence between the singular elements of the plot.

On the eschatological level, the sequence of the single combats cannot be explained. A great simultaneous battle would be more appropriate here. Neither the festival march nor the virtues' assembly has any important allegorical meaning. The construction of the church, however, is in very strong sequential connection with the previous battle, because the church, on this level, is identical with the new Jerusalem of John's Apocalypse. Therefore, the plot as a whole has a meaning on this level, but this meaning is rather incomplete and vaguely explained.

I can summarize my issues as follows: what is the *Psychomachia*'s most important feature from the point of view of poetics – and its important poetic innovation, too – is the simultaneity or alternation of different levels of significance, nevertheless the microcosmic level, the allegory of the soul's battle referred to in the title is of primary importance. On this level, the text has a continuous and complete allegorical significance. From the point of view of this allegorical meaning, the plot is by no means fragmentary; on the contrary, it is consistent and linearly progressive. It narrates the Christian soul's way to perfection from one end to the other, laying a great emphasis on the idea that this way is passable but with God's support.

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²³ GNILKA 1987 (n. 19) 58–73

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THE MYTH OF THE STONE HEAVEN IN EURASIA

As is well known, the myth of the stone heaven has been preserved by the Ancient Indo-European peoples in their linguistic evidence and religion most distinctly. According to their belief, the heaven represented a stone roof hovering over the earth, while its edges and those of the earth were touching or clashing together from time to time.¹ The most important linguistic data are the followings: Old Indian *aśman-*, Avestan *asman-* ‘stone, heaven, firmament’, Greek ἄκμων· ὁ οὐρανός ‘stone, anvil, heaven’ (Hesychius), ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου πατὴρ Ἄκμων ἐκαλεῖτο ‘the father of Kronos was called Akmon (= stone heaven)’ (Eustathius, 1150, 2, 59), Lithuanian *Akmo* ‘name of a god’ = Lithuanian *akmũ* ‘stone’, Gothic *himins* < **kemenō-* ‘stone, heaven, roof’ (> Modern High German *Himmel*, English *heaven*).²

The myth of the stone heaven can most completely be restored on the basis of the Ṛg-Veda. Their traces, however, can also be pointed out even with the Iranians, Armenians, Germans, Greeks and the Baltic peoples. Very likely, the idea of the stone heaven goes back still to the Palaeolithic Age, when the *Homo Primigenius*, living in caves, transmitted his microcosmos on the macrocosmos of the world. In particular speaks the semantic structure of Old Indian *aśman-* ‘stone, rock, heaven’ for such an assumption, inasmuch as it has the meaning ‘heaven and earth’ in dual (properly ‘two stones’ = ‘stone ground and stone roof’). Very early, in any case before the rise of the idea of the bright heaven (**Dīēus* > Ζεύς), the stone heaven became a deity, the husband of the Earth Mother, who has borne a giant stone child to him. The latter has broken the stone heaven to pieces (*i.e.* he killed his father), delivered the light and the water, shut in by the stone heaven, and fixed the firmament

¹ H. REICHELT: Der Steinerne Himmel. IF 32, 1913, 23–57.

² J. POKORNY: Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bern–München 1959. 22 and 557 wavers between the 0 grade of the root **ak-* and the root **kem-* ‘to cover’. FR. KLUGE: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.¹¹ (Bearb. von A. GÖTZE). Berlin–Leipzig 1934. 249 and H. REICHELT: op. cit. 25 derive it from the root **ak-*, while S. FEIST: Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache.³ Leiden 1939. 256 connects it to the root **kem-* ‘to cover’. The etymological sense ‘roof’ of Gothic *himins* does not exclude the concept of “the stone heaven”.

broken in pieces. This giant child was the god Indra, of whom verse 4–5 of hymn 113 in the 10th mandala of the R̥g-Veda says the following³:

*ávṛṣcad ádrim áva sasyádaḥ srjad ástabhnān nākam svapasyáyā prthúm | 4 |
ád indraḥ satrā táviṣīr apatyata váriyo dyāvāprthivī abādhata | 5 |*

“he split the rock, set free the rivers and fixed the firmament by his skill, because Indra disposed of full strength, he separated heaven and earth farther from one another.”

According to the version of the myth, preserved in the Avesta, the heaven removed from the earth away is supported by great mountains. Most important of them is the *Hara-* or the *Haraiti-*, of which the Middle Persian *Bundahišn* (chap. 12,1,5–6) says the following: *Harburz pērāmōn ēn zamīg ō āsmān padvast ēstēd, tērag ī Harburz ān kiš star ud māh ud xvaršēd padīš andar vartēnd padīš abāz āēnd*.⁴ “The Harburz (= *Hara-*) is fastened to the heaven around the earth. The peak of the Harburz is the way, the stars and the moon and the sun are going on it away, are coming on it back.” Accordingly, the Harburz appears as a huge mountain here, surrounding the earth, its peak secures the way for the sun, the moon and the stars to enter under the firmament, which is fixed firmly. Another passage of the *Bundahišn* (chap. 5,5) expounds this idea more precisely: *čē 180 rōzan ast pad xvarāsān ud 180 pad xvarbarān pad Harburz. xvaršēd har rōz pad rōzan-ē āyēd, pad rōzan-ē bē šavēd*.⁵ “For 180 windows are on the Harburz in the east, and 180 in the west. The sun enters through one window and goes out through one window every day”.

Later, the peak of the Harburz was regarded as a separate mountain, lying in the centre of the earth, cf. *Bundahišn* chap. 5,3: *kōf ī Harburz pērāmōn gēhān ud kōf ī Tērag mayān gēhān*.⁶ “the mountain Harburz is lying around the world, the mountain Tērag in the centre of the world”. Thus formed the world concept slowly according to which the heaven is supported by four great mountains at the edges of the earth and by the fifth one in the centre of it. As concerns the substance of the heaven, two theories developed with the Iranians. According to the one of them, to be read in the *Bundahišn* (chap. 12,1,6) *Ōsindām kōf ī ān az xvanāsēn az gōhr <i>āsmān*⁷ “the mountain Ōsindām is of red-hot iron, of the substance of the heaven”. Obviously, this view is connected with the idea of the light heaven. Besides, the earlier, more original concept was also preserved in the *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, chap. 80: *sang ī hamāg sangān saxtun ud hučihrtum*.⁸ “(the heaven) is stone which is the most solid and the most beautiful from among all the stones”.

By the opening of the stone heaven and the appearance of the sun, the moon and the stars, a new common term came into being in Indo-European, viz. the word **djēus* meaning ‘light heaven’. Besides there are some other terms of similar mean-

³ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 33.

⁴ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 47.

⁵ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 47.

⁶ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 48.

⁷ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 47.

⁸ H. REICHEL: op. cit. 50, note 3.

ing in several Indo-European languages. Thus, in Greek the word αἰθήρ 'upper atmosphere', formed from the root **aīdh-* 'to flame, to light'⁹, can be mentioned. In this case, the semantic development 'lighting, bright heaven' > 'air, atmosphere' took already place. With similar semantic change developed other terms in some Indo-European languages as well. In Indian and Iranian the word *vāyu-* 'wind' became the term for 'air', while in German the semantic development 'firmament as the roof of the earth' > 'air' took place in the following word: Indo-European **louptos* > Old Icelandic *lopt*, Gothic *luftus*, Modern High German *Luft*.¹⁰

In the folklore of the Finno-Ugrian and the Palaeo-Asiatic peoples, the concept of the 'hovering firm stone heaven' is connected with the migration of the birds of passage. According to the evidence, coming from Finnish folklore, the 'land of the birds' (*lintukoto*) is lying in the north. Where the horizon and the edge of the earth clash together, the firmament is hovering such low that is is only the *lintukotolaiset*, the 'inhabitants of the birds' land' (dwarfs or pigmies), who can live there and their wives raise (and put) their spinning wheels on the firmament at night.¹¹

The Voguls and Ostyaks are again familiar with the idea of "the bird-frequented southern land" (*morti mā*).¹² According to an Ostyak epic, at that place, where the river Ob becomes a narrow mountain brook, there can be found "a dark rocky mountain, a bright rocky mountain of the shape of crow-beak" (*vorŋa ŋol χan žɔpi ŋōsəŋ keu, al'ɔŋ keu*).¹³ The hero of the epic shoots the rocky mountain with a magic arrow, whose head is prepared from his own shin-bone. It is only in this manner that he can open the way for himself.¹⁴ As concerns "the hovering firm stone heaven", K. F. Karjalainen noted the following evidence for "the bird-frequented southern land": "The wind is moving the edge of the firmament here and there and the agile birds can only get across under it. The old man and the old woman of the bird frequented southern land (*mārtāməχ imē-ŋən ikē-ŋən*) resided just on the border, the coast of "the sea of life-giving water" and they ate the falled birds, killed by the edge of the firmament. They threw the bones into the life-giving water and the birds became again alive. The old man and the old woman had no child, they swam in the sea and thus they became young".¹⁵

In Hungarian, the term for 'air' is *levegő* today, but before the XIXth century the compound phrase *levegő ég* (*ég* meaning 'heaven') was used instead of it. The word *levegő* represents the dialectal variant of the form *lebegő* of the standard language.¹⁶ Accordingly, the phrase *levegő ég* meant 'hovering heaven'. Surely, on the basis of this evidence, we can presume that the Ancient Hungarians were also famil-

⁹ J. POKORNY: op. cit. 12.

¹⁰ J. POKORNY: op. cit. 691.

¹¹ Y. H. TOIVONEN: Pygmäen und Zugvögel. FUF 24, 1937, 94–95.

¹² B. MUNKÁCSI: Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény (Collection of Vogul Folklore). II. Budapest 1910. 291.

¹³ B. MUNKÁCSI: op. cit. 293.

¹⁴ B. MUNKÁCSI: loc. cit.

¹⁵ K. F. KARJALAINEN: Ostjakisches Wörterbuch. Bearb. u. herausg. von Y. H. TOIVONEN. Helsinki 1948. II. 1019.

¹⁶ A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára (Historico-etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language). II. Budapest 1970. 762.

iar with the concept of the 'hovering stone heaven'. It must have been popular even in Hungarian folklore because poets, like Petőfi, using popular traditions in their poetry, were also well acquainted with it. One may quote from Petőfi the following verse of his "Alföld" ("Plain"):

Messze, hol az ég a földet éri

"Far-away, where the heaven touches the earth"

Or from his epic "János vitéz" ("John Brave"):

India közepén még csak dombok vannak,
De aztán a dombok mindig magasabbak.
S mikor a két ország határát elérik,
Már akkor a hegyek felnyúlnak az égig.

"In the centre of India, there are still only hills,
But then the hills become higher and higher
And when they reach the frontier of the two lands,
Then the mountains already rise up to the heaven."

Elérték végtére tetejét a hegynek,
Itt már oly meleg volt, hogy csak éjjel mentek.
Lassacskán mehettek, nagy akadály volt ott,
Hát a csillagokban a ló meg-megbotlott.

"Lastly, (the husars) arrived at the peak of the
mountain.
Here was already such hot that they only
marched at night.
They could advance slowly, there was a great
impediment:
The horses stumbled over the stars of the
firmament."

The quoted verses clearly show that the traces of a world concept, based on the idea of "hovering stone heaven", were preserved both in Hungarian language and popular belief.

Beside the Voguls and Ostyaks, similar concepts can also be noticed with other Siberian peoples. According to the ideas of the Yenisey Ostyaks (Kets), there exists a hole, where the earth and the heaven are touching. Through it fly the migrating birds across to the sunny side, when the winter is approaching. If the birds are flying too high, then the heavenly fire burns them. According to another Yenisey Ostyak tale, the birds fly upwards there, where the heaven touches the earth and where a hole exists, through which a man can just only climb. Here, the migrating birds can only get across on foot.¹⁷

According to a Gilyak tale, one day a Gilyak man arrived at the opening of the north-eastern wind, there, where the earth and the heaven touch one another. There he observed that the heaven is hovering here and there over the earth and its edge rises some time above the earth, then later touches it. In that instant, when the edge of the heaven rose from the earth, through the opening which came into being in this way, wind broke in with great strength. Then groups of swans flew out at the edge of the earth through the opening, but the sky sank down and crushed those swans which could not yet fly through the opening between the heaven and the earth.¹⁸

¹⁷ Y. H. TOIVONEN: op. cit. 108–109.

¹⁸ Y. H. TOIVONEN: op. cit. 109–110.

In the belief of the Koryaks, for the winter the wild geese fly to another world through a little hole to be found far away on the heaven. According to another Koryak evidence, the wild geese fly to another world for the winter through a narrow split between rocks. They have to fly soundlessly because if one of them begin to gaggle, the rocks clash together and many geese perish.¹⁹

Lastly, according to the relation of the Chukch, there exists a continent beyond the ocean and beyond the continent again a sea. Beyond this sea is lying "the gate of the birds". There, the edge of the firm heaven sinks down and knocking against the earth it rebounds. The knocking against the earth of the heaven and its rebounding is lasting constantly. Beyond "the gate of the birds" is lying "the land of the birds". The migrating birds are flying there for the winter. However, the edge of the heaven sinks down such quickly that not every bird can fly through "the gate of the birds", but which are flying more slowly, they will be crushed by the edge of the sky. Therefore, feathers are flying constantly in the wind there.²⁰

These ideas and myths also arrived even at the peoples, inhabiting more to the south. Thus, the Chinese are also familiar with the idea of "the gate of the wild geese".²¹ The myths of the Finno-Ugrian tribes, dwelling on the northern territories of Eastern Europe, however, reached the Greeks, first of all by the mediation of the Scythians, living to the south of them and became preserved in the Greek and Latin geographic and ethnographic literature. Thus, Herodotus (IV.31) reports that according to the narration of the Scythians, the air is full of feathers in the north and, therefore, one cannot see and advance forward. Herodotus explains this phenomenon by the snow-fall. However, in the background of his report a myth is hidden according to which the clash of the earth and the hovering heaven crushes many migrating birds, flying through "the gate of the birds" and, therefore, the air is full of feathers there.²² The source of Herodotus for this myth was the Greek epic *Arimaspeia*, compiled by Aristéas in the VIIth century B.C. It was reproduced by him, however, in a strongly shortened form. Pliny the Elder borrowed again several details from Aristéas, which were disregarded by Herodotus. On the basis of these passages, the concepts concerning "the hovering firm heaven" of the Finno-Ugrian tribes, living to the north of the Scythians, can be restored in a much more precise manner.

These reports, going back to Aristéas, are the following, Pliny NH VII.10: *Sed iuxta eos qui sunt ad septentrionem versi, haut procul ab ipso Aquilonis exortu specuque eius dicto, quem locum Gesclithron appellant, produntur Arimaspi, quos diximus uno oculo in fronte media insignis. Quibus adsidue bellum circa metalla cum grypis ferarum volucris genere, quale vulgo traditur eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus et Arimaspis rapientibus, multi sed maxime illustres Herodotus et Aristéas Proconnesius scribunt* "But next to those who are living in the north, not far from the place, said to be the origin and the cave of the

¹⁹ Y. H. TOIVONEN: op. cit. 110.

²⁰ Y. H. TOIVONEN: op. cit. 111.

²¹ D. SINOR: Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e siècle. JA 1946-47. 44.

²² As it was already pointed out by D. SINOR: op. cit. 46. He also referred to the fact that the migrating birds are moulting just on this territory and an enormous mass of feathers is hovering in the air there.

northern wind, which is called *Gescithron*, are known the Arimaspi, notables – as we said – of having one eye in the middle of their foreheads. For the mines, they are constantly in war against the griffons, some winged species of wild animals, which according to popular belief, are digging up from underground shafts the gold, guarded both by these wild animals, and robbed by the Arimaspi with amazing avarice. Many people, but mostly the illustrious Herodotus and Aristéas Proconnesius are writing (about them)."

Pliny also writes in another passage (NH IV.88) about this country: ... *at per oram ad Tanaim usque Maeotae, a quibus lacus nomen accepit, ultimique a tergo eorum Arimaspi. Mox Ripaei montes et adsiduo nivis casu pinnarum similitudine Pterophoros appellata regio, pars mundi damnata a rerum natura et densa mersa caligine, neque in alio quam rigoris opere gelidisque Aquilonis conceptaculis* "... on the coast (*viz.* of the Maeotis) up to the Tanais (= the river Don) are dwelling the Maeotae from whom the sea received its name, and the last are the Arimaspi behind them. Then is lying the land *Pterophoros* ("Bearer of feathers"), called by the similarity of the constant snow-fall to the feathers, that part of the world, afflicted by the nature and covered with thick fog, having no part in anything other than in the activity of the severe frost and in the cold quarters of the northern wind."

The essence of Pliny's reports was also borrowed by Solinus (15, 20): *Arimaspi circa Gescithron positi uniuersa gens est. Ultra hos et Rhiphaeum iugum regio est assiduus obsessa nivibus: Pterophoron dicunt, quippe casus continuantium pruinarum quiddam ibi exprimit simile pinnarum* "The Arimaspi, situated around the *Gescithron*, are a one-eyed people. Beyond these and the Rhiphaean ridge is a country, covered constantly with snow: it is called *Pterophoros*, because the constant snow-fall shows something similar to the feathers."

According to the reference of Pliny the Elder, the quoted descriptions go back to the epic *Arimaspeia* of Aristéas, *i.e.* to the VIIth century B.C. and judging on the basis of the Iranian name *Arimaspi* (< Old Iranian **arima-spas*- 'single-eyed'), we can presume that they arrived at Aristéas by Scythian mediation. An important element of the description can be considered the place of origin of the northern wind, which also occurs in the discussed Finno-Ugrian and Palaeo-Asiatic myths.

A particular interest is represented by the mention of the place name *Gescithron*, which escaped the attention of scholarly research so far, even though it is of vital importance from the viewpoint of the whole report. This seemingly unintelligible name becomes at once clear and understandable if we take into consideration that it represents a name coming from a Greek source, obviously from the epic of Aristéas and that even its Greek ending was maintained by Pliny, when he transcribed it into Latin. If we restore the Greek spelling of this name, it offers the clue to the mythic idea. The name *Gescithron*, retranscribed into Greek, reflects the Greek phrase Γῆς κλειθρον, whose meaning is "the lock of the earth", *i.e.* it denotes the place, where "the hovering firm heaven" shuts together with the edge of the earth and crushes one part of the migrating birds with the feathers of which the air becomes full. This was the reason why Aristéas called this place *Πτεροφόρος "Bearer of feathers" (> Pliny *Pterophoros appellata regio*), because there can be hardly any

doubt that this Greek name goes back to his epic, written in Greek language. Consequently, by the mediation of the Scythians, Aristéas disposed of rather precise informations concerning the myth of "the hovering heaven" and about their ideas connected with the land of the Arctic Circle. Fortunately, Pliny the Elder had preserved his report for us.

The similar concepts of the Palaeo-Asiatic tribes, but perhaps even the ideas of the Finno-Ugrian peoples also arrived at China at a very early date. According to the kind information by Professor Ma Yong, from a grave, dated to the IIIrd century B.C., came to light the literary work entitled *Mu-t'ien-ts'i chuan* "History of Emperor *Mu*", which has been written after 970 B.C. This Emperor *Mu* was identified by Ma Yong with *Mu wang*, king of Chou, ruling from 1001 to 946 B.C. According to this romantic story, Emperor *Mu* made a great travel to the north-west. He started from *Lo-yang* and arrived through the *Kun-lun* (Altai mountains) up to the Black river (= Irtysh) and in the course of this journey he gathered a load of 100 carts, consisting of feathers, shed by the birds. Another Pre-Ts'in work, the *Shan hai jing*, mentions "the land of the one-eyed men", lying far-away in the north. Apparently, this report reflects the myth of the Arimaspi, while the *Chuang-ts'i* informs of "the land of the bald-headed men", which obviously corresponds to the Ὀργεμπαῖοι, described by Herodotus, but probably mentioned in the *Arimaspeia* of Aristéas as well.²³

Thus, we can state the knowledge of all these mythical peoples and the mythical world concept created by the Finno-Ugrian peoples arrived at China almost at the same time, as they became described in the epic of Aristéas.

As we can see, the idea of "the hovering stone heaven" fits a broad context of the history of civilization. On the basis of the evidence, discussed above, there can be hardly any doubt that the archaic Finno-Ugrian, Palaeo-Asiatic and the still earlier Indo-European myths permit us to presume the existence of a myth involving "the firm stone heaven" hovering over the earth and moving up and down. Obviously, this concept of a "hovering stone heaven" belongs to a very archaic layer of Finno-Ugrian mythology and religion and surely it is connected with the similar Indo-Iranian ideas. Therefore, it seems to be very likely that Hungarian *ég*, Finnish *sää*, Siryan *šined*, going back to a Proto-Finno-Ugrian form **säñe*, represents a borrowing from a Northern Iranian **sangi* 'stone, stone heaven' to be presumed on the basis of the passage, quoted above from the *Dādastān ī dēnīg*.

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²³ I thank very much Professor MA YONG for his informations.

LÁSZLÓ HAVAS

DIE REZEPTION DES FLORUS
BEI JOHANNES VON SALISBURY

In einer eben in Druck gehenden Studie (s. Festschrift für Prof. János Harmatta) habe ich versucht, Florus' Nachleben im Mittelalter nachzugehen und zu zeigen, daß der Chronikenschreiber Freculphus, im Gegensatz zu den Schlußfolgerungen in einer neulich erschienenen Arbeit von M. D. REEVE¹, im 9. Jh. Florus nicht nur über Iordanes, sondern wahrscheinlich auch direkt gekannt hat. Im weiteren meint der anerkannte englische Wissenschaftler in seiner oben erwähnten Arbeit, daß auch bei Johannes Saresberiensis², wie bei Freculphus, nur die Kenntnis des Iordanes nachweisbar sei und noch zu beweisen bleibe, ob der Bischof von Chartres Florus auch unvermittelt gekannt hat, obwohl der frühe englische Humanist in der Tat die Möglichkeit gehabt hat, Florus direkt zu verwenden, dessen Handschriften im 12. Jh. in Chartres sehr wohl verbreitet waren.³ Wir müssen zugeben, daß auch wir selbst, obwohl wir unsere Ergebnisse noch nicht veröffentlicht haben, weil wir unsere Untersuchungen noch nicht als abgeschlossen betrachtet haben – schon vor der Lektüre von REEVES Studie – zum Schluß gekommen sind, daß viele Stellen im *Polycraticus*, die WEBB auf Florus zurückgeführt hat, eher auf Iordanes zurückzuführen sind.

Zur Unterstützung der Auffassung, Johannes Saresberiensis⁴ habe eher Iordanes als Florus studiert, halten auch wir Pol. 5,3 (WEBB, I 285, 21) für die relevanteste Stelle, weil hier Johannes Saresberiensis genauso *Ianus bifrons* schreibt wie Iordanes

¹ M. D. REEVE, Freculf of Lisieux and Florus, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 19, 1989, S. 381–390.

² C. C. J. WEBB, John of Salisbury, London 1932 erwähnt, daß J. S. während seiner Arbeit an *Polycraticus* und *Metalogicon* die Bibliothek der Christ Church of Canterbury verwendet hat.

³ Die frühere, zu optimistische Meinung von CLERVAL versucht R. GIACONE zu mäßigen, der die kulturelle Bedeutung von Chartres in dieser Zeit als beschränkter betrachtet (*Masters, Books and Library at Chartres...*, *Vivarium*, 12, 1974, S. 30ff.), und der in J. S.' Nachlaß kein Florus-Manuskript registriert. – Hinsichtlich der organischen Weltauffassung wird Chartres' Bedeutung von T. STRUVE nicht geleugnet, sondern eher hervorgehoben: Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter, Stuttgart 1978, S. 126f.

⁴ In Zusammenhang mit J. S. empfiehlt sich weiterhin die Arbeit von C. C. J. WEBB, a. a. O., der sich mit J. S.' Studien, Bildung sowie Weltauffassung ausführlich beschäftigt. – Zu seiner Belesenheit s. noch: J. MARTIN, John of Salisbury as a Classical Scholar, in: *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by M. WILKS, Oxford, 1984, S. 179ff.

(Rom. 95 p 11 M), während in den Florus-Handschriften, in der **B**- wie auch in der **c**-Tradition, *lanus geminus* steht (1, 1/2/ 3). Weitere, offensichtlich mit der Iordanes-Tradition übereinstimmende Stellen sind folgende: In *Polycraticus* 4,11 (WEBB, I 272, 7) steht vor *revocandis* ein *de*, diese Variante ist auch nur in **I**, d. h. in Iordanes zu finden, denn in allen florianischen Manuskripten fällt die *praepositio* weg. In Pol. 6, 16 (WEBB II 43, 4) findet man genauso *incolis* und *quia virtus eorum* wie bei Iordanes, während an der entsprechenden florianischen Stelle in allen Kodices *accolis* bzw. *quippe* steht. Ebenfalls an dieser Stelle steht bei Johannes Saresberiensis (im weiteren: J. S.) und in **I** *cum mox*, während die **c**-Klasse der florianischen Handschriften *quae mox* und **B** *mox cum* enthält. Im gleichen Teil schreibt J. S. mit **I** übereinstimmend *humi*, während **B** das Wort wegläßt und in **c** entweder *humano* (**N**) oder *humo* (*cett.*, *praeter D: human*) vorkommt. *Polycraticus* fügt in 3, 10, wie bei **I**, vor *Hannibal* ein *si* ein, das **B** wegläßt, ein guter Teil der **c**-Tradition dafür hinter *Hannibal* transponiert (vgl. NPCrac.αηS). Bei J. S. in Pol. 6, 15 (WEBB II 40, 27) steht *inquit* nach *fiet*, was **I** entspricht, denn in den florianischen Handschriften steht *inquit* vor *fiet*. Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB, I 200, 27 sqq.) läßt *sepulchra regum sic vocant*, bei Florus vorhanden, genauso weg wie Iordanes. An der gleichen Stelle geben J. S. und Iordanes die Lesart *ibique*, während in den florianischen Kodices *ibi* zu finden ist. J. S. schreibt in Pol. 4, 11 (WEBB I 272, 7 sqq.) *adoptasse sibi populum videretur*, wie auch Iordanes, im Gegensatz zu *videretur populum adoptasse*, wie bei Florus. Diese Übereinstimmungen zwischen J. S. und Iordanes legen nahe, daß der Humanist aus dem 12. Jh. den Geschichtsschreiber aus dem 6. Jh. gekannt haben und dessen *Romana* beim Schreiben des *Polycraticus* direkt verwendet haben dürfte.

Das alles steht mit den oben erwähnten Ergebnissen von REEVE im Einklang, wir unsererseits könnten aber vielleicht bestimmen, welchen Typ Iordanes-Handschrift der Bischof von Chartres verwendet hat. In Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB, I 200, 27 sqq.) steht *resoluta est*, was nur in der sog. I. Klasse der Iordanes-Handschriften (*Primus ordo codicum* – ed. MOMMS. pp. LVI sqq.), und innerhalb dieser in *Monacensis Pollingensis* (ed. MOMMS. p. LVI) vorkommt, wie die Kollation von JAHN zeigt. Diese Handschrift stammt aus dem 12. Jh., ihre Tradition kann also in J. S.' Zeit verbreitet gewesen sein, dem vielleicht tatsächlich dieser Textus bekannt war. Die erwähnte Iordanes-Version hatte selbst auf die florianische Tradition Einfluß, denn auch in φ, einem der **c/e**-Manuskripte ist *resoluta est* zu finden, statt des sich aufgrund des Textrhythmus als richtig erweisenden *soluta est* der **Bc**-Tradition (Flor. 2,21/4, 11/11).

Nach all dem bisher Gesagten fällt besonders auf, daß J. S.' Text manchmal doch nicht mit Iordanes' Formulierung, sondern mit den florianischen Handschriften, unter diesen auch mit der **B**-, ab und zu mit der **c**-Tradition, übereinstimmt. *Polycraticus*-Stellen, die auf **B** hinweisen, sind folgende: In Pol. 4, 11 (WEBB, I 272, 7) nimmt J. S. *securi* in seinen Text auf, im Einklang mit **B**, denn **I**, wie auch Oros. 2,5,1, bringt *securique*, während die **c**-Tradition *et securi* (1, 3/9/ 5) enthält. In Pol. 2, 16 (WEBB, I 95, 21) steht *plausumque theatri sui*, was dem **B**-Textus (*plausum theatri sui*) viel näher steht als **c** (*theatri sui ... plausum*). Die angegebene Entscheidung ist deswegen so bedeutend, weil in Iordanes diese Aussage über Pompeius' Traum fehlt, d. h. sie der Bischof von Chartres entweder aus dem Florus oder aus

dem Lucanus gekannt haben kann (vgl. Phars. I, 133: *plausuque sui gaudere theatri*). J. S.' Formulierung könnte am ehesten als eine Kontamination des Lucanus- und des florianischen c-Textes betrachtet werden. Auch J. S.' Kenntnis der Aussage über M. Antonius und das Erbe des Sex. Pompeius (Pol. 8, 14 = WEBB, II 328, 24), die nicht nur bei Iordanes, sondern auch in der florianischen c-Tradition fehlt, weist auf die Verwendung der B-Version hin. Leider gibt es an dieser Stelle keine direkten Entsprechungen, was sich hier wohl daraus ergeben könnte, daß B an dieser Stelle ziemlich verdorben ist, und vielleicht J. S. hier in einer Fassung der a-Tradition eine andere Formulierung gelesen hat als die, welche jetzt in dem *codex Bambergensis* zu finden ist. Aufgrund all dessen wagen wir die Annahme zu riskieren, daß J. S. Florus nicht nur durch Iordanes vermittelt, sondern auch direkt, mittels einer mit B verwandten, nicht bis heute überlieferten Florus-Handschrift, Kenntnis von der ganzen florianischen a-Tradition gehabt haben mag.

Wenn wir aber damit rechnen dürfen, daß J. S. Florus auch unmittelbar kannte, dann ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit ziemlich groß, daß der Bischof von Chartres nicht nur den a-Textus, sondern auch die c-Tradition gelesen hat, die im 12. Jh. schon in breiteren Kreisen nördlich der Alpen verbreitet war. Auf die Kenntnis der c-Version können wir aus folgenden *Polycraticus*-Stellen schließen: In Pol. 6, 16 (WEBB II 43, 10) läßt J. S. *est* nach *facile* weg, diese Lösung fällt mit der Lesart der c-Handschriften zusammen. In Pol. 5, 3 (WEBB, I 285, 21) findet man *occupaverat*, was der florianischen c-Tradition entspricht, im Gegensatz zum *occuparat* der a-Tradition, obwohl dieses hinsichtlich des Prosarhythmus vorzuziehen wäre.

Naheliegend erscheint auch, daß J. S. einen bestimmten Typ der c-Tradition gekannt hat, d. h. eine e-Handschrift. Das unterstreicht auch die Tatsache, daß der Verwandtschaftskreis von Q, einem der ältesten e-Manuskripten, gerade mit Chartres verbunden ist, und daß die e-Tradition auch in Paris, seinem anderen Ausbildungsort, verbreitet gewesen sein kann, wovon ein Teil der frühen k-Kodices zeugt, auch wenn ihre heute bekannten Varianten erst später entstanden sind. Daß J. S. die e-Tradition tatsächlich gekannt hat, läßt sich durch folgendes beweisen.

In Pol. 4, 11 (WEBB, I 272, 7) formuliert der englische Humanist über Brutus folgenderweise: *liberos suos de revocandis in urbem regibus agere cognovisset*. Die hier verwendete Wortfolge weicht von der florianischen B- und c-Tradition ab, die schreiben: (*cum studere*) *in urbem regibus liberos suos comperisset* (1, 3/9/ 5). So formuliert auch Iordanes (118, p. 14, 23 M). Der Verfasser des *Polycraticus* folgt hier unverkennbar der charakteristischen Wortfolge der e-Kodices, in denen allen gleicherweise *liberos suos* (*suos* om. η) *revocandis in urbem regibus* steht, wie in J. S.' Text, der aber diesen e-Textus mit seiner I-Handschrift zu kontaminieren scheint, aus der er trotz der in großem Maße abweichenden Wortfolge die Präposition *de* übernimmt. Im gleichen Teil fügt J. S. vor *media contione* (bei Florus: *contione media*) ein *in* ein, das in I fehlt, aber in ZOΨ (+ FαηΤβ), d. h. in der k-Gruppe der e-Familie vorhanden ist. Es ist also möglich, daß diese Präposition aus einem k-Kodex in *Polycraticus* übernommen wurde, den J. S. noch in Paris gekannt oder sich verschafft hat. In Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB, I 201) liest man *citius an facilius*. *Facilius* ist aber nur aus manchen e-Handschriften bekannt (Ψ sowie φσEOMRμRegII.τMut.Gen.),

in **a** (folglich auch in **I**!) und **c** steht *felicus*. In Pol. 5, 3 schreibt J. S. *belli et pacis* (WEBB, II 285, 26) wie das noch in einigen **e**-Kodices zu finden ist (**HYQ**, **ψK**, sowie **FφσBod.αηTβδ**), in der **a**-und **c**-Tradition findet man *belli ac pacis*.

Wir müssen hier aber anmerken, daß J. S.' Text nicht nur Übereinstimmungen mit dem **e**-Textus, sondern gelegentlich auch mit **I** aufweist, was sich auch daraus ergeben könnte, daß sowohl J. S. als auch die **e**-Tradition mit Iordanes in Berührung kamen, wie wir das früher, im Zusammenhang mit den **e**-Kodices sowie den *codices recentiores* von **c**, mit mehreren Textstellen bewiesen haben. So findet man in Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB I 200, 27 sqq.) genauso *recepit* statt *recipit* von **Bc** wie einerseits in **I**, andererseits in **VφσσηVer.γTKδ**. Gelegentlich kommt außerdem vor, daß J. S., genauso wie der **e**-Textus, nur minimale Unterschiede zur **ac**-Tradition aufweist, was sich aus Stilisierungen, aber auch aus der ungenauen Auflösung von Abkürzungen ergeben könnte (s. z. B. die obige *ac-et* Entsprechung, die wohl von der Abkürzung & abzuleiten ist). Und dafür, daß J. S. den als Quelle verwendeten Text in der Tat öfters ändert, können wir auch zahlreiche Beispiele bringen. Hier wollen wir aber nur zur Illustration einige anführen: In Pol. 5, 3 (WEBB I 285, 21) steht *sacra* statt *secreta* wie bei Florus und Iordanes. An der gleichen Stelle schreibt J. S. *consecratus* statt *dedit* und nimmt in seinen Text *quo in honore* auf. In Pol. 4, 11 (WEBB I 272, 7) modifiziert er die Wortfolge von Florus und Iordanes *contione media* zu *media contione*. In Pol. 6, 16 (WEBB II 43, 4) läßt er *Alpium* und *eis* (**Flor.I**) weg, schreibt *primo impetu* statt *primus impetus* und transponiert *est* hinter *maior*, obwohl es in **Flor.I** nach *virorum* steht. Er fügt nach *Alpina* ein *enim* ein, modifiziert *quiddam* zu *aliquid* und *caluere* zu *incaluerint*. In Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB I 201, 13) verwendet der Bischof von Chartres die Wortfolge *duo modii anulorum*, obwohl bei Florus *modii duo anulorum* steht. An der gleichen Stelle fügt er *sunt* nach *missi* ein, das beim römischen Geschichtsschreiber nicht vorhanden ist. Im selben *caput* bringt er *ad columpnas Herculis* statt der florianischen Formulierung *in Herculis columnas* (1, 22/2, 6/ 33). In Pol. 7, 25 (WEBB II 218, 19) schreibt er *ascivit gladium*, bestimmt dem florianischen *mortem ... accivit* (2, 13/4, 2/ 71) folgend. In Pol. 6, 15 (WEBB II 40, 27) transponiert J. S. *inquit* hinter *Vos*, während Florus und Iordanes es nach *qui estis* stellen (2, 26/4, 12/ 13). In Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB I 200, 27 sqq.) schreibt J. S. *prae-notavit* an der Stelle, wo **I** *cognovit*, **c** *vidit* und **B** *quid et* enthält (2, 21/4, 11/ 10). All das spricht dafür, daß J. S. den Florus- und Iordanes-Text nicht dienerisch abgeschrieben, sondern seinem Geschmack, dem Kontext und seinem verfassersischen Ziel entsprechend geändert hat. Zugleich ist auch nicht unvorstellbar, daß eine eingehendere Untersuchung des J. S., Florus- und Iordanes-Textes auch an solchen Stellen eine Hinwendung des Bischofs von Chartres zu einer besonderen Florus- und Iordanes-Tradition nachweisen wird, wo die Forschung heute eine originelle J. S.-Formulierung vermutet.

Wie auch immer, aufgrund des bis jetzt Gesagten steht als Tatsache fest, daß J. S. Florus nicht nur Iordanes als Quelle verwendet, sondern ihn eventuell auch durch eine mit **B** verwandte Tradition gekannt hat und über einen, oder noch eher zwei **e**-Kodices verfügt hat, wo der eine der **k**-Gruppe angehört haben und der andere mit **Q** verwandt gewesen sein dürfte. J. S. hat seinen Text wahrscheinlich durch Ver-

schmelzung dieser voneinander mehr oder weniger abweichenden Varianten gestaltet, wie er vielleicht auch die Florus-Umformulierung bei Isidorus Hispalensis verwendet hat. In Pol. 3, 10 (WEBB I 200, 27 sqq.) scheinen J. S.' Worte *et mamillis venisque suis apponens aspides* einerseits den Florus/Iordanes-Text *admotisque ad venas serpentibus*, andererseits den Isidorus-Originaltext *hanc* (sc. *situlam*) *sibi Cleopatra adposuit* miteinander zu kontaminieren. Genauso wäre es wert, die Frage zu untersuchen, ob in manchen Fällen nicht Orosius der Vermittler des Florus für J. S. gewesen sein könnte, hat er den doch auch gekannt.

Florus hat J. S. nicht nur Beispiele zur Illustration seiner Geschichts- und Staatsauffassung geliefert, er hat auch zur Gestaltung seiner organischen Weltbetrachtung und Staatskonzeption bedeutend beigetragen, diese biologische Annäherungsweise ist ja im gesamten Lebenswerk des Bischofs von Chartres präsent. In dieser Hinsicht kann man sich nämlich nicht nur auf *Polycraticus* berufen, wie es meistens der Fall ist, sondern auf fast alle seine Arbeiten. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist auch der Brief, in dem J. S. erläutert: wie die Kraft der Glieder dem Kopf, so entstamme auch die Salvation (*salus*) aller Kirchen des Herrn der *sancta Romana ecclesia* (epist., 317). In J. S.' Augen ähnelt die ganze Kirche dem lebendigen menschlichen Körper, wo alle Körperteile ihre eigenen speziellen Funktionen haben (vgl. epist., 81). Aufgrund der göttlichen Bestimmung ist natürlich der Papst *caput omnium Ecclesiarum* (epist., 121), und wenn die Mitglieder der Kirche nicht fest zum Kopf halten, kann auch der Körper nicht unversehrt bleiben (epist., 312 – aus 1173). Es versteht sich von selbst, daß diese ganze Vorstellung nicht nur in der antiken organischen Anschauung wurzelt, sondern auch in der – übrigens auch in der Antike verwurzelten – mittelalterlichen Auffassung, nach der die Kirche eigentlich *membra Christi* ist (vgl. epist., 265 – aus 1168). Das erklärt, daß, nach dem *schisma* in der Kirche, *Christo iterum pro ecclesia patiente* (epist., 302). Die Kirchenspaltung selbst ist übrigens auch wie ein Schädling, dem man den Kopf zertreten muß, damit die eiternden Glieder mit absterben (epist., 281 – aus 1168), oder, wie er es in einem anderen Brief formuliert: *quae capiti schismatis confurebant, membra compereunt: eoque succiso corpus totum necesse est interire* (epist., 272, ed J. A. GILES II 180). Aber auch der Arzt der Kirche muß jedes Mittel ergreifen: das glühende Eisen genauso wie den Umschlag (epist., 254), das Wichtige ist: *Deus autem, qui iam incepit ecclesiam suam in capite consolari per misericordiam suam consolidabit et membra* (epist., 225 = GILES II 83)⁵.

Vor dem Hintergrund einer solchen Weltauffassung ist es selbstverständlich, daß sich J. S. auch den Staat wie einen lebenden Organismus vorstellt, den der Kopf, d. h. der König steuert, und wo, der Einrichtung des Staates in England entsprechend, dem Herz der königliche Rat (*senatus*), den Augen, Ohren und der Zunge die Friedensrichter und „Sheriffs“ (*iudices et praesides provinciarum*), der unbewaffneten bzw. bewaffneten Hand die Verwaltungsbeamten und die Soldaten (*officiales*,

⁵ J. S. beschäftigt sich auch oft mit der Erneuerung, z. B. mit der der Kirche nach dem Schisma. Zur zeitgenössischen Annäherung an die Frage vgl.: *Renaissance and Renewal in the 12th Century*, ed. by R. L. BENSON, G. CONSTABLE, C. D. LANHAM, Oxford 1982. Aus unserem Gesichtspunkt besonders wichtig: R. L. BENSON, *Political renovatio: Two Models from Roman Antiquity*, S. 339–386.

milites), dem Magen-Darm-Trakt die finanzielle Administration und den Beinen die Bauern und Handwerker entsprechen, die das Land aufrechterhalten (Pol. 5,2, 1 – GILES III 263)⁶. Diese Auffassung ist eigentlich nichts anderes, als die systematische Entwicklung der *fabula* von Menenius Agrippa, des berühmten antiken Märchens (vgl. Liv. 2,32, 8–12), das J. S. auch separat behandelt und auf eine von ihm Plutarch zugeschriebene *Institutio Traiani*⁷, eine bis heute sehr umstrittene Arbeit⁸, zurückzuführen versucht hat, die in der späten Antike unserer Beurteilung nach möglicherweise gerade unter Florus' Einfluß geschrieben und nicht bis heute überliefert wurde – eine lateinische apokryphe Schrift, die des größeren Ansehens willen nicht zufällig Plutarch zugeschrieben wurde, dessen auf Naturprinzipien beruhende Weltanschauung auch Florus bekannt sein muß, denn er schöpft daraus, teils zustimmend, teils widersprechend.⁹

Das alles spricht dafür, daß in J. S.' Lebenswerk nicht nur Florus' Textus weitergelebt hat, mittelbar oder unmittelbar, sondern auch die Auffassung des römischen Geschichtsschreibers, direkt oder vielleicht indirekt, aber jedenfalls in bedeutendem Maße modifiziert, wie es die Welt des 12. Jhs. erwartet hat.

Unter Berücksichtigung des eben Gesagten müssen wir M. D. REEVES Feststellung, der erste mittelalterliche Verfasser, dem die Kenntnis des Florus vollständig nachweisbar ist, sei Rahewinus (Ragewin), der in die Widmung seiner *Chronica* an Friedrich I., unvermittelt, einen von anderen mittelalterlichen Verfassern nicht zitierten Teil von Florus' *praefatio* einzufügen scheint, unbedingt nuancieren. Unsere Nachforschungen scheinen nahezulegen, daß auch schon Freculphus und Johannes von Salisbury, obwohl sie hauptsächlich Iordanes studiert haben, in bestimmtem Maße auch originale Florus-Handschriften gekannt haben. Es ist Aufgabe der weiteren Forschung, diese als Quelle dienende Tradition genauer zu untersuchen.

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⁶ Vgl. C. C. J. WEBB, a.a.O. S. 39f.

⁷ Vgl. H. LIEBESCHÜTZ, John of Salisbury and Pseudo-Plutarch, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 6, 1943, S. 33–39; zur Hypothese in dieser Arbeit s. die Kritik von A. MOMIGLIANO, a. a. O., 7, 1944, S. 189–190 mit H. LIEBESCHÜTZ 'Antwort a. a. O., S. 190. Später als Zusammenfassung s. H. LIEBESCHÜTZ, Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, London 1950, bes. S. 23ff. S. noch M. KERNER, Randbemerkungen zur *Institutio Traiani*, in: The World of John of Salisbury, ed. by M. WILKS, Oxford 1984, S. 203ff.

⁸ Vgl. z. B. M. KERNER, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Institutio Traiani*, DA, 32, 1976, S. 558–571; Natur u. Gesellschaft bei Johannes von Salisbury, in: Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverständnis des Mittelalters: Miscellanea Mediaevalia 12/1 Berlin–New York, 1979, S. 179–202; T. STRUVE, The Importance of the Organism in the Political Theory of John of Salisbury, in: The World of John of Salisbury, ed. by M. WILKS, Oxford 1984, S. 303ff.

⁹ Vgl. zu dieser Frage D. DESIDERI, La *Institutio Traiani*, Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di Filologia Classica 12, Genova 1958; W. ULLMANN, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* in the Later Middle Ages, in: Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben des Mittelalters: Festschrift für H. LÖWE, Köln–Wien 1973, S. 519–545. Zu Traianus' Nachleben im Mittelalter immer noch sehr aufschlußreich: G. PARIS, La légende de Trajan, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études ..., 35, 1878, S. 261–298.; später: P. RENUCCI, G. Paris et la légende de Trajan, Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 26, 1947, S. 1–10.

ATTILA JAKAB

GNOSTIQUES ?

LES PREMIERS CHRETIENS D'ALEXANDRIE

« ... L'HISTOIRE EST UNE RECONSTRUCTION
PERMANENTE, INTELLIGIBLE ET CRITIQUE. DU
PASSÉ VÉCU PAR LES HOMMES EN SOCIÉTÉ »¹

Pendant longtemps à la question : « que sait-on de l'implantation du christianisme à Alexandrie et en Egypte ? » la réponse était en général : « rien avant la fin du II^e siècle. C'est seulement à partir du règne de l'empereur Commode, en effet, qu'apparaissent les premiers renseignements sur son existence, fournis par Clément et Origène, et repris par l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée »². Et même si le *quand* et le *comment* de l'arrivée de l'Evangile à Alexandrie³ intriguaient les historiens du christianisme ancien, l'insuffisance des sources (ni persécution, ni auteur connu)⁴ faisait en sorte que l'attention se tournait moins souvent vers cette métropole que vers d'autres centres importants (comme Rome ou Carthage par ex.). Ce qui n'a

¹ CH. PERELMAN : « Objectivité et intelligibilité dans la connaissance historique » dans *Raisonnement et démarches de l'historien*, Bruxelles 1963, p. 142. Op. cit. par J. PYCKE : *La critique historique*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, p. 123.

² Cf. A. MARTIN : « Aux origines de l'Eglise copte : L'implantation et le développement du christianisme en Egypte (I^e-IV^e siècles) » dans *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 83, 1981, p. 35.

³ Suivant le témoignage d'Eusèbe c'est l'évangéliste Marc qui l'avait apporté. « On dit que ce Marc [disciple de Pierre et évangéliste – cf. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 15] fut, le premier, envoyé en Egypte, qu'il y prêcha l'Evangile qu'il avait composé et qu'il établit des Eglises d'abord à Alexandrie même. » *Hist. Eccl.* II, 16, 1. Mais la ville est absente du Nouveau Testament et Paul n'y est jamais allé.

⁴ D'après Thomas A. Robinson « no evidence for first-century Christianity can be found for Alexandria and Egypt (...) ... we believe that Alexandria did have a Christian community in the first century ... but we have no solid evidence ». Cf. T. A. ROBINSON : *The Bauer Thesis Examined*, Leviston–Queenstown 1988, p. 66–67. Voir aussi FRANÇOIS KAYSER : *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale*, La Caire 1994. Pour l'auteur « il est étonnant que nous n'ayons, pour l'époque qui nous concerne, aucune inscription émanant d'un membre » de l'importante communauté juive qui vivait dans cette métropole (cf. p. xv). Il est de même pour des inscriptions chrétiennes, dont aucune ne figure dans ce recueil. En ce qui concerne la papyrologie nous n'avons guère plus de chance. Voir MARIO NALDINI : *Il cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II-IV*. (Studi e testi di papirologia, 3) Firenze 1968, nouvelle édition revue 1998 ; EWA WIPSZYCKA : « Remarques sur les lettres privées chrétiennes des II^e-IV^e siècles (A propos d'un livre de M. Naldini) » dans *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 18, 1974, p. 203–221 ; C. H. ROBERTS : *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, London 1979 ; G. TIBILETTI : *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*, Milano 1979 ; M. NALDINI : « Nuove testimonianze cristiane nelle lettere dei papiri greco-egizi (sec. II-IV) » dans *Augustinianum* 35, 1995, p. 831–846.

évidemment pas empêché les chercheurs à proposer des hypothèses pour expliquer les raisons du « mystère » qui enveloppe les origines du christianisme à Alexandrie.

C'est ainsi que le théologien allemand Walter Bauer proposait, dès 1934⁵, une réponse devenue depuis le passage (presque) obligé de tous les historiens et qui a donné lieu à une abondante littérature. D'après lui, « le premier christianisme alexandrin aurait été hétérodoxe, et plus exactement gnostique⁶. [...] C'est pourquoi, après le triomphe de l'orthodoxie au tournant du II^e siècle ..., [il] aurait été rétrospectivement condamné à l'oubli »⁷.

Mais, sommes-nous autorisés à simplifier à ce point les choses ? La vision qui suppose l'homogénéité du phénomène chrétien (que ce soit au niveau de l'enseignement, de l'organisation ou de l'implantation) dans la société de l'époque est-elle réellement fondée⁸ ? L'uniformisation n'est-ce pas plutôt un travail rétrospectif qu'une constatation des faits ? C'est pourquoi il nous semble important de répondre à la question : les premiers chrétiens d'Alexandrie étaient-ils vraiment (et exclusivement) des gnostiques dont plus tard on voulait gommer la mémoire ?

1. « ORTHODOXES » OU « HÉTÉRODOXES » ?

L'idée selon laquelle la métropole méditerranéenne aurait reçu le christianisme de Palestine (ou plus exactement de Jérusalem) est généralement acceptée par les auteurs modernes ; ainsi J. Daniélou⁹, M. Roncaglia¹⁰, C. H. Roberts¹¹, A. Martin¹² ou H. Köster¹³ (Palestine ou Syrie) et la liste n'est certainement pas exhaustive. Même si les modalités – en ce qui concerne le « *par qui ?* » le « *quand ?* » et le « *comment ?* » – nous échappent totalement, pour le moment il n'y a pas de raisons valables qui nous autoriseraient à mettre en doute cette hypothèse. Mais du moment

⁵ W. BAUER : *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, 10) Tübingen 1934 ; zweite, durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag. Herausgegeben von GEORG STRECKER : 1964 ; ... *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. Translated by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins and edited by ROBERT A. KRAFT and GERHARD KRODEL : Fortress Press, Philadelphia 1971.

⁶ Pour ce mot voir M. TARDIEU : « Histoire du mot « gnostique » » dans M. TARDIEU–J.-D. DUBOIS : *Introduction à la littérature gnostique*. Tome I, Paris 1986, p. 21-37.

⁷ J. MELEZE-MODRZEJEWSKI : *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramsès II à Hadrien*, Paris 1991, p. 183. Cf. M. SIMON–A. BENOÎT : *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme antique*, Paris 1991³, p. 109.

⁸ Pour l'hétérogénéité du christianisme anténicéen voir M. TARDIEU : « Histoire du mot « gnostique » » dans M. TARDIEU–J.-D. DUBOIS : *Introduction à la littérature gnostique*. Tome I, Paris 1986, p. 27 ; A. F. J. KLUN : « Jewish Christianity in Egypt » dans *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1986, p. 166 : « Early Egyptian Christianity is characterized by pluriformity, with both Jewish and gnostic influences. »

⁹ Voir *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Eglise*. Tome I, Paris 1963, p. 78-79.

¹⁰ Voir *Histoire de l'Eglise copte*. Tome I, Beyrouth 1966, p. 53-60 et 126.

¹¹ Voir *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, London 1979, p. 71.

¹² Voir « Aux origines de l'Eglise copte... » dans *Revue des Études Anciennes* 83, 1981, p. 39.

¹³ Voir *Introduction to the New Testament*. Volume Two : *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, Philadelphia–Berlin–New York 1982, p. 222.

où, à partir du début du second siècle¹⁴, nous admettons la présence (ou l'existence) d'une communauté (ou groupe ?) chrétienne à Alexandrie nous devons aussi nous demander sur le caractère de son christianisme. C'est W. Bauer lui-même qui nous y oblige. L'auteur fonde son hypothèse sur deux éléments majeurs : celui des textes, définis comme gnostiques (l'*Évangile « selon les Hébreux »* et « *selon les Égyptiens* »), et celui des personnes, chrétiens gnostiques (Basilide et Valentin). En plus, dans une opinion très personnelle (et par conséquent contraire à la théorie classique selon laquelle l'« orthodoxie » précède l'« hérésie »¹⁵), il soutient l'antériorité de l'« hérésie » sur l'« orthodoxie »¹⁶. Mais cette vision antagoniste nous semble peu conforme à la réalité du christianisme naissant. Ce dernier – masse mouvante et hétéroclite – est bien assez complexe pour ne pas permettre une réduction à une vue trop simplifiée. Ainsi, les « termes d'hérésie et d'hérétiques¹⁷ – d'après M. Simon et A. Benoît – ne signifient rien de plus que des doctrines, des hommes, des groupements qui, par rapport à l'évolution générale du christianisme, se situent [ou plutôt ont abouti] en marge de son développement, [et] représentent des tendances divergentes, des mouvements séparatistes. Ces doctrines et ces communautés ont, en fait, abouti à un échec historique ; après quelques succès temporaires, elles ont fini par disparaître du champ de l'histoire »¹⁸. A l'opposé, les termes d'*orthodoxie* et d'*orthodoxes* désignent la « partie qui s'est imposée en devenant « la Grande Église » et qui, historiquement, a prévalu au détriment des autres formes de christianisme »¹⁹.

Au fil du temps, l'usage a rendu ces formules ambiguës et équivoques. D'autant plus qu'elles comportent toujours un jugement de valeur qui affirme « un primat de l'orthodoxie sur l'hérésie, conséquence du primat de la vérité sur l'erreur. [...] Transposé sur le plan historique ce jugement de valeur a comme conséquence l'affirmation que l'orthodoxie est une donnée primitive et que, par suite, l'hérésie n'est qu'une déformation postérieure, se greffant sur l'orthodoxie préexistante »²⁰. Mais la « re-découverte » (peut-on dire), depuis un siècle ou un demi-siècle, de l'histoire ancienne en général et chrétienne en particulier, nous révèle la fluidité et la

¹⁴ Voir MICHEL CAMBE : « La « Prédication de Pierre » (ou : le « Kérygme de Pierre ») » dans Apocrypha 4, 1993, p. 177-195. A ce sujet, nous nous permettons également de renvoyer à notre thèse de doctorat. « Chrétiens d'Alexandrie. Richesse et pauvreté aux premiers temps du christianisme [I^{er}-III^e siècles] Essai d'histoire sociale. » Strasbourg 1998.

¹⁵ Voir M. SIMON–A. BENOÎT op. cit., p. 291-297.

¹⁶ Voir *ibid.*, p. 297-301. D'après Bauer « la victoire finale de l'orthodoxie dans l'Antiquité n'est autre que la victoire du christianisme romain ». M. SIMON–A. BENOÎT, op. cit., p. 298.

¹⁷ Sur les sens de αἵρεσις au premiers siècles de l'époque chrétienne voir MARCEL SIMON : « From Greek Hairesis to Christian Heresy » dans *Le Christianisme antique et son contexte religieux* (Scripta varia, II) Tübingen 1981, p. 821-836. Voir aussi ALFRED SCHINDLER : « Häresie. II : Kirchengeschichtlich » dans *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Band XIV, Berlin–New York 1985, p. 318-341 ; NORBERT BROX : « Häresie » dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band XIII, Stuttgart 1986, col. 248-297 ; ALAIN LE BOULLUEC : *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque. II^e-III^e siècles*. Tome I : De Justin à Irénée. Tome II : Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène, Paris 1985 ; *Idem* : « L'émergence de la notion d'hérésie » dans *Connaissance des Pères de l'Eglise* N° 60, 1995, p. 8-11. Pour une bibliographie de la notion d'hérésie voir A. FAIVRE : *Ordonner la fraternité*, Paris 1992, p. 498-500.

¹⁸ M. SIMON–A. BENOÎT, op. cit., p. 289.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

variété des aspects du christianisme primitif. Cela étant, il devient de plus en plus évident qu'il y a eu une époque où les limites étaient beaucoup moins tranchées qu'on aurait pu le supposer dans le passé²¹. Irénée de Lyon remarquait encore, au sujet des disciples de Valentin – qui faisait « des discours à la foule, dans le but d'atteindre ceux qui appartiennent à l'Eglise et qu'ils appellent < gens du commun > et < gens de l'Eglise > – qu'ils « se plaignent – dit-il – aussi à notre sujet : [car] ils pensent comme nous, et nous refusons sans motif d'être en communion avec eux ; ils disent les mêmes choses que nous et ont la même doctrine, et nous les traitons d'hérétiques »²² !

2. CHRISTIANISME GNOTIQUE ?

Pour W. Bauer, les premiers témoignages sur la chrétienté de la métropole méditerranéenne apparaissent comme les preuves de son caractère exclusivement gnostique. Il s'agit essentiellement de deux évangiles apocryphes mentionnés par Clément et Origène : l'un « *selon les Hébreux* » (τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον²³) – dont l'origine alexandrine est incertaine²⁴ – et l'autre « *selon les Egyptiens* » (τὸ καθ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον²⁵) – dont « toutes hypothèses au sujet de son contenu » se-

²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 306 ; J. MELEZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 184. Cf. Eusèbe : *Hist Eccl.* VI, 2, 13-14. Voir aussi H.-D. ALTENDORF-E. JUNOD-J.P. MAHE-W. RORDORF-G. STRECKER : *Orthodoxie et Hérésie dans l'Eglise ancienne. Perspectives nouvelles.* (Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, 17) Genève–Lausanne–Neuchâtel 1993.

²² Irénée : *Adv. Haer.* III, 15, 2. (Sources Chrétiennes, 211) Paris 1974, p. 281.

²³ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* II, 45, 5. (« Celui qui aura admiré, régnera et celui qui aura régné, se reposera. » Traduction de C. Mondésert. Coll. « Sources Chrétiennes, 38 » Paris 1954, p. 69) et *Strom.* V, 96, 3. (« Le chercheur n'aura de cesse qu'il n'ait trouvé ; quand il aura trouvé, il admirera ; ayant admiré, il deviendra roi ; et devenu roi, il goûtera le repos. » Traduction de P. VOULET. Coll. « Sources Chrétiennes, 278 », Paris 1981, p. 183. Cette citation est rapprochée par Clément lui-même de celle de Platon, *Timée* 90 d 5-9 citée dans *Strom.* V, 96, 2 ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 183.) ; Origène : *Comm. sur saint Jean* II, 87. (« si quelqu'un admet... ») et *Hom. sur Jérémie* XV, 4. (« si on accepte l'ouvrage... »). Voir P. VIELHAUER†-G. STRECKER : « Judenchristliche Evangelien. 3. Das Hebräerevangelium » dans *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I.* Herausgegeben von W. SCHNEEMELCHER, 5. Auflage : Tübingen 1989, p. 142-147.

²⁴ « Sin excluir en absoluto que este evangelio haya podido ser escrito en Alejandría, en el presente, sin embargo, no estamos en condiciones de pronunciarnos sobre cuál fue el lugar de composición. » FERNANDEZ SANGRADOR : *Los orígenes de la Comunidad cristiana de Alejandría*, Salamanca, 1994, p. 160. Pour A. F. J. KLIJN en revanche « the Gospel according to the Hebrews is an authentic product of Egyptian Christianity. » *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, Leiden 1992, p. 42.

²⁵ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* III, 45, 3 ; 63, 1-2 ; 64, 1 ; 66, 1-2 ; 92, 2 - 93, 1 ; *Extr. de Théodote* 67, 2 ; Origène : *Homélie sur Luc* I, 2. Suivant Yvonne JANSSENS voici une reconstitution de ce qui nous reste de cet évangile : « Comme Salomé demandait : « Jusqu'à quand la mort exercera-t-elle sa puissance ? » le Seigneur lui répondit : « aussi longtemps que vous, femmes, enfanterez » ». (*Strom.* III, 45, 3 ; cf. 64, 1 et *Extr. de Théod.* 67, 2). D'après Clément ces paroles « sont rapportées, je crois [dit-il], dans l'Evangile des [selon les] Egyptiens » (III, 63, 1). « Ils [les Encratites] disent en effet que le Sauveur lui-même a dit : « Je suis venu détruire les oeuvres de la femme ». » (III, 63, 2) « Salomé reprit : « J'ai donc bien fait de ne pas enfanter ». Le Seigneur lui répondit en disant : « Mange de toute plante, mais ne mange pas de celle qui contient l'amertume ». » (III, 6, 2). Le dernier passage s'insère dans la polémique de Clément contre Cassianus. « Cassianus dit : Salomé ayant demandé quand on connaîtrait les choses au sujet desquelles elle l'interrogeait, le Seigneur dit : « Lorsque vous foulerez

raient « forts hasardeuses »²⁶. Mais cette vision un peu simpliste correspond-elle à la réalité ? A force de vouloir expliquer un (préssumé) « hiatus historique » ne réduit-elle pas, pendant presque un siècle, le christianisme alexandrin à une seule forme d'existence : la forme « gnostique », réputée la seule attestée avec certitude ?

Même si la thèse de W. Bauer est séduisante, elle est loin de faire l'unanimité²⁷. A part H. I. Bell²⁸ et R. van den Broek²⁹ c'est le papyrologue britannique Colin H. Roberts³⁰ qui l'a tout spécialement critiqué. Ainsi, selon les objections avancées, « il n'y a pas plus de papyrus gnostiques aux deux premiers siècles que de papyrus bibliques, tandis que de nombreux traités gnostiques ont été attribués à l'Egypte parce que l'on a fait d'elle la terre du gnosticisme ; sur les quatorze papyrus retenus par C. H. Roberts comme sûrement datés du II^e siècle par les paléographes³¹, un seul peut être compté comme gnostique, *P. Oxy.*, 1, *logia de l'Evangile de Thomas*³² ; enfin la plupart des manuscrits gnostiques grecs datent du III^e et surtout du IV^e et du V^e siècles »³³ (même si on admet que leur rédaction initiale peut être plus ancienne). « Autant dire, et c'est la conclusion de C. H. Roberts, que nous ne sommes pas, pour la période en question, mieux renseignés sur les gnostiques que sur les chrétiens « orthodoxes »... »³⁴ ; constatation également partagée par B. A. Pearson³⁵.

aux pieds le vêtement de la honte et que les deux deviendront un et que le mâle avec la femelle ne sera ni mâle ni femelle ». » (III, 92, 2) « D'abord, nous n'avons pas cette parole dans les quatre Evangiles qui nous ont été livrés, mais dans l'Evangile selon les Egyptiens. » (III, 93, 1) Cf. Y. JANSSENS : *Evangiles gnostiques*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1991, p. 253-254. Cet Evangile n'a aucun rapport avec celui découvert à Nag Hammadi (NHC III, 2 et IV, 2) et dont le titre est en réalité : « Le (saint) livre des Egyptiens au sujet du Grand Esprit invisible, le Père », titre qui ouvre et ferme l'écrit. Voir aussi WILHELM SCHNEEMELCHER : « Ägypterevangelium » dans *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen I*. Herausgegeben von W. SCHNEEMELCHER, 5. Auflage : Tübingen 1989, p. 174-179.

²⁶ Cf. Y. JANSSENS, op. cit., p. 254. Cf. A. M. RITTER : « De Polycarpe à Clément : aux origines d'Alexandrie chrétienne » dans *Alexandrina...* Mélanges offerts au P. Claude Mondésert, Paris 1987, p. 167.

²⁷ Cf. DANIEL J. HARRINGTON : « The Reception of Walter Bauer's "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity" during the last decade » dans *The Harvard Theological Review* 73, 1980, p. 289-298.

²⁸ H. I. BELL : « Evidence of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman Period » dans *The Harvard Theological Review* 37, 1944, p. 185-208.

²⁹ R. VAN DEN BROEK : « Niet-gnostisch christendom in Alexandrië voor Clemens en Origenes » dans *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 33, 1979, p. 287-299.

³⁰ C. H. ROBERTS : « Early Christianity in Egypt : Three Notes » dans *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40, 1954, p. 92-96 ; Idem : *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, London 1979.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13-14. Voir aussi J. VAN HAELST : *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris 1976 ; K. ALAND : *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*. Vol. I : *Biblische Papyri*, Berlin-New York 1976. Op. cit. dans A. MARTIN : « Aux origines de l'Eglise copte... » dans *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 83, 1981, p. 40, n. 40.

³² « Of the fourteen Christian texts that I would date before A. D. 200 there is only one, the first fragment of the Gospel of Thomas from Oxyrhynchus, which may reasonably be regarded as Gnostic. » C. H. ROBERTS : *Manuscript...*, op. cit., p. 52.

³³ A. MARTIN, op. cit., p. 39.

³⁴ J. MELEZE-MODRZIEWSKI, op. cit., p. 184.

³⁵ « We know no more (and probably less) about Christian Gnosticism in first-century Egypt than we do about non-Gnostic Christianity in first-century Egypt. » B. A. PEARSON : « Gnosticism in Early Egyptian Christianity » dans *Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity*, Minneapolis 1990,

Mais, à regarder de près, nous pouvons aisément constater que dans ce débat la distinction entre les chrétiens « gnostiques » et « non-gnostiques » est très marquée. Cependant nous pouvons nous poser la question : une « structure communautaire gnostique », différente par rapport à la « structure » tout court de la communauté chrétienne, a-t-elle existé réellement ? D'autant plus que si certains groupes religieux gnostiques (ou gnosticisants) se situaient parfois à l'extérieur des communautés chrétiennes, d'autres en faisaient partie³⁶. Est-ce une raison pour laquelle « les gnostiques [n']employaient [que] rarement le qualificatif de gnostique pour se désigner eux-mêmes »³⁷ ? Nous sommes incapables d'y répondre avec certitude. Mais, en tout état de cause, nous devons considérer le fait qu'ils « préféraient plutôt les termes < d'élus >, de < parfaits >, de < fils du Père >, de < génération inébranlable >, de < compagnons spirituels >, si encore ils se désignaient eux mêmes »³⁸, comme le témoignage de leur intégration dans une communauté chrétienne.

Les gnostiques des premiers temps ne sont pas, en effet, les ennemis du christianisme, mais plutôt ceux qui, à son intérieur, cherchent quelque chose de plus – une réponse peut-être ? – « à des questions existentielles fondamentales »³⁹, dont Clément d'Alexandrie nous a conservé les traces :

« Qui étions-nous ? Que sommes-nous devenus ? Où étions-nous ?
Où avons-nous été jetés ? Vers quel but nous hâtons-nous ? D'où sommes-nous rachetés ? Qu'est-ce que la génération ? et la régénération ? »⁴⁰

Il est certain qu'à partir d'un moment donné la communauté n'a plus toléré ce « courant » et ces groupes (recrutés en priorité parmi les gens instruits du second siècle). Marginalisés et surtout morcelés ils disparaissent sans pour autant emporter avec eux leurs idées et leurs interrogations. Elles ressurgiront, de temps à autre, des profondeurs, tout au long de l'histoire du christianisme comme les vestiges d'un passé que nous avons voulu gommer à tout prix. Dès lors, la question quant à « la place des gnostiques dans l'élaboration de la théologie et des institutions chrétiennes anciennes »⁴¹ prend tout son intérêt et sa pertinence.

3. MAÎTRES « GNOSTIQUES » ?

La société alexandrine (et la communauté chrétienne avec elle) du début du second siècle s'est avérée un terrain propice pour le « courant » gnostique (ou gnosticisant). Ce n'est certainement pas un hasard si, d'après A. M. Ritter, « les deux seuls

p. 198. Cf. Idem : « Earliest Christianity in Egypt » dans *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1986, p. 134.

³⁶ Cf. *Nag Hammadi. Evangile selon Thomas. Textes gnostiques aux origines du christianisme*. Présentés par RAYMOND KUNTZMANN et JEAN-DANIEL DUBOIS, Paris 1987, p. 16.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 14. Voir aussi Clément : *Strom.* VII, 108 qui ne donne pas de tels exemples.

³⁸ *Nag Hammadi...* KUNTZMANN-DUBOIS, op. cit., p. 14-16.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁰ *Extr. de Théod.* 78, 2. (Sources Chrétiennes, 23) Paris 1970, p. 203.

⁴¹ *Nag Hammadi...* KUNTZMANN-DUBOIS, op. cit., p. 16.

chrétiens alexandrins que l'on peut, du moins avec quelque certitude, *nommer* avant le milieu du second siècle, sont d'une façon significative les deux plus importants chefs d'écoles chrétiennes gnostiques, Basilide et Valentin »⁴².

Suivant le témoignage de Clément d'Alexandrie, **Basilide** – d'origine syrienne, dont la vie nous est inconnue – enseignait à Alexandrie sous les règnes des empereurs Hadrien (117-138) et Antonin le Pieux (138-161). Fondateur d'une école gnostique il aurait été le disciple de Glaucias, dont les basilidiens ont fait un interprète de Pierre⁴³. Irénée de Lyon, en revanche, nous informe que – pareillement à Saturnin (« originaire d'Antioche près de Daphné ») – le point de départ de son enseignement a été la doctrine de Simon le magicien et celle de son successeur, Ménandre⁴⁴. Dans la liste des hérétiques d'Épiphane⁴⁵, il est également le second successeur de Ménandre, immédiatement après Saturnin⁴⁶. Eusèbe, qui dans son « *Histoire Ecclésiastique* » suit la notice d'Irénée⁴⁷, dans sa « *Chronique* » donne l'an 132 comme début de l'activité de Basilide⁴⁸.

Malheureusement, le peu de fragments qui nous restent, ici et là⁴⁹, de ses travaux littéraires sont très insuffisants pour nous faire une idée exacte de son système doctrinal⁵⁰. De son oeuvre, nous savons, par le témoignage de Clément⁵¹ et d'Eusèbe⁵², qu'il avait écrit un commentaire de l'Évangile⁵³ – les « *Exegetica* » –, en

⁴² A. M. RITTER, op. cit., p. 162.

⁴³ Cf. *Stromates* VII. 106. 4. Il nous semble que l'attachement des basilidiens à Pierre, sur lequel seul Clément nous renseigne, éclaire d'un jour singulier toute la tradition alexandrine relative à l'évangéliste Marc et la source pétrinienne de l'épiscopat. Voir aussi W. A. LÖHR : *Basilides und seine Schule*, Tübingen, 1996, p. 19-23.

⁴⁴ Cf. Irénée : *Adversus Haereses* I, 24. 1. (Sources Chrétiennes, 264) Paris 1979, p. 321.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Panarion* XXIV, 1 (PG 41, 308-309).

⁴⁶ Cf. A. POURKIER : *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*, Paris 1992, p. 205.

⁴⁷ « De Ménandre donc, que nous avons dit plus haut avoir été le successeur de Simon, sortit, semblable à un serpent à deux gueules et à deux têtes, une puissance qui produisit les chefs de deux hérésies différentes : Saturnin, originaire d'Antioche, et Basilide d'Alexandrie. De ces hérétiques, l'un installa en Syrie, l'autre en Égypte, les écoles d'hérésies ennemies de Dieu. » Eusèbe : *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 7, 3. (Sources Chrétiennes, 31) Paris 1986, p. 167.

⁴⁸ « Basilides haeresiarches in Alexandria commoratur. A quo gnostici... » Cf. B. A. PEARSON : « Gnosticism in Early Egyptian Christianity » dans *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, Minneapolis 1990, p. 203, n. 30.

⁴⁹ Pour ces fragments, préservés essentiellement par Clément d'Alexandrie, voir BENTLEY LAYTON : « The Writings of Basilides » dans *The Gnostic Scriptures*, London 1987, p. 417-444. Cf. *Strom.* IV, 162, 1. (A) ; V, 74, 3. (B) ; V, 3, 2-3. (C) ; IV, 86, 1. (D) ; IV, 165, 3. (E) ; IV, 81, 2 - IV, 83, 2. (G) ; IV, 153, 3. (H). De même W. A. LÖHR, op. cit., p. 42-209.

⁵⁰ Pour ce système « singulièrement original », d'après ROBERT M. GRANT (« Place de Basilide dans la théologie chrétienne ancienne » dans *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 25, 1979, p. 202), voir également la présentation d'Hippolyte (*Réfutation* VII, 22-27) qui est, en réalité, une création basilidienne ultérieure (cf. GRANT, op. cit., p. 216). Voir aussi G. QUISPÉL : « L'homme gnostique. (La doctrine de Basilide) » dans *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 16, 1948, p. 89-139.

⁵¹ Cf. *Strom.* IV, 81, 1.

⁵² Cf. *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 7, 7.

⁵³ D'après le témoignage d'Origène Basilide aurait eu même « l'audace d'écrire un évangile et de lui donner pour titre son propre nom » (*Hom. sur Luc* I, 2). Avait-il commenté son propre évangile ? Cette possibilité est à exclure. Basilide n'a pas écrit d'évangile. Cf. P. NAUTIN : « Patristique et histoire des dogmes. I : L'Évangile selon Basilide » dans *Annuaire de l'EPHE. V^e section – Sciences Religieuses* 84, 1975-1976, p. 311-312.

vingt-quatre livres, qui le place, en priorité, parmi les exégètes. Clément dans le IV^e livre des *Stromates* (81, 1 - 88, 5) donne plusieurs passages du vingt-troisième livre de cet ouvrage, où son auteur traitait du problème de la souffrance. En outre Basilide composa aussi de psaumes ou « *Odes* » qui nous sont signalés par le fragment de Muratori et que nous devons considérer comme perdus (en l'état actuel de nos connaissances). A en croire B. A. Pearson, Basilide aurait utilisé plusieurs écrits, devenus « canoniques » par la suite – comme les *Epîtres de Paul*, l'*Evangile de Matthieu* ou l'*Evangile de Marc* –, pour l'élaboration de ses oeuvres qui témoigneraient de leur présence à Alexandrie vers le milieu du II^e siècle ap. J.-C.⁵⁴

L'enseignement de Basilide⁵⁵ – où D. Vigne discerne trois éléments : grec, chrétien et juif⁵⁶ – fut perpétué⁵⁷ (au moins jusqu'au IV^e siècle⁵⁸) et, sans aucun doute, altéré par ses disciples, parmi lesquels son fils, **Isidore**⁵⁹. Mais au sujet de ce dernier nous sommes encore plus mal renseignés que sur le père. Si Irénée de Lyon parle de la doctrine des basilidiens⁶⁰ – pour qui « les juifs, disent-ils, n'existent plus, et les chrétiens n'existent pas encore »⁶¹ – il garde, en revanche, le silence sur Isidore. Le peu d'information que nous avons sur lui concerne, pour l'essentiel, quelques-uns de ses écrits – « *De l'âme adventice* »⁶², « *Commentaires du prophète Parchor* »⁶³, « *Ethica* »⁶⁴ – connus par le seul témoignage de Clément d'Alexandrie.

Contemporain de Saturnin et de Basilide⁶⁵, **Carpocrate**⁶⁶ est un personnage énigmatique et discret de la première moitié du second siècle ap. J.-C. D'où toute la pertinence du titre de l'article publié par H. Kraft en 1952 : « *Gab es einen Gnostiker Karpokrates ?* »⁶⁷ Une réponse sûre à cette question est d'autant plus difficile que nous ne possédons rien de son oeuvre.

⁵⁴ Cf. B. A. PEARSON, op. cit., p. 204.

⁵⁵ Pour Basilide voir également J. H. WASZINK : « Basilides » dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Band I, Stuttgart 1950, col. 1217-1225 ; J. QUASTEN : *Initiation aux Pères de l'Eglise*. T. I, Paris 1955, p. 293-296 ; B. A. PEARSON, op. cit., p. 202-205 ; E. MÜHLENBERG : « Basilides » dans *The Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Band V, Berlin-New York 1980, p. 296-301 ; P. A. MIRECKI : « Basilides » dans *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. I, New York-London 1992, p. 624-625 ; D. VIGNE : « Enquête sur Basilide » dans *Recherches et Tradition*. Mélanges H. CROUZEL, Paris 1992, p. 285-313 ; WINRICH ALFRIED LÖHR : *Basilides und seine Schule. Eine Studie zur Theologie- und Kirchengeschichte des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1996.

⁵⁶ Cf. D. VIGNE, op. cit., p. 293.

⁵⁷ Pour l'époque de Clément voir *Strom.* I, 146, 1 se rapportant à la commémoratin du baptême de Jésus par les basilidiens.

⁵⁸ L'hérésie des basilidiens est encore « florissante » (ἀκμαζούσα) à l'époque d'Épiphane (*Pan.*, 24, 1, 1. Cf. A. POURKIER, op. cit., p. 209.

⁵⁹ Cf. J. QUASTEN, op. cit., p. 295-296.

⁶⁰ Cf. Irénée : *Adv. Haer.* I, 24, 5-7.

⁶¹ Ibid., I, 24, 6. (Sources Chrétiennes, 264) Paris 1979, p. 331.

⁶² Cf. Clément : *Strom.* II, 113, 3 et 113, 4 - 114, 2.

⁶³ Cf. ibid. VI, 53, 2 et 53, 3-5.

⁶⁴ Cf. ibid. III, 2, 2 et 2, 2 - 3, 2.

⁶⁵ Cf. Eusèbe : *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 7, 9.

⁶⁶ Cf. J. QUASTEN, op. cit., p. 303-305 ; B. A. PEARSON, op. cit., p. 205-206 ; A. POURKIER, op. cit., p. 257-259.

⁶⁷ *Theologische Zeitschrift* 8, 1952, p. 434-443. A ce sujet voir également MORTON SMITH : *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973, p. 267-278 ; B. LAYTON : *The Gnostic Scriptures*, London 1987, p. 199. D'après ce dernier « the doctrine of the Carpo-

Si, d'après Clément, Carpocrate est un alexandrin⁶⁸ (probablement citoyen de la cité ?), Irénée, en revanche, ne sait pratiquement rien sur lui⁶⁹. C'est pourquoi il parle davantage de ses disciples – comme « cette Marcellina, qui vint à Rome sous Anicet »⁷⁰ (155-166) – qui « se décernent le titre de < gnostiques > » (*Gnosticos* – τῶν Γνωστικῶν)⁷¹ et de leur doctrine que du maître lui-même⁷². Car ces disciples, possédant « des images [tel le portrait du Christ fait, selon eux, par Pilate], les unes peintes, les autres faites de diverses matières » qu'ils « exposent avec celles des philosophes profanes » (Pythagore, Platon, Aristote et autres) et auxquelles ils rendent tous les « honneurs en usage chez les païens »⁷³ causent de sérieux problèmes⁷⁴.

«... envoyés par Satan vers les païens pour faire calomnier le nom vénérable de l'Église, afin que les hommes, entendant de diverses manières parler d'eux et s'imaginant que nous leur sommes tous pareils, détournent leurs oreilles de la prédication de la vérité, ou que, voyant également leur conduite, ils nous enveloppent tous dans la même diffamation. Cependant [dit Irénée] nous n'avons rien de commun avec eux, ni dans la doctrine, ni dans les mœurs, ni dans la vie quotidienne ; mais ces gens, qui vivent dans la débauche et professent des doctrines impies, se servent du Nom comme d'un voile dont ils couvrent leur malice. »⁷⁵

Mais « l'auteur [en l'occurrence Clément d'Alexandrie] qui nous apporte le plus de renseignements précis [même s'il le fait indirectement] sur Carpocrate »⁷⁶ ne semble pas connaître les difficultés rencontrées par Irénée ou en être très préoccupé. Confronté aux disciples de ce maître et de son fils, **Épiphane**, pour des questions, avant tout, d'ordre moral (communauté des femmes)⁷⁷, sur ce dernier personnage Clément nous donne des informations intéressantes.

Il nous laisse, tout d'abord, entendre qu'Épiphane, dont la mère, Alexandria, était originaire de Céphallénie, fut un véritable enfant de génie. Éduqué par son père⁷⁸ (Carpocrate), qui lui fait aussi connaître la philosophie de Platon, il écrit plusieurs ouvrages (connus par Clément), avant de mourir à l'âge de 17 ans. Honoré

cratians bears no noticeable resemblance to gnostic myth, and so there are no grounds to conclude that the Carpocratians were gnostics in the classic sense of the word, although they may have borrowed the name "gnostic", perhaps as a form of self-praise ».

⁶⁸ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* III, 5, 2.

⁶⁹ Cf. Irénée : *Adv. Haer.* I, 25, 1.

⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.* I, 25, 6.

⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.* ; Eusèbe : *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 7, 9.

⁷² Cf. Irénée : *Adv. Haer.* I, 25.

⁷³ Voir à ce sujet EUPHROSYNÉ DOXIADIS : *Portraits du Fayûm. Visages de l'Égypte ancienne.* Préface de DOROTHY J. THOMPSON. Traduit de l'anglais par DENNIS COLLINS, Gallimard, Paris 1995. Pour l'usage des chrétiens nous pouvons également évoquer l'« icône » de l'apôtre dans les *Actes apocryphes de Jean*, qui renforce, d'après nous, un peu plus son origine alexandrine.

⁷⁴ Cf. Irénée : *Adv. Haer.* I, 25, 6. (Sources Chrétiennes, 264) Paris 1979, p. 343-345.

⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.* I, 25, 3 ; *op. cit.*, p. 337-339. C'est nous qui soulignons.

⁷⁶ A. POURKIER, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁷⁷ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* III, 5, 1.

⁷⁸ Cet épisode, s'il n'est pas une coïncidence, présente un bien curieux parallèle avec la vie d'Origène.

comme un dieu, après sa mort, à Samé – dans la patrie de sa mère –, il fut, à en croire Clément, le véritable fondateur de l'hérésie des carpocrates⁷⁹. Ce fait, dans le cas d'une éventuelle corroboration avec d'autres sources, pourrait expliquer, au moins en partie, l'absence des oeuvres de Carpocrate. Dès lors, l'hypothèse qui ferait de ce dernier un maître donnant un enseignement essentiellement oral (comme le fera Pantène ou Ammonius Saccas plus tard) serait tout à fait envisageable.

Après les passages « biographiques » et les citations tirées de « *Sur la Justice* » d'Épiphane⁸⁰ – où « celui-ci préconisait, sous l'influence de la *République* [V, 457 D] de Platon, la communauté des biens et surtout des femmes »⁸¹ – les propos de Clément deviennent hésitants au sujet des carpocrates. Ses « on dit » suggèrent que, probablement, il ne les avait pas connus personnellement⁸². Leur groupe aurait-il disparu si rapidement d'Alexandrie ? Même si cela est assez invraisemblable, Origène également paraît le confirmer quand il déclare n'en avoir jamais rencontré d'adeptes⁸³.

Contemporain des personnages déjà mentionnés, **Valentin**⁸⁴ (100-175)⁸⁵ – considéré, en général, comme le fondateur de la plus importante école gnostique – est, selon E. de Faye, « l'un des hommes les plus remarquables du II^e siècle »⁸⁶. Mais, malgré ce constat élogieux, nous connaissons à peine sa vie. D'après Irénée, il « vint en effet à Rome sous Hygin [138-141] ; il atteint son apogée sous Pie et se maintint jusqu'à Anicet »⁸⁷. Eusèbe, à son tour, reprend ce bref témoignage d'Irénée sur la personne de Valentin sans rien y ajouter⁸⁸ si ce n'est qu'Irénée « met à nu » la méchanceté cachée et surnoise » de ce dernier, « pareille à celle d'un serpent qui se tapit dans un trou »⁸⁹. « Le premier à nous apprendre que Valentin naquit en Egypte, reçut son instruction à Alexandrie, et répandit sa doctrine en Egypte avant de se rendre à Rome »⁹⁰ est l'hérésiologue Épiphane de Salamine. Dès lors, son rattachement traditionnel à Alexandrie – au moins en ce qui concerne le début de sa « carrière » – est acquis.

Si des informations plus précises sur Valentin – et plus particulièrement sur cette période alexandrine de sa vie –, nous avaient été d'un très grand intérêt afin de

⁷⁹ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* III, 5, 2-3.

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.* III, 6, 1 - 8, 3 & 9, 2-3.

⁸¹ A. POURKIER, *op. cit.*, p. 258-259.

⁸² Cf. Clément : *Strom.* III, 10, 1.

⁸³ Cf. Origène : *Contre Celse* V, 62.

⁸⁴ Au sujet de Valentin voir J. QUASTEN : *Initiation aux Pères de l'Église*. T. I, Paris 1955, p. 296-298 ; B. A. PEARSON : « Gnosticism in Early Egyptian Christianity » dans *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, Minneapolis 1990, p. 198-202 ; P. A. MIRECKI : « Valentinus » dans *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 6, New York-London 1992, p. 783-784. J.-D. DUBOIS : « Valentin, Ecole valentinienne » dans *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. T. XVI, Paris 1994, col. 146-156.

⁸⁵ Cf. LAYTON : *The Gnostic Scriptures*, London 1987, p. 217-224.

⁸⁶ DE FAYE : *Gnostiques et gnosticisme. Étude critique des documents du gnosticisme chrétien aux II^e et III^e siècles*. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes. Sciences Religieuses, 27) Paris 1913, p. 40.

⁸⁷ Cf. IRÉNÉE : *Adv. Haer.* III, 4, 3. (Sources Chrétiennes, 211) Paris 1974, p. 51.

⁸⁸ Cf. Eusèbe : *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 11, 1.

⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.* IV, 11, 3. (Sources Chrétiennes, 31) Paris 1986, p. 174.

⁹⁰ J. QUASTEN : *op. cit.*, p. 296.

mieux connaître (et de comprendre) le début du christianisme dans la ville, le témoignage très tardif d'Epiphane doit nous inciter à la prudence. Il ne s'agit nullement de mettre en cause son éventuelle présence (ou passage ?) dans cette grande métropole hellénistique, mais plutôt de s'interroger sur l'importance de cette période et tout particulièrement sur l'activité qu'il y a éventuellement déployée. D'autant plus que, contrairement à l'école occidentale (Héracléon et Ptolémée) ou orientale (Théodote), la pensée valentinienne ne disposera pas de représentant de marque à Alexandrie.

« Théologien et mystique »⁹¹, ou visionnaire et poète, plutôt qu'un penseur systématique⁹², Valentin est un personnage qui a toujours passionné et qui passionne encore les chercheurs. Si, derrière les fragments qui nous restent de son œuvre⁹³, on imagine aisément un esprit fort cultivé – s'intégrant donc parfaitement dans un milieu alexandrin –, depuis l'étude de Christoph Marksches⁹⁴ la question se pose sérieusement en ce qui concerne sa classification parmi les gnostiques même si l'uniformité doctrinale de ses disciples nous suggère d'y consentir. Mais l'image du *platonicien chrétien*⁹⁵ qui résulte de cette étude, laisse aussi apparaître le théologien qui cherche à répondre aux grandes questions de ses contemporains, sur Dieu et la création, ou sur l'être humain et son salut. Dès lors, rien de plus normal pour la tradition valentinienne que de rattacher le maître à l'apôtre Paul, par le biais de Théodas, un prétendu disciple de ce dernier⁹⁶.

Après ce passage en revue des personnages gnostiques en rapport avec la cité méditerranéenne, le caractère (considéré par la suite comme) initialement « hétérodoxe », tant de fois mis en avant, de son christianisme est loin de s'imposer. Ce qui ressort, avant tout, c'est la diversité de la communauté chrétienne derrière (et surtout malgré) la pauvreté manifeste de nos renseignements. Car ces hommes qui ont vécu et enseigné, plus ou moins en même temps et dans la même ville (sinon dans un même milieu) – sans nous fournir, pour autant, la moindre information sur un quelconque contact entre eux – n'ont jamais été excommuniés, ni même inquiétés par l'éventuelle Eglise « orthodoxe » du lieu⁹⁷ (d'Alexandrie, en l'occurrence). Celle-ci ne nous semble pas être déjà l'institution qu'elle deviendra au courant du troisième siècle.

Dès lors, tout en admettant la diversité des groupes que formeront leurs disciples (basiliens, carpocratens, valentiniens), nous considérons néanmoins qu'ils

⁹¹ J. DANIELOU : *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Eglise*. T. I, Paris 1963, p. 129.

⁹² Cf. H. KÖSTER : *Introduction to the New Testament*. Vol. 2, Philadelphia–Berlin–New York 1982, p. 233 : « The few fragments preserved from him seem to point to a visionary and poet rather than a systematic thinker. »

⁹³ Cf. B. LAYTON : « The Writings of Valentinus » dans *The Gnostic Scripture*, London 1987, p. 215-264.

⁹⁴ C. MARKSCHIES : *Valentinus Gnosticus ?*, Tübingen 1992.

⁹⁵ Suivant une notice de Tertullien dans son *Traité de la prescription contre les hérétiques* (30, 1) Valentin est également présenté comme « le disciple du platonisme » (« *Valentinus Platonicae sectator* »). Cf. (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 46) Paris 1957, p. 126.

⁹⁶ Cf. Clément : *Strom.* VII, 106, 4.

⁹⁷ Pour R. P. Casey par exemple, Basilide et Valentin sont « des chrétiens qui s'efforçaient d'exprimer le contenu essentiel et vivant de leur religion sous une forme non contaminée par l'enveloppe juive dans laquelle ils l'avaient reçue ». Cf. D. VIGNE : « Enquête sur Basilide » dans *Recherches et Tradition. Mélanges H. CROUZEL*, Paris 1992, p. 293-294.

s'insèrent – au moins dans un premier temps – dans un ensemble plus vaste, dynamique et encore en perpétuel mouvement qu'est la communauté chrétienne avant son « institutionnalisation »⁹⁸. En conséquence le système valentinien qui différencie les ὕλικοί (= non-chrétiens) les ψυχικοί (= chrétiens non-gnostiques) et les πνευματικοί (= gnostiques) – tel que Clément d'Alexandrie dans son « *Extraits de Théodote* » (56, 2) nous le rapporte –, témoignerait de cette insertion⁹⁹, mais aussi de l'abîme qui sépare les deux principaux « courants » (gnostique et non-gnostique) au sein du christianisme, quitte à provoquer malaise, tension et finalement rupture.

« ... s'il avait aussi semé – écrit Théodote – à partir du psychique et du pneumatique, comme il l'a fait à partir de l'hylique, nous serions tous nés « égaux » et « justes », et l'« Enseignement » (διδασχῆ) aurait été en tous. – C'est pourquoi il y a beaucoup d'hyliques, un petit nombre de psychiques : mais rares sont les pneumatiques. »¹⁰⁰

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⁹⁸ L'histoire d'Origène et de l'hérétique Paul dans la maison de la femme riche, qu'Eusèbe nous raconte (cf. *Hist. Eccl.* VI, 2, 13-14), serait – d'après nous – un dernier témoignage sur cette époque de « cohabitation (relativement) pacifique » des diverses sensibilités (ou tendances) au sein d'une même communauté peu avant sa disparition. D'après B. A. PEARSON aussi « in the time of Valentinus, Basilides, and Carpocrates there were non-Gnostic Christians in Alexandria as well as Gnostics ». Op. cit., p. 207.

⁹⁹ Cf. B. A. PEARSON, op. cit., p. 208.

¹⁰⁰ Clément : *Extr. de Théodote* 56, 2. (Sources Chrétiennes, 23) Paris 1948, p. 173.

ISTVÁN KERTÉSZ

NEUESTE ERGEBNISSE IN DER FORSCHUNG DES HELLENISTISCHEN PERGAMONS

1. DIE „BÜRGERKÖNIGE“ VON PERGAMON

In meinem Vortrag über die Sozialpolitik der Attaliden auf der Konferenz, die anlässlich des 100jährigen Jubiläums des Lehrstuhls für Alte Geschichte der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest 1983 stattgefunden hat,¹ habe ich festgestellt: „So war es unter den wichtigsten hellenistischen Monarchien allein die attalidische, die die Vertretung der Interessen der griechischen Stadtbürger als ihr vorrangiges Ziel betrachtete. Desgleichen war unter diesen Staaten der Attalidenstaat der einzige, der sich – in seinem Kern – aus einer nach griechischem Muster organisierten Stadt² entwickelte und sich dann zu einer solchen Großmacht aufschwang, in der von altersher bestehende griechische Städte einen festen Bestandteil bildeten.“³

Ebenfalls 1983 erschien die Pergamonsmonographie von R. E. Allen, die aber nur später in meine Hände gelangt ist.⁴ In seinem Buch trifft der Verfasser eine ähnliche Feststellung. Eine Stadt, deren Namen wir wegen der Beschädigung der Inschrift nicht kennen, drückt Korrhagos, dem Strategen von Phrygien am Hellespont, dafür ihren Dank aus, daß, nachdem Eumenes II. der Stadt, die in einem Krieg gegen die Seleukiden viele Verwundete zu verzeichnen hatte, für drei Jahre Steuerfreiheit gewährt hatte, diese Steuerfreiheit durch seine (des Korrhagos) Fürsprache auf fünf Jahre ausgedehnt wurde.⁵ Der Fall wird von Allen wie folgt kommentiert: „We see Eumenes here as in the Korrhagos decree concerned to safeguard the welfare of the community which appealed to him, and to ensure its prosperity by means of positive measures which are probably typical of Attalid policy...“⁶

Die von Allen erwähnte „typical Attalid policy“ hängt mit der „bürgerlichen“ Attitüde der Attaliden zusammen, die man unter anderen im Stil seiner königlichen Paläste beobachten kann. Diese Paläste am Burgberg Pergamons modellierten eher

¹ I. KERTÉSZ, Zur Sozialpolitik der Attaliden: *Tyche* 7, 1992, 133–141.

² Über die vorattalidische Entwicklung der Stadt Pergamon s. R. E. ALLEN, *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History*, Oxford 1983, 159–177.

³ I. KERTÉSZ (Anm. 1) 139.

⁴ R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2).

⁵ S. I. KERTÉSZ (Anm. 1) 138 mit weiteren Angaben.

⁶ R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 95.

die Häuser der wohlhabenden Polisbürger als die schmuckvollen Residenzen der hellenistischen Despoten.⁷ H.-J. Schalles nähert sich derselben Frage vom Standpunkt der Kulturpolitik der ersten Attaliden.⁸ Er schreibt über das Grundgeschenk von Philetairos für Tempel der Musen in Thespiiai, daß bei ihm „die Grenzen zwischen privater und dynastischer Selbstdarstellung fließend sind“.⁹ Wir können die Bemerkung des Verfassers als richtig annehmen, daß das Grundgeschenk von Philetairos in Form einer Stiftung eine „zurückhaltende“ Form der Schenkung war. Die soziale Lage der Stifter war nämlich verhältnismäßig vielschichtig und umfaßte viele Schichten von Privatpersonen bis zu den Königen. Ebenfalls betont er die Genügsamkeit im Zusammenhang der Festlichkeit *Philetaireia*, die Philetairos in Delos gegründet hat.¹⁰ Diese Genügsamkeit paßt gut zu der „bürgerlichen“ Attitüde der Attaliden. Als Schalles über die Statue schreibt, die Eumenes I. in Delos zu Ehren des Philetairos errichten ließ, bemerkt er: „Etliche Zeugnisse belegen das Doppelgesicht einer dynastischen Repräsentation, die neben dem oben genannten Aspekt auch eine »bürgerliche« Attitüde pflegt.“¹¹ Gleichfalls sieht Schalles eine bürgerliche Gewohnheit in der Erscheinung, daß Attalos I. seinem jüngsten Sohn den Namen seines Großvaters gab: „Auch die Namensgebung des vierten Sohnes des Attalos, Athenaios, nach seinem Großvater mütterlicherseits hebt den »bürgerlichen« Charakter der Dynastie hervor.“¹²

Schalles ist der Meinung, daß die unterschiedlich erfolgreichen Kriege gegen Achaïos und die Gallier die Attaliden dahingehend beeinflusst haben, ihren „bürgerlichen Charakter“ in einer bürgerfreundlichen Politik zeigen zu wollen. Mit Recht betont der Verfasser die Wirkung dieser Ereignisse auf das Thema und den Stil der pergamenischen Denkmäler und unterstreicht, daß die Interessengegensätze zwischen Pergamon und den umliegenden Städten während dieser Kriege aufgehoben worden sind. Er stellt dazu fest: „Die akuten politischen Probleme und die politisch-militärische Erfolgslosigkeit mögen in gewisser Weise zu einer Repräsentationsform gezwungen haben, in der zum einen das »bürgerliche« Bild der Dynastie gepflegt, zum anderen bekannte und erprobte Feindbilder herausgestellt wurden.“¹³

Ich freue mich darüber, daß die Endergebnisse der kulturhistorischen Untersuchungen von Schalles mit dem Hauptergebnis meiner politisch-wirtschaftshistorischen Forschungen im Einklang sind.¹⁴ Eine wichtige politische Zielsetzung der Attaliden war, die hellenischen und hellenisierten Bürger der Städte unter pergame-

⁷ E. V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca 1971², 234 ff.; G. KAWERAU–TH. WIEGAND, *Die Paläste der Hochburg. Die Altertümer von Pergamon V/1*, Berlin 1930.

⁸ H.-J. SCHALLES, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jhrh. v. Chr.* (Istanbuler Forschungen 36.), Tübingen 1985.

⁹ Ebd. 37.

¹⁰ Ebd. 38.

¹¹ Ebd. 50.

¹² Ebd. 102 Anm. 625.

¹³ Ebd. 102.

¹⁴ S. meine folgenden Werke: *Von Apameia bis Brundisium* (Kapitel aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen von Rom und Pergamon): *Annales Univ. Sc. Bud. de Rol. Eötv. Nom. Sectio Classica* 9–10, 1982–1985, 79–93; *The Attalids of Pergamon and Macedonia*, in: *Ancient Macedonia* 5/1, Thessaloniki 1993, 669–677; der in Anm. 1 erwähnte Artikel.

nischer Herrschaft zu unterstützen und als Gegenleistung, die Unterstützung des sozialen Grundbaus der Herrschaft der „bürgerlichen“ Attaliden durch diesen Bürgerstand zu erwarten.

2. BEMERKUNGEN ZUR INSCHRIFT OGIS. NR. 338¹⁵

In der Fachliteratur ist die Inschrift OGIS. Nr. 338 = IvP. Nr. 249 im allgemeinen als Beweis der Fähigkeit des Hellenisierungsprogramms von Attaliden erörtert worden.¹⁶ In dieser Inschrift kann man den Text eines pergamenischen Volksbeschlusses erblicken, der den verschiedenen Schichten des Volkes von Pergamon, unter anderen den Söldnern des ehemaligen Königs, zur Zeit des gefährlichen Aufstands von Aristonikos, das volle Bürgerrecht verleiht.¹⁷ Von Zeit zu Zeit wird aber bezweifelt, daß diese Inschrift tatsächlich aus Pergamon stammt. Im *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* ist das Problem nochmals aufgegriffen worden.¹⁸ Dort ist die Meinung von K. J. Rigsby zitiert, wonach nicht die Rede von einem pergamenischen Volksbeschluß sei, weil kein einziger pergamenischer Volksbeschluß nur nach einem Priester datiert wurde. Demgegenüber ist Ph. Gauthier der Meinung, daß der Text doch einen pergamenischen Volksbeschluß enthält.¹⁹

Ich möchte den Standpunkt von Gauthier mit Betonung des inhaltlichen Zusammenhangs der Inschrift mit anderen ähnlichen Inschriften untermauern. Die Attaliden haben mehrere Bestimmungen dahingehend erlassen, die Mitglieder des Söldnerheeres in die Gesellschaft zu integrieren. Das können wir besser dann verstehen, wenn wir die normale Praxis in der Weltgeschichte zum Vergleich heranziehen: Regime, die sich vom Volk entfremdeten, wollten die bewaffneten Kräfte von der Gesellschaft isolieren, während volksfreundliche Regimes (im Fall der Attaliden sollten wir von einem „bürgerfreundlichen“ Regime sprechen) bewußt die bewaffneten Kräfte in die Gesellschaft integrierten.

Eine ganze Reihe von pergamenischen Dokumenten stellen den Prozeß der gesellschaftlichen Integration der Söldner dar. Die Inschrift OGIS. Nr. 266 = IvP. Nr. 13 enthält Zugeständnisse von Eumenes I. zugunsten der aufständischen Söldner.²⁰ Die Inschrift RC. no. 51 = IvP. Nr. 158 berichtet darüber, daß ein Teil der

¹⁵ S. I. KERTÉSZ, Bemerkungen zur Inschrift OGIS. Nr. 338: *Specimina Nova ex Inst. Hist. Univ. Quinqueecl. de Iano Pann. Nom.* 11, 1995, 79–80.

¹⁶ J. HOPP, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden* (Vestigia 25), München 1977, 131 ff.; G. T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935, 177 ff.; E. V. Hansen (Anm. 7) 148 ff.; R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 93 f.

¹⁷ S. V. TSCHERIKOWER, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit*, New York 1973, 205.

¹⁸ SEG. 38, 1988, no. 1266.

¹⁹ Ebd. no. 1263. Er weist darauf hin, daß „eponymous priests do occur at Pergamon“ und „several other details of this text point to Pergamon, like the ‘royal slaves’ and the *Mysoi* and the *Masdyénoi*, who are also attested in ephebic lists of Pergamon“.

²⁰ Über diese Dokumente mit weiterer Fachliteratur s. I. KERTÉSZ, *Söldner im hellenistischen Pergamon*, in: *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum*, hrsg. I. Weiler, Leykam Graz 1988, 129–135.

Söldner Privateigentum nach griechischem Muster höchstwahrscheinlich von Eumenes II. erhielt.²¹ Schließlich ist in der Inschrift die Rede von dem Bürgerrecht, das den verschiedenen Gruppen der Söldner verliehen wurde, deren Abstammung jedoch strittig ist. Mit Recht stellt Allen über die *Masdyenoi* und *Mysoi* genannten Söldner in der Inschrift fest: „These *katoikoi* were surely not... royal mercenaries in the usual sense, but rather members of the village communities around Pergamon who served, as well as Pergamene citizens, in the army...“²² Ich stimme Allen vollkommen bei, daß die Inschrift OGIS. Nr. 338 = IvP. Nr. 249 den Prozeß bekrönt, durch den die pergamenischen Söldner aus einer marginalen Gruppe der Gesellschaft zu Vollbürgern geworden sind. Damit paßt dieses Dokument ohne Zweifel in die Reihe der Dokumente, deren pergamenische Abstammung niemals in Frage gestellt worden ist. Dieses Charakteristikum der Inschrift beweist eindeutig, daß der dort aufgeschriebene Volksbeschluß aus Pergamon abstammt.

3. PERGAMON UND ATHEN

In seinem Buch über die hellenistische Kunst von 1980 strich L. Castiglione heraus, daß die Attaliden sich die Akropolis von Athen zum Vorbild genommen haben, als sie den Tempel der Athena Polias auf dem Burgberg von Pergamon errichteten.²³ In meiner Rezension über dieses Buch habe ich diese Idee kurz weiterentwickelt und festgestellt, daß die Interpretation von Telephos als mythischer Ahn der Attaliden auch die Parallele zu Athen bestärkt hat. Denn Auge, die Mutter des Telephos, diene als Priesterin der Göttin Athene und begründete den asiatischen Kult dieser Göttin.²⁴ Schalles, den ich am Beginn meines Artikels erwähnt habe, betont in seinen zwei Büchern den Gedanken, daß die Attaliden Pergamon bewußt zu einem „Athen“ der hellenistischen Welt formieren wollten und danach strebten, die äußere Ähnlichkeit zwischen Athen und Pergamon mit kulturpolitischen Maßnahmen zu unterstreichen und die Parallele der zivilisatorischen Rolle beider Städte zu propagieren.²⁵ Er stellt in Hinsicht der Kulturpolitik von Philetairos fest: „Ihr innovativer Charakter hinsichtlich des städtischen Kultes liegt mehr in dessen Ausgestaltung in eine Richtung, die in einer allmählichen Orientierung an Athen mündet...“²⁶

Bei der Untersuchung der Galateranatheme von Attalos I. kommt er zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß eine kolossale Statue „nach Art der Athena Promachos“ in ihrem Zentrum stand. Er ist der Meinung, daß die Zielsetzung der Herrschers war: „eine programmatische Gleichsetzung Pergamons mit Athen – und als wesentlicher

²¹ S. H. KREISSIG, Fragen der sozialökonomischen Basis im Hellenismus des Ostens: JWG, 1971/II., 119–128.

²² R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 177.

²³ CASTIGLIONE LÁSZLÓ, Hellenisztikus művészet, Budapest 1980, 40.

²⁴ Homonoia 4, 1982, 243–245.

²⁵ H.-J. SCHALLES (Anm. 8) und Der Pergamonaltar. Zwischen Bewertung und Verwertbarkeit, Frankfurt a. M. 1986.

²⁶ H.-J. SCHALLES (Anm. 8) 20.

Bestandteil eine Gleichsetzung der Perserkriege mit den Galaterkämpfen“.²⁷ In seinem Buch über den Pergamonaltar betont Schalles die Ähnlichkeit zwischen der Komposition des Westgiebels von athenischem Parthenon und dem Ostfries des pergamenischen Zeus-Altars.²⁸ Schließlich weist er zutreffend darauf hin: „Die Präsenz des pergamenischen Königshauses in Athen war unübersehbar, sein Interesse an der Stadt vielschichtig.“²⁹

Diese Vermutung und die anderen Beispiele von Schalles kann man mit weiteren Argumenten stützen. Die Maßnahmen der Attaliden hinsichtlich des Kultes von Athena Nikephoros und der Nikephorien machen ebenfalls ihre Bestrebung deutlich, Pergamon zu einem Athen Kleinasien zu formieren.³⁰ Die Bürger von Athen akzeptierten diese Bestrebung. In der Inschrift IG. II² Nr. 885 proklamierten sie, daß die Attaliden die Insel Aigina mit Recht erworben hätten, weil sie mit dem Heros der Insel, Aias verwandt gewesen seien.³¹ Wir können ein enges Zusammenwirken zwischen Athen und Pergamon während der Zeit vor dem Ausbruch des zweiten makedonischen Krieges und während der Kämpfe beobachten, und beachtenswert sind die Berichte von Livius und Polybios über die dem Attalos I. in Athen gegebenen Ehrungen. Beide Berichte bewerten die Geschehnisse in Athen verschieden, und das können wir auf ihre gegensätzlichen politischen Hintergründe zurückführen.³² So können wir feststellen, daß die politischen und kulturhistorischen Angaben hinsichtlich der Verbindung Athens zu Pergamon einander schön ergänzen.

4. WANN IST DER ALTAR VON PERGAMON ERRICHTET WORDEN?

Mit Datierung des Pergamonaltars beschäftigen sich zwei verhältnismäßig neue Bücher.³³ Diese analysieren die Tätigkeit von *Phyromachos*, dem Künstler, der bei der Gestaltung des Pergamonaltars eine grundsätzliche Rolle gespielt hat, und die Chronologie seiner Tätigkeit. B. Andreae argumentiert, daß *Phyromachos* 168 v. Chr. in Athen eine Bildhauerwerkstatt besessen hat, in der er auch Maler ausbildete. Dieser Künstler wirkte am sogenannten „Kleinen Attalischen Weihgeschenk“ auf der Akropolis von Athen nach 166/165 v. Chr. mit. Das Weihgeschenk bestand aus bis zu hundert Bronzefiguren und schilderte die Kämpfe der Götter gegen die Giganten, der Griechen gegen die Perser, der Athener gegen die Amazonen und der Perga-

²⁷ Ebd. 53.

²⁸ H.-J. SCHALLES (Anm. 25) 34

²⁹ Ebd. 36.

³⁰ S. E. OHLEMUTZ, Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon, Würzburg 1940, 29 ff.; E. V. HANSEN (Anm. 7) 55 ff.; R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 121 ff.

³¹ R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 208; MARTIN P. NILSSON, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece*, Lund 1951, 95.; I. KERTÉSZ, *Der Telephos-Mythos und der Telephos-Fries: Oikumene* 3, 1982, 203–215.

³² I. KERTÉSZ, Die Darstellung von Attalos I. in der antiken Geschichtsschreibung: *Annales Univ. Sc. Bud. de Rol. Eötv. Nom. Sectio Historica* 26, 1993 (Gedenkschrift István Hahn), 53–58.

³³ B. ANDREAEE (hg.), *Phyromachos-Probleme*. Röm. Mitt. Ergänzungsheft, 31, 1990.; B. ANDREAEE, *Laokoon und die Kunst von Pergamon. Die Hybris der Giganten*, Frankfurt a. M. 1991. (Dieses Buch erhielt ich durch die Liebenswürdigkeit von Prof. P. Siewert.)

mener gegen die Gallier. Früher hielt man Attalos I. für den Auftraggeber dieser Kunstwerke, aber die stilistischen Untersuchungen und die chronologischen Vermutungen hinsichtlich der Tätigkeit von Phyromachos unterstützen vielmehr die Feststellung, daß es sich um ein Geschenk von Attalos II. handelt. Die beiden früheren Werke des Künstlers, das Porträt des Antisthenes und die Statue des Asklepios, zeigen gut die Entwicklung einer Darstellungsmethode, die man damit charakterisieren kann, daß sie die Charaktere und Gefühle durch eine markante Formung des Haares, der Augenbraue, des Mundes und des Gesichts darstellt. Dieser Stil erreichte seinen Höhepunkt in den Plastiken „des Kleinen Attalischen Weihgeschenks“. Die oben erwähnten plastischen Werke stehen in einer stilistischen und thematischen Einheit mit den Figuren der Gigantomachie des Pergamonaltars. Aufgrund dessen vermutet Andreae folgendes: „Der Pergamonaltar ist also erst nach den beiden früheren Werken des Phyromachos, nämlich den Antisthenesporträt und dem Asklepios, entstanden. Diese Werke des Phyromachos zeigen aber schon eindeutig die stilistischen Eigenarten, die man bisher als eine schöpferische Leistung der Meister des Pergamonaltars angesehen hat. Ihnen stand hingegen das Werk des Phyromachos schon vor Augen. Dieser Meister aus Athen muß als der eigentliche Schöpfer des pergamenischen Hochbarock gelten.“³⁴

Aus diesem engen Zusammenhang zwischen der künstlerischen Bahn des Phyromachos und die Bildung des Pergamonaltars können wir einen Schluß auf den Zeitpunkt der Errichtung des berühmten pergamenischen Denkmals ziehen. Während frühere Meinungen nur den kleinen Fries in die 160-er Jahre datierten, der die Lebensgeschichte des Telephos darstellt, und den größeren Fries mit der Gigantomachie in eine frühere Zeit,³⁵ vermutet Andreae im Einklang mit anderen: „Die früher angenommene Errichtungszeit des Pergamonaltars zwischen ca. 180 und 160 v. Chr. in Wahrheit auf das Jahrzehnt zwischen 166 und 156 v. Chr. eingegrenzt werden muß.“³⁶ Zu dieser Vermutung paßt gut die Feststellung von Schalles über die historischen Ereignisse, die hinter der Errichtung des Altars standen: „Möglicherweise entstand der Altar aber auch aus Anlaß des letzten siegreich bestanden Gallierkrieges (168–165), der die Existenz des pergamenischen Reiches nochmals ernsthaft bedroht hatte“.³⁷ Dieselbe Konsequenz zieht Andreae.³⁸

Da auch die Keramikfragmente in der Gründung des Pergamonaltars dieselbe Datierung beweisen,³⁹ nehme ich dieses neue Ergebnis für sicher. Dieses Ergebnis untermauert meinen früheren Standpunkt, daß der Telephos-Fries des Pergamonaltars den politischen Ereignissen der Jahre zwischen 170–160 v. Chr. entspricht.⁴⁰

Es ist ein interessantes Ergebnis von Andreae, daß er die Laokoon-Gruppe mit dem durch Phyromachos vertretenen pergamenischen Stil verbindet. Er analysiert die

³⁴ B. ANDREAЕ (Anm. 33) 53.

³⁵ A. BRÜCKNER, Wann ist der Altar von Pergamon errichtet worden?: AA. 1904, 218–224.; E. V. HANSEN (Anm. 7) 347 f.; E. SCHMIDT, Der Grosse Altar zu Pergamon, Leipzig 1961, 17 ff.

³⁶ B. ANDREAЕ (Anm. 33) 53.

³⁷ H.-J. SCHALLES, (Anm. 25) 20.

³⁸ B. ANDREAЕ (Anm. 33) 66.

³⁹ P. J. Callaghan, On the Date of the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon: BICS 28, 1981, 115–123.

⁴⁰ I. KERTÉSZ (Anm. 31) 203 ff.

Epochen der pergamenischen Geschichte und die diese Epochen widerspiegelnden künstlerischen Werke und stellt fest: „Die fünfte Phase ist die der fortschreitenden Abhängigkeit von Rom nach dem Überfall Prusias' II. von Bithynien (156/155 v. Chr.) und der Visitation von Pergamon durch Scipio Africanus Minor (139 v. Chr.), den römischen Exponenten der Zeit, in der Korinth, Karthago und Numantia zerstört wurden und Pergamon sich schließlich nur durch Selbstaufgabe retten konnte. Künstlerischer Ausdruck dieser Phase ist die Laokoon-Gruppe, die das Schicksal von Pergamon an das Schicksal der Nachfahren Trojas knüpft.“⁴¹ Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Feststellung setzt er fort: „Jetzt... drohte sich ein neuer Fall von Troja an der Stadt Pergamon zu wiederholen. Es galt nun, die Römer an das gemeinsame Gründungsoffer zu erinnern und die eigenen Landsleute vor der Verblendung zu bewahren, der die Trojaner anheimgefallen waren.“⁴² Der Vermutung von Andreae beipflichtend, nehme ich an, daß die Laokoon-Gruppe in geistiger Verwandtschaft zu dem Telephos-Fries des Pergamonaltars gestanden hat. Der Telephos-Fries spiegelte die Entfremdung Pergamons von Rom, die Laokoon-Gruppe führte dieses Gefühl der Entfremdung aufgrund der für Pergamon immer schlechteren historischen Situation weiter.

5. DIE WEIBLICHEN FIGUREN DER GIGANTOMACHIE DES PERGAMONALTARS

Bei der Untersuchung der Gigantomachie des Pergamonaltars stellt Schalles fest: „Bei bestimmten Göttern sind die kult- und religionspolitischen Besonderheiten des pergamenischen Reiches und seiner Dynastie zu berücksichtigen.“⁴³ Für solche „Besonderheit“ hält der Verfasser die Erscheinung, daß die weiblichen Mitglieder des pergamenischen Herrscherhauses besondere Ehrungen genossen haben: „Am großen Fries treten gerade weibliche Gottheiten in ungewöhnlich großer Zahl auf. Dies ist am ehesten dadurch zu erklären, daß die Attaliden der besonderen Rolle der Frau in ihrer Selbstdarstellung Rechnung trugen.“⁴⁴

Unter den allgemein verehrten weiblichen Mitgliedern der Familie von Attaliden hat Stratonike, die Frau von Eumenes II., später Attalos II., und die Tochter des kappadokischen Königs, Ariarathes IV., eine hervorragende Rolle gespielt. Der Name Stratonike erscheint in zwei Inschriften. Beide Inschriften bezeichnen sie betont als Tochter des Ariarathes. Die eine Inschrift ist im Demeterheiligtum Pergamons zum Vorschein gekommen,⁴⁵ die andere auf Delos.⁴⁶ Da die Inschriften Stratonike nicht als Frau des Eumenes II. oder Attalos II. erwähnen, hat sich hinsichtlich ihrer Datierung eine Diskussion entsponnen. Allen kam zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß

⁴¹ B. ANDREAE (Anm. 33) 85.

⁴² Ebd. 83.

⁴³ H.-J. SCHALLES (Anm. 25) 77.

⁴⁴ Ebd. 56.

⁴⁵ S. AvP VIII 3, Taf. 2 zu Nr. 3., BE 1971, 538.; vgl. J. HOPP (Anm. 16) 26.

⁴⁶ OGIS. Nr. 350.; F. DURRBACH, Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, 1921, 89.

„we should retain the date argued above for the erection of statues of Stratonike on Delos and in Pergamon, i. e. 188 B.C., as a result of the betrothal of Stratonike to Eumenes earlier in year“.⁴⁷ Ich finde die Lösung von H. Müller für mehr überzeugend.⁴⁸ Er vermutet nach der Untersuchung der pergamenischen Geschichte und insbesondere der Epoche von Attalos II., daß die beiden Statuen mit den erwähnten Inschriften eine besondere Bedeutung gewonnen hat, daß die Königin Pergamons die Tochter des ehemaligen legitimen kappadokischen Königs, Ariarathes IV., gewesen ist.

Ich bin der Meinung, daß der Verfasser mit Recht diesen Zeitpunkt für authentisch hält, in dem Pergamon in die Thronstreitigkeit von Kappadokien interveniert hat, das heißt als „die Attaliden – Eumenes II., vor allem aber sein in stärkerem Maße von der Usurpation des Orophernes betroffener Bruder und Nachfolger Attalos II. – ins Feld zogen, um den von Ariarathes V. propagierten Rechtsanspruch Geltung zu verschaffen“. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt kann es besonders Gewicht gewonnen haben, daß „sie entgegen jeder Erwartung die Abstammung der pergamenischen Königin von dem verstorbenen Ariarathes IV. demonstrativ herausstreichen, proklamieren sie die familiäre Bindung zu dessen legitimer Nachkommenschaft ebenso wie die daraus erwachsende Verantwortung gegenüber dem Schicksal der verschwägerten Familie“. So „ließen sich die vom Demos der Athener auf Delos geweihten und vom Volk von Pergamon im Demeterheiligtum errichteten Statuen, deren Inschriften Stratonike sowohl als Königin wie als Tochter Ariarathes' IV. vorstellen, in die Zusammenhänge der kappadokischen Thronwirren, also etwa in die Jahre zwischen 164 und 156 v. Chr., datieren...“ Nach alledem wertet Müller die Inschriften der Statuen von Stratonike „als vorzügliches Exempel attalidischer Propagandakunst“.

Im Licht dieser Vermutung erhält die oben erwähnte Feststellung von Schalles über die andere hervorragende Schöpfung der „attalidischen Propagandakunst“, das heißt die Darstellung der Gigantomachie des Pergamonaltars, besondere Bedeutung. Die große Zahl der dort dargestellten Göttinnen und die Betonung ihrer Wichtigkeit ist tatsächlich ein konkreter Hinweis auf die hervorragende politische Bedeutung der Apollonis und Stratonike, der Frauen, die mit den Attaliden in einer engen Beziehung gestanden haben. Im Fall von Stratonike bekam diese Bedeutung einen neuen Sinn eben in der Zeit der Errichtung des Pergamonaltars. So wird mithilfe der chronologischen Ergebnisse, das heißt, daß wir die beiden Stratonike erwähnenden Inschriften und die Errichtung des Pergamonaltars in dieselbe Zeit datieren können, unser Bild über die politische Propaganda und die kulturpolitischen Schritte der Attaliden ausgeglichener.

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⁴⁷ R. E. ALLEN (Anm. 2) 200 f.

⁴⁸ H. MÜLLER, Königin Stratonike, Tochter des Königs Ariarathes: *Chiron* 21, 1991, 393–424.

ZSIGMOND RITOÓK

ANTIGONES EINSAMKEIT

Die Antigone ist eine der vielleicht meistbekannten griechischen Tragödien. Selbst heutzutage, da die klassische Kultur immer mehr aus der Schule verdrängt wird, ist diese Tragödie in Ungarn und wahrscheinlich auch anderswo, freilich in Übersetzung, in den Mittelschulen Pflichtlektüre. Auch das Thema wurde im 20. Jh. mehrmals bearbeitet, und zwar nicht von mittelmäßigen Autoren wie früher meistens.¹ Ich erinnere nur an Anouilh, Brecht, Karvaš, Hochhut.² Das ist um so mehr bemerkenswert, weil die Geschichte vor Sophokles in der Literatur nicht bekannt ist, für die Weltliteratur war sie also von Sophokles geprägt.³

Die moderne Erklärung fängt mit Hegel an, der in seiner Ästhetik und in seiner Religionsphilosophie auf die Antigone zu sprechen kommt. Er sieht, wie bekannt, in Antigone den Vertreter der Familie und der unterirdischen Götter, in Kreon dagegen den des Staates, des Gemeinwohls und der lichten Tagesgötter des freien, selbstbewußten Volks- und Staatslebens. Beide vertreten eine sittliche Macht, doch beide einseitig. Daher haben beide recht und hat keiner recht, denn die Gerechtigkeit ist das ausgeglichene Gelten beider sittlichen Mächte.⁴

Hegels Deutung wurde in der späteren Forschung bald abgelehnt, bald (oft mit bedeutenden Änderungen) angenommen, doch seine Gedanken wirken nicht selten

¹ K. HEINEMANN, *Die tragischen Gestalten der Griechen in der Weltliteratur*. Leipzig 1920. II. 53–8; E. FRENZEL, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur*. Stuttgart 1988. 50–2.

² J. ANOUILH, *Antigone* (1942); B. BRECHT, *Antigone Modell 48* (1948); P. KARVAŠ, *Antigone i ta druhi* (1962); P. HOCHHUT, *Die Berliner Antigone* (1964).

³ Ob er die Geschichte selbst erfunden hat oder aus einer aus anderen Quellen nicht bekannten thebanischen Lokalsage schöpfte, kann nicht entschieden werden, viel wahrscheinlicher ist aber die zweite Möglichkeit. W. SCHMID, *Probleme aus der sophokleischen Antigone*: *Philologus* 62, 1903, 3; K. REINHARDT, *Sophokles*. Frankfurt a. M. 31947. 78 halten auch eine dichterische Quelle für möglich. Zusammenfassend: H. PETERSMANN, *Mythos und Gestaltung in Sophokles Antigone*: *WSt* 91, 1978, 67–96.

⁴ G. W. F. HEGEL, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*. Stuttgart II. 51–2; vgl. auch I. 299 (Jubiläumsausgabe Bd. 16, bzw. 15); *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*. Stuttgart 1959. II. 133–4 (Jubiläumsausgabe Bd. 16).

selbst dort, wo er nicht erwähnt wird.⁵ Wie aber seine Deutung aus seiner Philosophie folgt, so sind auch die späteren Erklärer nicht unabhängig vom Geist ihrer Zeit. Ich erwähne nur einige, die im weiteren für mich wichtig sein werden, ohne irgendwelchen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit.

Unter jenen, die sich von Hegel abgrenzen, ist die Deutung von R. Bultmann eine der bedeutendsten. Nach ihm vertritt Antigone nicht „das Prinzip der Geschlechtstradition, sondern das Wissen, daß menschliches Dasein und gerade auch die Existenz der Polis durch die jenseitige Macht des Hades begrenzt ist“. Durch diesen wird menschliches Recht und Gesetz relativiert. Kreon erkennt das nicht.⁶ Da ist etwas vom Existenzialismus zu spüren.

Der Akzent verschob sich jedoch immer mehr in die Richtung, daß Antigone die Einzelpersönlichkeit sei, die sich gegen den allmächtigen Staat auflehnt. Das Grundproblem wurde darin erblickt, „ob der Staat ... absolut werden darf, oder über allem das Andere steht“.⁷ Für die Athener (oder vielleicht nicht nur für sie) sei Antigone der Bürger, der selbständig denkt und sich nicht unbedingt in allen Punkten dem Willen des Staates und seines Lenkers fügt,⁸ des Lenkers, in dessen Verhalten der Zuschauer vielleicht sogar Züge des Perikles erkennen mochte.⁹ Wahrscheinlich geht man sich nicht zu sehr irr, wenn man vermutet, daß die Problemstellung: Staat oder Einzeler bzw. die Frage der Möglichkeit eines selbständigen Denkens gegenüber dem Staat und der von diesem beeinflussten und manipulierten öffentlichen Meinung von den Erlebnissen des 20. Jh. und des totalitären Staates angeregt worden sind.

Das 20. Jh. war/ist indessen nicht nur ein Jahrhundert des sich gegen den allmächtigen Staat auflehrenden Einzelnen, sondern auch dasjenige des – infolge Kommunikationssperre oder aus anderen Gründen – vereinsamten, nicht-verstande-

⁵ Ablehnend z. B. REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 73; 261; A. LESKY, *Die griechische Tragödie*. Leipzig 1938. 100; C. M. BOWRA, *Sophoclean Tragedy*. Oxford 1944. 65–6; Á. SZABÓ, *Szophoklész tragédiái*, Budapest 1985. 99–104; damit einverstanden, wenn ihn auch ergänzend, K. KERÉNYI, *Dionysos und das Tragische in der Antigone*. Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike 13. Frankfurt a. M. 1935; B. M. W. KNOX, *The Heroic Temper*. Berkeley–Los Angeles 1964. 76–90, der aber das Problem Geschlecht – Polis auf einer anderen Ebene behandelt: Auch Antigones Verhalten ist politisch, sie tritt für die alte Genos-Ordnung ein, womit Kleisthenes aufräumte. Kreon dagegen, der gegen diese Ordnung ist, verletzt die neue (demokratische) Ordnung, indem er unbedingte Gehorsamkeit fordert. Über den Unterschied ihrer Religiosität: 90–102. Daß Antigone moralisch viel höher steht als Kreon, daran besteht auch für ihn kein Zweifel: 107–16, wiewohl Kreon kein irreligiöser Bösewicht ist. Ausführlich über die „Hegelianische“ Interpretation (mit einer Liste von Arbeiten dieser Art): D. A. HESTER, *Sophocles the Unphilosophical*. *Mnemosyne* 24, 1971, 14–7, die Liste: 52–4, darüber, daß die „Hegelianische“ Deutung eigentlich von Hölderlin herrührt: 15–6. – Vgl. auch H. KUCH, *Individuum und Gesellschaft in der tragischen Dichtung der Griechen*. In: H. KUCH (Hrsg.), *Die griechische Tragödie in ihrer gesellschaftlichen Funktion*. Berlin 1983. 76: „gentile Bindungen“; CHR. MEIER, *Die politische Kunst der griechischen Tragödie*. München 1988. 226: „sie [hat] recht und unrecht zugleich, wie sie auch fromm und unfremd in einem ist“.

⁶ R. BULTMANN, *Polis und Hades in der Antigone des Sophokles*. In: H. DILLER (Hrsg.), *Sophokles*. Darmstadt 1967. 311–24, ursprünglich in der K. Barth-Festschrift (1936).

⁷ A. LESKY, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*. Göttingen 1956. 117.

⁸ CHR. MEIER (Anm. 5) 223.

⁹ V. EHRENBURG, *Sophokles and Pericles*. Oxford 1953. 141–61. Ähnlich, mit anderen Argumenten, in einem verfehlten Aufsatz G. KAIBEL, *De Sophoclis Antígona*. Göttingen 1897. 27. Dagegen F. SCHACHERMEYER, *Sophokles und die perikleische Politik*. *WSt* 79, 1966, 53–60.

nen, auch dasjenige des infolge einer Sinneskrise unsicher gewordenen Menschen. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt gesehen ist Antigone jene, die von Anfang an nicht verstanden, einsam ist und bleibt, in einer Welt, wo das, was gesagt wird, in einem ganz anderen Sinn wahr ist, als der Sagende es meint, sie ist jemand, die bloß dadurch, daß sie so ist, wie sie ist, scheitern muß.¹⁰

Auf die skeptische, von den großen Systemen enttäuschte geistige Atmosphäre des Jahrhundertendes ist jene Deutung zurückzuführen, die zwar von Hegels Gedanken ausgeht, ihn aber in einem wesentlichen Punkt korrigierend die Einseitigkeit von Antigone bzw. von Kreon erörtert. Beide wollen eine widerspruchsfreie Weltanschauung geltend machen, beide sondern sich dadurch von der widerspruchsvollen Welt ab,¹¹ beide können infolgedessen ohne zu grübeln handeln und beide müssen scheitern, beide bleiben allein, weil beide auf die Welt des anderen angewiesen sind. Antigones Einseitigkeit steht moralisch dennoch höher: Sie verletzt zwar die bürgerliche Ordnung, nicht aber die Existenz von anderen, sie opfert bewußt sich selbst, während Kreon infolge des Wesens seiner Einseitigkeit das nicht tun kann.¹²

Daß wir Kunstwerke aus früheren Zeiten nicht von unserer Zeit ganz unabhängig untersuchen, ist unvermeidlich und auch nützlich: So können wir mit alten Zeiten in Dialog treten, so können wir entdecken (jede Epoche für sich), weshalb und inwiefern eine gewisse alte Zeit für uns von Belang ist. Doch muß auch berücksichtigt werden, ob unsere Fragen auch, und wenn schon, inwiefern, Fragen jener Zeit gewesen sind, deren Kunstwerk eben untersucht wird. Dadurch können eventuell auch unsere Fragen klarer gestellt werden. In dieser Hinsicht läßt sich vielleicht etwas auch über die Antigone sagen. Ich muß etwas ausholen und auch schon von anderen Gesagtes rekapitulieren.

Sobald im Prolog Antigone ihr Vorhaben ausspricht und erklärt, daß sie in dessen Ausführung von Kreon nicht gehindert werden kann, mahnt Ismene verzweifelt ihre Schwester: φρόνησον, überlege doch, wie der Vater unterging (49–50). Antigone läßt sich nicht überreden und geht mit den Worten fort: Lasse diese meine Torheit (δυσβουλία), jenes Schreckliche (δεινόν) zu erdulden (95–6). Ismene seufzt bewegt: Du gehst, Wahnsinnige (ἄνους), doch von Geliebten geliebt (99). Die Frage ist nun, was Unsinn, was Vernunft (Überlegung) sei. Im Laufe des Dramas kehrt diese Frage immer wieder zurück.¹³

Daß Antigone töricht ist, sag Ismene, Kreon und der Chor übereinstimmend (99; 383; 561–2). Kreon hält sich freilich für vernünftig, wenn er es auch nicht sagt, hält jedenfalls die Unvernunft für das größte Unheil, wie der Bote, und anders for-

¹⁰ G. MÜLLER, Überlegungen zum Chor der Antigone: Hermes 89, 1961, 398–422. Vielleicht wirken bei ihm auch Gedanken von Konzeptionsprozessen mit: „Antigone, die verdammt ist, ehe sie noch ihre Beweggründe hat sagen können...“ (402).

¹¹ Vgl. auch REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 78 über Kreon: „Er ist ein Mensch in seinem Kreis gebannt und seinen Grenzen bis zur Blindheit unterworfen“.

¹² M. C. NUSSBAUM, The Fragility of Goodness. Cambridge 1986, 51–73.

¹³ Δεινόν und φιλεῖν sind ebenfalls gewichtige Worte, die – wie auch mehrere andere – im Drama von verschiedenen Personen in verschiedenem Sinn gebraucht werden: J. DALFEN, Gesetz ist nicht Gesetz und fromm ist nicht fromm. Die Sprache der Personen in der sophokleischen Antigone: WSt 90, 1977, 5–26; über φιλεῖν 23–6; über δεινόν NUSSBAUM 52–3; 72–3.

muliert, auch Teiresias (1051; 1242–5; 1050). Die Frage aber, was vernünftig sei, ist keine einfache. Man kann unterschiedlich vernünftig handeln, je nachdem, wer die Handlung beurteilt. Antigone behauptet, sie habe in den Augen der Unterirdischen vernünftig gehandelt, Ismene in den Augen von Kreon (557). Mehr noch: Der Chor singt im zweiten Stasimon, daß derjenige, dessen Verstand von Gott dem Verderben zugeführt wird, glaubt, daß das Schlechte gut sei (620–24). Das ist allgemein gehalten,¹⁴ doch in der darauf folgenden Kreon–Haimon Szene wird es ganz persönlich. Zunächst hebt auch Haimon allgemein an: Vater, die Götter pflanzen in die Menschen Verstand, den größten aller Schätze (683–4), er geht aber bald in einen persönlichen Ton über: Ob Kreon recht hat oder nicht, wolle er nicht beurteilen, doch könnte auch ein anderer einen richtigen Gedanken fassen. Er habe gehört, was Leute von Antigone sagen, wie sie sie preisen, sich aber vor Kreon fürchten. Hege nicht die einzige Denkweise – sagt er dem Vater –, daß nur das richtig ist, was du sagst, denn wer glaubt, daß nur er vernünftig sei (φρονεῖν), der erweist sich bei näherem Zusehn oft als leer (705–9).¹⁵ Niemand ist also immer und in jeder Hinsicht im Besitz der Vernunft. Kreon fühlt sich beleidigt, der Streit entbrennt. Haimon wendet, was er früher noch allgemein-unpersönlich formuliert hat, auf seinen Vater an: Er spreche leere Gedanken. Kreon hinwiederum: Du wirst bereuen, daß du mich über Vernunft belehrst (φρενώσεις), obwohl du der Vernunft (φρενῶν) bar bist. Worauf Haimon: Wärest du nicht mein Vater, so würde ich sagen, du bist von Sinnen (οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν) (755–7). Ja, es scheint, was vernünftig sei, hängt vom eigenen Dafürhalten ab.

Doch nach Antigones Abschied erscheint Teiresias, und mit ihm mischt sich in die Sphäre von menschlichen Streitigkeiten, Drohungen und Schmähungen die göttliche Welt ein. Überlege es (φρόνει)! Dein Glück steht auf Schneide des Schermessers (996). Und er beendet seine Mahnrede mit den Worten: Wohl überlegt (εὖ ... φρονήσας) rede ich wohlwollend zu dir (1031). Vergebens. Teiresias kann jedoch nicht so abgetan werden wie Haimon. Er sagt gerade heraus, daß Kreon, der die Unvernunft (μὴ φρονεῖν) für das größte Übel hält, gerade daran krankt (1051–2), und geht nach einer fürchterlichen Prophezeiung mit den Worten fort: Kreon solle lernen, eine friedlichere Zunge zu nähren und einen Sinn, der besser ist, als der Verstand (τῶν φρενῶν) den er jetzt hat (1089–90). Kreon fühlt seinen Verstand verwirrt (1055: ταρασσομαι φρένας). Er versucht schließlich, auf Zureden des Chors, der ihn jetzt, wenigstens mittelbar, unvernünftig zu nennen wagt (1098; 1104), alles wieder gutzumachen, doch zu spät. Oh Vergehen vernunftloser Vernunft – klagt Kreon, seine Torheit beschuldigend (1261), und klagt über seine δυσβουλία (1269), dasselbe Wort gebrauchend, womit am Anfang Antigone ironisch ihr eigenes Verhalten kennzeichnete (95). Der Exodos des Chors zieht den Schluß: Vernunft (τὸ φρονεῖν) ist des Glückes erster Teil ... Des Vermessenen überhebliche Reden büßen mit großen Plagen und lehren im Alter so die Vernunft (τὸ φρονεῖν) (1347–52).

¹⁴Zum hier Folgenden vgl. SCHMID (Anm. 3) 18; REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 76; R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, *Sophocles*. Cambridge 1980. 121–2; besonders I. M. LINFORTH, *Antigone and Creon*: University of California Publications in Classical Philology 15, N° 5. 1961. 258–9.

¹⁵Vgl. dazu KNOX (Anm. 3) 107–10.

Ein Wesenszug von Kreon ist also sein Beharren auf dem Verstand, auf seinem Verstand, der sich aber schließlich als falsch und unzulänglich erweist. Doch im Laufe des Stückes zeigt sich auch ein zweiter Zug von ihm. Nachdem der Wächter gemeldet hat, daß von jemand der Leichnam des Polyneikes wenigstens symbolisch bestattet wurde, äußert der Chor schüchtern seine Ahnung, daß die Sache irgendwie von den Göttern veranlaßt sei.¹⁶ Kreon weist das barsch zurück. Er verdächtigt Bürger, die schon seit langem gegen ihn murren, und sagt, er sei überzeugt, daß diese einige mit Belohnung (294: *μισθός*) dazu verführt haben, das zu tun. Hinzu fügt er noch eine kleine Betrachtung über die böse Macht des Geldes, das Städte zerstört, Menschen heimatlos macht, den gesunden Verstand von Menschen verdreht (298: *παράλλάσσει φρένας*) und sie freveln und sich auf Werke der Gottlosigkeit zu verstehen lehrt.¹⁷ Der Zuschauer erinnert sich aber des Oxymorons von Antigone: Heiliges frevle ich (74: *ὅσια πανουργήσασα*), und selbst wenn nicht, weiß er, daß Antigone von allem, doch nicht vom Geld zur Tat bewegt worden war.

In Kreons Gedanken kommt aber immer wieder die Idee des Gewinnes auf. Er hat schon Wächter gestellt, weil er sich fürchtete, daß trotz der in Aussicht gestellten Todesstrafe doch einige sich finden werden, die bestochen seinen Befehl verletzen. Der Gewinn (*κέρδος*) hat schon Menschen, die darauf hofften, oft zugrunde gerichtet – sagt er (221–2).¹⁸ Er droht den Wächtern, daß sie noch lernen werden, nicht aus allem Gewinn ziehen (*κερδαίνειν*) zu wollen (311–2), da sie, wenn sie den Täter nicht herbeischaffen, noch erfahren werden, daß schnöder Gewinn (*τὰ δειλὰ κέρδη*) Unglück bewirkt (326).

Wie falsch seine Vermutung ist, zeigt sich bald, wenn er Antigone gegenüber steht. Sterbe ich vorzeitig, so achte ich das für Gewinn (*κέρδος*: 462) – sagt sie. Wer mit so viel Elend lebt, dem ist der Tod ein Gewinn (*κέρδος*: 464).

Kreon kann aber, fast wie besessen, nicht den Gedanken loswerden, daß überall Gewinnsucht steckt. Als er Teiresias' Mahnung hört, er solle seinen Erlaß zurücknehmen, ruft er aufgebracht aus: Ich bin schon seit langem verkauft. Doch gehet dem Gewinn nach (*κερδαίνειν*), handelt mit sardischem Hellgold und mit indischem Gold, ihr werdet ihn dennoch nicht in das Grab legen (1036–9). Und beendete Teiresias seine Rede mit den Worten: Wohl überlegt rede ich wohlwollend zu dir, und das Lernen ist das Beste, wenn der wohlredende Gewinn (*κέρδος*) redet, so schließt Kreon seine Antwort folgendermaßen: Die sehr gewandten Menschen fallen schändlich, wenn sie Schändliches beschönigen wegen Gewinn (*κέρδος*) 1046–7). Die Seherbrut ist geldsüchtig (*φιλάργυρον*) – wirft er dann Teiresias vor (1055). Er gestattet Teiresias zu reden, fügt jedoch hinzu, er solle das nicht um des Gewinnes willen tun. Teiresias beruhigt ihn ironisch, Kreon kann aber noch immer nur an Gewinnsucht denken: Bilde dir nicht ein, daß du meinen Verstand erkaufen wirst (1063).

¹⁶ Manche nehmen das ernst und denken, das Problem des zweifachen Begräbnisses so lösen zu können: CH. SEGAL, *Tragedy and Civilization*. Cambridge Mass. – London 1981. 159–60; 442–3 (mit Literatur).

¹⁷ Über *δυσέβεια* und *εὐσεβείν* DALFEN (Anm. 13) 14–20.

¹⁸ Über *κέρδος* DALFEN (Anm. 13) 21–3; REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 80; 97; 263; 267. Wie ersichtlich, bedeutet nicht nur Gesetz etwas anderes für Kreon und für Antigone; unter Gewinn kann Kreon etwas bloß Materielles (Geld) verstehen, während er für Antigone etwas Immaterielles ist.

Das Wort 'Gewinn' ertönt dann noch einmal von den Lippen des Chors – offenbar nicht zufällig, weil 'Erleichterung' oder Ähnliches auch anders hätte ausgedrückt werden können – wenn Kreon, schon ganz zerknirscht, sich wegführen lassen will und sich nach dem Tode sehnt: Gewinn forderst du, wenn im Übel noch ein Gewinn sein kann (1326).

Kreons Gesinnung, nach welcher ein Hauptmotiv des menschlichen Handelns die Gewinnsucht ist, scheitert. Dennoch muß man zugeben, daß er in einem gewissen Sinn recht hat. Der Wächter sagt ganz klar und aufrichtig: Süß ist, wenn man selber dem Verderben entkommt, aber schlimm, die Freunde ins Verderben zu führen. Doch alles andere weniger zu achten als mein eigenes Wohlergehen – das ist meine Natur (437–40). Der Wächter ist freilich eine etwas komische Figur,¹⁹ ihn muß man nicht ganz ernst nehmen. Doch das Verhalten des Chors der Greise von Theben ist im Grunde genommen dem des Wächters nicht unähnlich. Sie wollten sich der Gehorsamkeit von Anfang an entziehen und suchten Auswege (216–8); bei der ersten Gelegenheit versuchen sie vorsichtig nahezulegen, daß die Bestattung vielleicht ein Werk der Götter sei (278–9); man sollte also das Verbot nicht forcieren; sie betonen, daß sowohl Kreon als auch Haimon richtig geredet haben, und wenn einer von ihnen etwas Passendes gesagt hat, soll der andere davon lernen (724–5), also auch Kreon von Haimon, was freilich Kreon gleich ablehnt. Sie nehmen sich aber erst nach Teiresias' fürchterlicher Prophezeiung den Mut, den ins Wanken geratenen Kreon zum Nachgeben zu überreden (1110–4). Ihr Verhalten wird von Antigone gekennzeichnet: Sie sehen die Lage ebenso wie sie, gehen aber dem König um den Mund (eigentlich noch kräftiger: Ihr Mund zieht den Schwanz ein, dem König zuliebe).²⁰ Und ähnlich ist das Volk, nur daß es nicht gefragt wird: Es preist Antigones Tat, hat aber Angst vor den fürchterlichen Augen des Königs (690–99). Selbst Ismene, die Antigone liebt und mitzuleiden bereit ist, lehnt es ab, mitzuhandeln.

Das bedeutet aber nicht nur, daß Antigone allein bleibt, wie die großen tragischen Gestalten von Sophokles alle. Das bedeutet, daß Leute nach einer doppelten Moral leben. Sie erkennen moralische Werte zwar im Prinzip an, lassen diese aber in der Praxis außer Acht, sobald ihre Interessen das verlangen, sobald das für sie so nützlich ist. In einer Tyrannis ist das vielleicht verständlich. Die Tyrannis ist unter anderem auch deshalb glücklich, weil sie tun und sagen kann, was sie will – sagt Antigone (506–7). Kreons Antwort: Nur du siehst das so unter den Kadmeern. Darauf antwortet Antigone mit den schon angeführten Worten: Sie sehen es auch, doch sie gehen dir um den Mund. Kreon: Und du schämst dich nicht, wenn du anders denkst als diese (τῶνδε χωρὶς εἰ φρονεῖς) (506–10). Ich führe nur die Bemerkung des Schneidewin–Nauckschen Kommentars an: „Kreon räumt stillschweigend ein, die Bürger möchten im Herzen immerhin gleicher Gesinnung sein, aber sie fügten sich doch dem Herrn, während Antigone ihre Grundsätze auch praktisch zur Geltung bringen wolle.“ – Ja, denn sie ist αὐτόνομος (821) und auch sie tut und sagt was sie will.

¹⁹ LINFORTH (Anm. 14) leugnet das, nicht viele teilen aber seine Meinung.

²⁰ Deshalb scheint mir G. MÜLLERS Ansicht fraglich (Anm. 10), nach der der Chor von Anfang an „ein treuer Diener seines Herren“ ist, d. h. von Anfang an Antigones Handeln verurteilt.

Auch das Verhalten von beiden ist gewissermaßen ähnlich. Beide sind starrsinnig, keiner von ihnen läßt sich zur Nachgiebigkeit überreden, beide leben in ihren widerspruchsfreien Welten, wie das M. C. Nussbaum gezeigt hat.²¹ Kreon spricht mittelbar von Antigones harter Gesinnung (σκληρά φρονήματα: 473) und am Ende von den starren Fehlern (ἁμαρτήματα στερεά) seines unsinnigen Sinnes (1261–2). Durch die Ähnlichkeit werden aber die viel größeren Unterschiede umso mehr hervorgehoben. Kreon wird im Laufe des Stückes immer verstockter, man könnte sagen: immer unmenschlicher. In seiner ersten Rede führt er Gedanken aus, die sogar Demosthenes als schöne und nützliche seinen Zuhörern empfehlen konnte (19, 247). Wenn er sagt, daß er denjenigen, der seinen Freund oder Verwandten dem Vaterland vorzieht, für nichts achte, können wir daran denken, daß er sogar einen Sohn Megareus Selbstmord begehen ließ, damit die Stadt gerettet werde,²² obwohl Kreon hier schon sein Verbot im Sinne hat. Seltsam klingt es aber schon, wenn er in diesem Zusammenhang leidenschaftlich davon redet, daß er denjenigen, der, obwohl er eine ganze Stadt regiert, nicht nach guten Plänen greift, sondern aus Furcht seine Zunge verschließt, für einen Schurken hält (178–83). Ein jeder fürchtet sich vor ihm – und er spricht von der Furcht des Herrschers? Mit dem Psychologisieren muß man vorsichtig sein, aber das Folgende scheint für die Vermutung zu sprechen, daß Kreon in der Sache des Verbotes von Anfang an etwas unsicher war. Ihn beängstigt die öffentliche Meinung, mit seinen leidenschaftlichen Ausbrüchen will er auch seine eigene Unsicherheit unterdrücken.²³ Einerseits wird er immer tyrannischer: Er ist empört, daß es eine Opposition gibt, die das Joch nicht auf ihrem Nacken tragen will, wie es sich gebührt (291–2); in seiner Rede an Haimon behauptet er, dem, der einmal König geworden ist, soll man Gehorsam leisten, ob er Rechtes befiehlt oder nicht (670–1); im Streit mit Teiresias läßt er sich in seiner Wut bis zur Gotteslästerung hinreißen (1039–41). Andererseits schwankt er immer mehr: Anfangs will er den Täter durch das Volk steinigen lassen (36), und wenn sich herausstellt, wer die Tat beging, will er auch Ismene hinrichten (488–9; 578–9); nach dem heftigen Wortwechsel mit Haimon bedroht er Ismene schon nicht mehr (771) und steht auch vom Steinigen ab (773–6);²⁴ nachdem Teiresias fortgegangen ist, gesteht er selbst zu, daß er verwirrt ist, und bittet den Chor um Rat (1095–1102). Freilich gelangt er selbst dann nur zu der Einsicht, daß das Beste doch sei, die bestehenden Gesetze bis zum Ende des Lebens zu bewahren (1113–4).

Antigone ist ebenso hartnäckig, ihr Umgang mit Ismene im Prolog empfindet man fast als herzlos und roh; nach Kreons Reden an den Wächter und an den Chor

²¹ Zur Ähnlichkeit der beiden vgl. z. B. Nussbaum (Anm. 12).

²² Die Lage ist nicht klar. In den Phoinissen des Euripides (911–1018) opfert sich Kreons Sohn gemäß dem Willen der Götter für die Stadt, aber hier heißt der Sohn Menoikeus, und er opfert sich wider den Willen des Vaters, Kreon ist also bei Euripides nicht verantwortlich für den Tod seines Sohnes. Megareus als Kreons Sohn ist in Aischylos Sieben erwähnt (474), als einer, der die Tore verteidigt, und im Schol. zu Ant. 1303. Der Scholiast sagt aber nur, daß nach einigen es sich um Menoikeus handle, der sich getötet hat und früher Megareus hieß, was offenbar nur eine Kombination ist.

²³ Vgl. auch LINFORTH (Anm. 14) 189; 216; 225; Knox (Anm. 5) 71–5. G. M. KIRKWOOD, A Study of Sophoclean Drama. Ithaca 1961. 124 macht darauf aufmerksam, daß Kreon immer sein Prestige schützen will und immer auf dieses hinweist.

²⁴ Vgl. H. D. F. KITTO, The Meaning of Drama. London 1966. 166.

fühlt man ihre Härte schon begründet; in ihrer Rede an Kreon erscheint sie als die erhabene Vertreterin der göttlichen Welt, selbst gegenüber Ismene wird sie etwas milder²⁵ – Faß Mut! du lebst, doch meine Seele ist schon lange tot, so daß sie nur den Toten nützen kann (559–60) –; und bei ihrem Abschied zeigt sich, daß sie zwar nicht von ihrem Standpunkt abweicht, wie schwer ihr aber das Opfer fällt, daß sie kein stoischer Weise ist, der dem Tod gleichmütig entgegenggeht, sondern ein Mensch wie wir.

Es ist demnach auch verständlich, daß diese beiden einander nicht verstehen, sie sprechen nicht dieselbe Sprache.²⁶ Auf Kreons rationale Argumente hat Antigone keine entsprechenden rationalen Gegenargumente. Kreon legt das Gewicht auf den Unterschied zwischen den Brüdern: für oder gegen das Vaterland, Antigone auf die Gleichheit, die Blutverwandschaft, auf Hades Gesetz und darauf, daß sie einfach ihren Bruder liebt, sie will die Liebe teilen, nicht den Haß,²⁷ worauf Kreon kein entsprechendes Gegenargument finden kann und den Streit mit einem Machtspruch abschließt (524–5).

Mit diesem Gespräch kommen wir aber zu einer hochwichtigen Frage. Kreon argumentiert damit, daß Polyneikes kam, um das Land zu verheeren, während Eteokles auftrat, um es zu beschützen. Und dennoch verlangt Hades diese (nach der Erklärung oder Lesart des Scholiasten: gleiche) Gesetze – antwortet Antigone. Doch der Brave begehrt nicht mit dem Schlechten gleiches Los – so Kreon. Die Antwort: Wer weiß, ob auch dort unten das als fromm gilt? Kreon wieder: Der Verhaßte wird auch dann nicht geliebt, wenn er stirbt (518–22).

Da ist Kreons Grundirrtum. Er glaubt nicht nur, daß nur das richtig sei, was er denkt, sondern auch, daß seine Gesetze selbst nach dem Tod gültig, daß sie absolut seien. Er erkennt damit nicht nur die gegebene Lage, sondern auch seine Lage, des Menschen Lage im Allgemeinen.²⁸ Absolut sind nur die Götter, der Mensch ist immer relativ, zeitbedingt. Kreon vertraut auf seinen Verstand. Doch im Laufe des Stückes wird klar, daß der Menschenverstand relativ, was vernünftig, vom eigenen Dafürhalten abhängig ist, daß der Mensch sogar das Schlechte für gut, das Gute für schlecht halten kann. Kreon erkennt sich in seiner menschlichen Beschaffenheit nicht, nur zu spät, wenn er dann von φρένες δούσφρονες spricht (1261), was demnach keine bloße rhetorische Redefigur ist, sondern das Zugeständnis dessen, daß der Verstand des Menschen ein schlechter, ein mangelhafter ist.

Das war wiederum eine zentrale Frage der Zeit. Die Eleaten haben als Kriterium der Wahrheit die Widerspruchlosigkeit gesetzt: Wahr ist, worin kein Widerspruch zu entdecken ist. Sie haben aber gleich nachgewiesen, daß in wichtigen Begriffen von uns, wie Bewegung, Entstehung bzw. Vergehen, Vielheit usw. ein Wi-

²⁵ Vgl. auch LINFORTH (Anm. 14) 208.

²⁶ REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 87.

²⁷ Den Sinn des oft übertrieben mißdeuteten, berühmten Verses gibt das Scholion: Es mag sein, daß die Brüder einander hassen, ich bin aber meiner Natur nach nicht so, daß ich mit dem einen den anderen hasse, sondern daß ich sie mit jenen zusammen, die sie lieben, liebe.

²⁸ BULTMANN (Anm. 6) 315–6: Kreon will die Macht von Hades ignorieren (777–8). Vgl. auch MÜLLER (Anm. 10) 399; 406. Daß Kreon berechtigt ist, seine Macht auch über Tote auszuüben, scheint in seiner Eingeschüchtertheit auch der Chor zuzugeben: 213–4.

derspruch steckt.²⁹ Der protagoreisch-sophistische Relativismus, nach welchem wir von allem nur eine Meinung (δόξα) haben können, die Sachen für uns so sind, wie sie uns erscheinen, und dieselben Sachen bald gut, bald schlecht und auch zu derselben Zeit für den einen gut, den anderen schlecht sind, war nur eine Weiterentwicklung und eine Ausdehnung der eleatischen Lehre auf die Ethik.³⁰

Haben aber die Sophisten recht, daß alle Meinungen gleich wahr (oder nicht wahr) sind, so kann man von keiner Wissenschaft, so kann man von keiner Moral sprechen. Es muß etwas Absolutes gefunden werden, und sei es durch eine Verge-waltigung der Logik. So wollten die Atomisten das Absolute im absolut vollen Un-zerschneidbaren finden, das zwar Ausdehnung hat, dennoch unteilbar ist, und so setzte später Platon die absolut vollkommenen, unveränderlichen, wirklich seienden Formen voraus, wodurch sowohl die Wissenschaft, als auch die Ethik gerettet werden können.

Parmenides und Zenon besuchten Athen um 450 und Zenon hat dort großes Aufsehen erregt, selbst Perikles hat ihm zugehört. Protagoras war in den vierziger Jahren in Athen und gehörte zum Kreis des Perikles. Die Ansichten dieser Denker und die von ihnen gestellten Fragen dürften ziemlich allgemein bekannt gewesen sein, es unterliegt jedenfalls keinem Zweifel, daß Sophokles sie gekannt hat. Im ersten Stasimon der Antigone scheint auch die protagoreische Lehre vom Aufstieg und von der Größe des Menschen mitgewirkt zu haben.³¹ Er deutete aber die sophistische Erkenntnistheorie im Sinne der delphischen Religiosität um. Es ist wahr, daß der Mensch die Natur unterjocht und Geschick zu den Künsten als etwas Weises über alle Hoffnung besitzt (365–6), aber eben weil seine Erkenntnisfähigkeit begrenzt, sein Denken widerspruchsvoll ist, weil er seine Findigkeit bald zu guten, bald zu schlechten Zwecken verwenden kann, weil er diese manchmal verwechselt, muß er sich hüten, sich zu verabsolutisieren und soll sich in seiner Felhbarkeit erkennen.³²

²⁹ Á. SZABÓ beschäftigte sich mit diesen Fragen in einer Reihe von Studien in dieser Zeitschrift: Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialektik: 1, 1951/52, 377–406; Zur Geschichte der Dialektik des Denkens 2, 1953/54, 17–57; Zum Verständnis der Eleaten: ebd. 243–86; Eleatica 3, 1955, 67–102.

³⁰ K. REINHARDT, Parmenides und die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie. Frankfurt a. M. 21959.

³¹ SCHMID (Anm. 3) 12–6; W. NESTLE, Griechische Religiosität. II. Leipzig 1933. 90. MÜLLER (Anm. 10) 403–4, leugnet, daß hier Sophistik oder Aufklärung mitgewirkt haben, und will das Ganze von der archaischen Gedankenwelt herleiten. Daß Gedanken, die hier vorkommen, auch in der archaischen Dichtung zu finden sind, ist wahr, und das gilt auch und vielleicht noch mehr für das zweite Stasimon (P. E. EASTERLING, The Second Stasimon of Antigone. In: R. D. DAWE–J. DIGGLE–P. E. EASTERLING [eds.], Dionysiaca [Page-Festschrift] Cambridge 1978. 141–58), der Aufbau des Liedes (Unterjochung der Natur – gesellschaftliches Zusammenleben) erinnert jedoch an Protagoras. Sophokles mochte zwar alte Gedanken verwenden, doch formulierte er sie so, daß auch die „Modernen“ sie als die ihrigen anerkennen können. Durch die Worte des Wächters und durch sein Zurückkommen (nach 329) überhaupt wird freilich das Lob (besonders 360–1) in ein seltsames Licht gesetzt: SZABÓ (Anm. 5) 115–6). Wie vielfach dieses Stasimon, oft durch ironische Kontrapunkte, mit dem Ganzen des Dramas verwoben ist, hat CH. SEGAL (Anm. 16) 152–73 gezeigt. Seine Arbeit Sophocles' Praise of Man and the Conflicts of the Antigone. In: TH. WOODARD (ed.), Sophocles. A Collection of critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs N. J. 1966. 62–85 war mir nicht zugänglich.

³² Nach Kritias in Platons Charmides (164 d–e) ist das γνῶθι σαυτὸν mit σοφροῦναι gleichbedeutend und so begrüße der Gott den Eintretenden. Vgl. auch die Geschichte vom Tripus, welcher

Absolut sind nur die Götter. Hier ist der Wurzel des Unterschiedes zwischen Kreon und Antigone zu fassen. Kreon ist in der Logik, in den Werturteilen und Begriffen der menschlichen Welt befangen, deshalb kann er viel logischer argumentieren als Antigone, die ohne zu argumentieren einfach auf die göttliche Welt hinweist. Kreon ist in der wandelbaren Welt befangen, er gibt Anordnungen, die nur für den Augenblick, für den Einzelfall gelten, während Antigone für die feststehenden, seit je und für immer gültigen Gesetze der Götter eintritt. Das bedeutet aber auch, daß diese Gesetze nicht mit logischen Argumenten bewiesen werden können. Kreon gibt nach, doch nicht von Argumenten überzeugt, sondern weil er vor dem Zorn der Götter Angst hat.³³

Daher die Einseitigkeit und Verschlossenheit von Antigone aber auch ihre Überlegenheit (über Kreon), und darin besteht ihre Einsamkeit, nicht in erster Linie darin, daß andere ihr nicht beistehen. Denn sie handelt zwar allein, aber nicht ohne ein sie begleitendes Mitgefühl.³⁴ Ismene liebt sie, Ismene ist infolge ihrer Liebe bereit mit ihr zu sterben, sie ist nicht von Gewinnsucht geleitet, für ihren Verstand ist aber Antigones Handeln ein Unsinn. Und sie hat recht: Auf der Ebene des besonnenen Menschenverstandes ist für ein gebrechliches Weib, sich gegen die menschlich unbegrenzte Macht eines Herrschers aufzulehnen, ein Unsinn oder milder formuliert ein bedauernswerter Wahn. Auch Haimon steht auf der Seite von Antigone, er ist nicht nur bereit, mit ihr zu sterben, sondern tut es auch, doch das folgt aus seiner Liebe zu ihr, nicht aus der Anerkennung der absoluten Gültigkeit der göttlichen Weltordnung. Mit Kreon in Streit, beruft er sich auf Tatsachen der menschlichen Welt.³⁵ Für die göttliche Weltordnung setzt sich bewußt und sie bis zum letzten ernst und absolut nehmend einzig und allein Antigone ein. Das ist es, warum man sie nicht versteht, das ist es, warum sie einsam bleibt.³⁶

In diesem Zusammenhang muß auch das Verhalten des Wächters gewertet werden. Seine Schwatzhaftigkeit, Wichtigtuerei, sein immer um sich Kreisen und alles nach dem eigenen Interesse Beurteilen macht ihn zum komischen Gegenpol von Antigone.³⁷ Er kümmert sich nicht um Prinzipien, weder göttliche, noch menschliche, er will nur angenehm leben, das ist seine Natur (439–40). Während Antigone im Schatten des Todes, sozusagen vor einem status confessionis steht, ist ihm das freudige Bewußtsein dessen über alles wichtig, daß er mit heiler Haut davonkommt.

Neben dem Problem, ob es etwas Absolutes gibt, und wenn schon, was das sei (was für Sophokles in erster Linie ein ethisches Problem sein mochte), konnten die Athener, nicht ganz unabhängig von dieser Frage, auch darüber nachdenken, ob sie

nach der Weisung von Delphoi dem σοφίη πάντων πρότος gehöre und so schließlich von Solon dem delphischen Gott geschenkt wurde: Er sei der weiseste von allen (D. L. I, 28).

³³ Schön darüber Ehrenberg (Anm. 9) 54–61, besonders 58ff.

³⁴ Sie lehnt das ab, was eine Übertreibung ist, und wodurch ihre Einsamkeit sich steigert (so richtig SEGAL Anm. 16. 168), diese ist aber nicht Folge bloß dieser Ablehnung.

³⁵ Der Hinweis auf die unterirdischen Götter (749) ändert daran nichts.

³⁶ MÜLLER (Anm. 10) hat also recht, daß die Einsamkeit Antigones sich darin zeigt, daß niemand sie versteht, ich stelle aber eine weitere Frage: Warum nicht?

³⁷ Vgl. die glänzenden Ausführungen von REINHARDT (Anm. 3) 80–4.

wirklich gemäß ihren im Prinzip anerkannten moralischen Werten leben. Das war ebenfalls eine aktuelle Frage, vor allem eine politische.

Freiheit und Gleichheit waren jedem Athener teuer. Freiheit bedeutete, daß man nicht in einer Tyrannis lebt (vgl. Hdt. 1, 62, 1; 78, 1; usw.) und daß man nicht einem anderen Staat unterworfen ist (vgl. Hdt. 8, 143, 1; Thuk. 2, 43, 4). Die Freiheit von der Tyrannis war eine Voraussetzung auch der Gleichheit (Hdt. 5, 78; Carm. conv, 10; 13 Page). In Athen waren auch alle Maßnahmen getroffen worden um die Tyrannis zu verhindern und Freiheit und Gleichheit zu bewahren. Der Ostrakismos, die Losung der Ämter, diente diesem Zweck. In der Außenpolitik war Athen stolz darauf, ein Bollwerk der Freiheit zu sein, sein zäher Widerstand schützte ja die griechischen Staaten gegen den persischen Despotismus. Doch Gleichheit und Freiheit passen nicht leicht zusammen, besonders bei einem so agonalen Volk, wie den Griechen. Die Armut zugestehen ist niemandem schändlich, schändlicher ist, sich nicht aus ihr herauszuarbeiten – führt Perikles bei Thukydides aus (2, 40, 1). Reich werden zu wollen statt arm zu sein, das kann man nicht beanstanden, das ist natürlich, und auch, daß man noch reicher sein will. Aber da kippt die Gleichheit schon um. Demosthenes (21, 112) klagt schon darüber, daß die Armen im Vergleich zu den Reichen kein Anrecht auf die Gleichheit haben (was wir freilich aus der Wirtschaftsgeschichte ohnehin wissen).

Im Prinzip schätzten die Athener die Gleichheit, hielten es aber für natürlich, wenn ihre eigenen Interessen es verlangten, dieses Prinzip außer Acht zu lassen und alles zu versuchen, um reicher zu werden als andere, was freilich nicht allen und mit der Zeit immer weniger gelungen ist.

In der Politik und Moral war es nicht anders. Die innere Spannung, die zur Zeit der Antigone zwischen zwei politischen Richtungen bestand, konnte mit dem Ostrakismos des Thukydides, also desjenigen, der die Gleichheit mehr zu gefährden schien (oder jedenfalls so hingestellt werden konnte) vermutlich zur Befriedigung der Mehrheit geschlichtet werden, doch nur für eine gewisse Zeit. Daß es eine zweifache Moral gibt, wurde bald zugegeben und sogar für natürlich gehalten (Antiphon VS 87 B 44), und es fanden sich solche, die den Zwiespalt dadurch aufheben wollten, daß man die auf Vereinbarung beruhenden Gesetze aufhebt und das Recht des Stärkeren, als das natürliche, für gültig verkündet. Nur die Masse der Schwachen will nämlich glauben machen, daß mehr zu begehren das Unrecht sei, weil sie immer nur dann froh ist, wenn sie das Gleiche hat – wie Kallikles in Platons Gorgias ausführt (483 b).

Noch krasser war der Zwiespalt zwischen Theorie und Wirklichkeit in der Außenpolitik. Athen, ein Hort der Freiheit. Ja, freilich, Athen war der Vorkämpfer im Kampf gegen die despotische Macht des Orients. Doch der delische Bund wurde immer mehr ein athenisches Imperium, und stand ein Staat gegen Athen auf, wollte er aus dem Bund austreten, so wurde er mit Waffen gezwungen, drin zu bleiben, wie nur wenige Jahre vor der Aufführung der Antigone Euboia, bald danach Samos, und auf Samos folgten Lesbos und Melos ...

All diese Probleme keimten und regten sich schon zu der Zeit, als die Antigone aufgeführt wurde. Gibt es etwas Absolutes, nach dem sich Wissenschaft und Ethik

richten können? Nimmt man die im Prinzip akzeptierten Werte ernst? Wenn nicht, soll der Zwiespalt dadurch gelöst werden, daß man diese moralischen Werte negiert oder bloß vom Dafürhalten des Einzelnen abhängig macht? Versteht man unter denselben Worten dasselbe? Dies mochten die Fragen sein, die das Drama in Athen dem nachdenkenden Zuschauer stellte.

Oder stellt es sie auch uns?

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THE SUBSEQUENT MAGISTRACY OF M'. VALERIUS VOLUSI F. MAXIMUS

In old inscriptions pertaining to the Roman republic new facts still lurk. But on occasion one must enter "the morass of early Roman history"¹ in order to evaluate and interpret the information retrieved.

A certain Volusus Valerius accompanied Titus Tatius to Rome, and is said to have reconciled Titus and Romulus.² Manius, the son of Volusus,³ seems then to have inherited a propensity for peacemaking, for he is said to have reconciled the plebs with the patres. His elogium, fully preserved at Arretium, recounts his various achievements *militiae* and *domi*, but begins by recording his service in a magistracy: "*M'. Valerius | Volusi f. | Maximus, | dictator, augur. Primus quam | ullum magistratum gereret, | dictator dictus est.*" (ILS 50=Inscr. Ital. 13.3.78). The dictatorship is the only magistracy mentioned in his elogium, and it is the only magistracy credited to him in the pages of Broughton.⁴ At least one magistracy is missing from his cursus: we are not told that he served as dictator "without holding any other magistracy," but "before holding any magistracy." Reasonable certainty in completing his cursus is possible because of the high date at which he lived. Our Manius credibly is identified with the augur who died in 463.⁵ For a patrician who lived past 443, the censorship would have to be mooted; for a patrician who lived past 366, both the praetorship and the curule aedileship would have to be mulled. For a plebeian who lived at so high a date as Manius, the possibility of service in the plebeian tribunate or the plebeian aedileship would have to be meditated. Since Manius was a patrician

¹ The quotation is from J. LINDERSKI, ANRW 2.16.3, 1986, 2307.

² H. VOLKMANN, Valerius 89, RE 7A, 1948, 2311.

³ His life is sketched by VOLKMANN, Valerius 243, RE 8A, 1955, 116–20. Since here we are making just one point about the biography of the dictator Manius, we excuse ourselves from sketching his life more fully: it would be a vexing task, not because the amount of information which survives about him is great, but because the few sources which do preserve information about him are inconsistent; the activities which are disputed, moreover, do not affect the argument being made here.

⁴ T. ROBERT, S. BROUGHTON, MRR 3.213: "Dict. 494, Leg., envoy 493, Augur ?–463 (see 494), Princeps senatus 493."

⁵ For the dead augur the paradox is at L. 3.7.6 is "M. Valerius," but we would not expect a dictator of 494 to live long past 463 in any event.

living at such a high date, and since it is unthinkable that his elogium failed to vaunt service as consul or consular tribune, the range of positions other than the dictatorship in which he might have served is narrowed considerably.

Service as praefectus urbi can be ruled out on one or even two grounds. We cannot learn whether the Valerii of the Augustan age considered the urban prefecture a magistracy, but it seems unlikely that they would have deemed the office a full-fledged magistracy,⁶ and therefore, unlikely that this post is implied by *magistratum* in the inscription. Did the self-important imperial Valerii regard the urban prefecture as a magistracy, they would have mentioned it explicitly rather than implicitly: the early republican urban prefecture, according to the Romans' own tradition, was an exalted office filled by ex-consuls.⁷ In other words, tenure of the urban prefecture by a man who never held the consulship would have been just as spectacular as tenure of the dictatorship by a man who had not yet held any magistracy, and just as certain to be mentioned. Iteration of the dictatorship is easily ruled out: the office was too important to suppress.⁸ The elogium, moreover, does record one appointment to the dictatorship, and an office important enough to mention once was important enough

⁶ K. E. WELCH, *The Praefectura Urbis of 45 B.C. and the Ambitions of L. Cornelius Balbus*, *Antichthon* 24, 1990, 53, writes that the urban prefecture "might have been an important magistracy in the early Republic," and observes that "Cicero makes no mention at all of the office in *de Legibus* 3.3.6–11, even though he discusses the early history of most of the magistracies" (p. 54). Perhaps the silence of Cicero is a hint that the urban prefecture was not a magistracy (though the passage cited deals with the ideal constitution rather than with constitutional history). There is a broader hint at L. 8.36.1: *postquam dictator praeposito in urbe L. Papirio Crasso, magistro equitum Q. Fabio vetito quicquam pro magistratu agere, in castra rediit*. Since the *magister equitum* was forbidden to act *pro magistratu*, it is implied here that it was the responsibility of the urban prefect Papirius (on whom, MRR 1.148) to act *pro magistratu*, in which case he was not himself a magistrate. (This interpretation of the passage may make a little more sense than the standard one, on which *magistratu* refers to Fabius' own mastership of horse; anent *pro magistratu* WEISSENBORN-MÜLLER say "Fabius behält das Amt, darf es aber nicht ausüben.") Certainly one cannot say that Livy was never pleonastic, but it is legitimate to note that *pro magistratu* is redundant if it refer to the mastership of horse; since Fabius is named as *magister equitum* in this same clause, *quicquam agere* by itself could only be taken to mean that he was forbidden to do anything in his capacity as master of the horse.) A broader hint still at Tac. Ann. 6.11.1: *profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur qui ius redderet*.... Here rather clearly the urban prefect (*qui*) is distinguished from magistrates. TH. MOMMSEN, RSt 1.664, is not very satisfactory: he was rather sure that the prefect named because of the Latin festival was not a magistrate, because he lacked the fasces; since the urban prefect not named *Latinarum causa* did possess the fasces, MOMMSEN allowed him a "magistratischer Charakter," but stopped short of calling him a "Magistrat": an interesting hesitation, since MOMMSEN in the same section of his work (RSt 1.649) boldly labels the interrex a magistrate.

⁷ A consular was praefectus urbi in 494, 487, 465, 462, and 325; an incumbent consular tribune, in 424. The urban prefect of 509 is probably to be excised, but in any case the very first consuls in Roman history could not have been elected under a consular urban prefect. The consul of 497 was urban prefect either in 499 or in 496; if urban prefect in the latter year, then there is no exception to prove the rule. For the sources, BROUGHTON sub annis.

⁸ As the consulship, the consular tribunate, the urban prefecture, and a second dictatorship, so an appointment as interrex would have been too important to suppress (and was regularly noted in elogium: unless we suppose this information deliberately omitted from some elogium which fail to mention it, a supposition which cannot be demonstrated). To me, however, it is inconceivable that the early imperial Valerii counted a magistracy an appointment possible only in the complete absence of popular magistrates.

to mention twice; if he had iterated this magistracy, the initial notice would read *dictator II*.⁹

Two alternatives remain: quaestor and magister equitum. We must guard against the tendency to prefer precision to accuracy. Manius might have served in both these magistracies, or he might have served in either more than once: the statement that he served as dictator before serving in a magistracy is not a statement that he served in just one other magistracy and in that magistracy just one time. It is legitimate to note that if he did serve in just one other magistracy just one time, then the suppression is less serious and more understandable. But it must be admitted that if he did serve both as quaestor and as magister equitum, the suppression of this information would be perfectly understandable: after serving as dictator, being a mere assistant dictator or a simple quaestor, and never rising higher, was a little embarrassing. A close reading of the inscription, however, would seem to allow us to eliminate one of these alternatives.

The fanfaronade does not say that he was dictator before holding "any other magistracy," but that he was dictator before holding "any magistracy": *ullum magistratum*, not *ullum alium magistratum*. It follows that the dictatorship itself is not here considered a magistracy;¹⁰ if the dictatorship were being treated in this inscription as a magistracy, the gasconade would read that he was dictator before holding another magistracy, or that the first magistracy which he held was the dictatorship. Let it not be objected that *ullum alium magistratum* is in some wise unacceptable Latin: the phrase passed muster with Cicero.¹¹ And let it not be objected that *ullum magistratum* in an inscription is equivalent to *ullum alium magistratum* in a literary source: the Romans in general were fond of epigraphic abbreviation, but the early imperial Valerii were not afflicted with reticence, and the addition of *alium* to this long inscription would hardly have been noticed by the stonecutter himself.¹² The dictatorship clearly was a magistracy, though neither regular nor annual nor still in existence in the times of Augustus. The Valerii of Augustan times were enabled to speak of the dictatorship as something other than a magistracy because it had passed out of existence in 202, save for brief periods during two different civil wars; men living in Augustan times could think of the dictatorship as a former magistracy and use *magistratus* only to describe those magistracies which they and their contemporaries

⁹ The elogium does not suppress at all but explicitly mentions, however erroneously, service as princeps senatus, yet the principatus cannot be the magistracy implied at the beginning of the inscription. A man could hold the principatus and a magistracy at the same time, which would have been illegally to cumulate magistracies, had the principatus itself been a magistracy.

¹⁰ We do not mean to impute to the Valerii the view that the dictatorship somehow was technically not a magistracy: only that they reserved the term *magistratus* for the regular annual magistracies current in their own day. We can believe that the early imperial Valerii, if they had banded together to write Staatsrecht, would indeed have classified the dictatorship as a magistracy.

¹¹ Cic., Leg. Man. 62, regarding Pompeius: *consul ante fieret quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset*.

¹² The inscription consists of fifteen lines and contains fifty-five words; the only abbreviations are the two standard abbreviations in his name; the word *dictator* is not abbreviated even the second time (cf. "dict." in ILS 54, also an elogium for Augusti); the word *augur* is not abbreviated (cf. "aug." in ILS 57, also an elogium for Augusti).

had held or could hope to hold. Now since the Augustan Valerii did not think of the dictatorship as a *magistratus*, they would not have thought of the mastership of horse as a *magistratus*. The two alternatives are reduced to one remaining possibility, the quaestorship. The Valerii were ashamed of a cursus ending in the quaestorship, and consequently did not mention it, but they so clumsily phrased the rodomontade about the dictatorship that the family secret can be recovered.

About the date of this quaestorship we can say with certainty that he held it after his dictatorship in 494 and by the time of his death in 463,¹³ but not when he was serving as envoy in 493. To approximate the date of his service would be difficult, since the quaestorship at this high date was not the recognized starting point of the cursus which it later was, and we have no reason to think that Manius was interested in building for himself a magnificent cursus; if he did have such great expectations, he must have been a frustrated man. It is pleasing to think that by choice he gave himself over wholly to augury, which only a knave or a fool would consider a lesser calling than politics. About the fact of service in the quaestorship there is not doubt such as to warrant a query.¹⁴ To the cursus of Manius we should add the notation: Q. in the period 492–463.

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¹³ The fact that his obituary mentions his augurate and not his quaestorship might be taken as proof that he was not an incumbent quaestor at the time of his death, but his death is recorded alongside that of another augur (L. 3.7.6), and the description of the two as *augures* does not count against a quaestorship in 463 in the same way the description of Manius alone as *augur* would.

¹⁴ Only the usual doubt adhering to so early a figure. Manius properly is considered an attested quaestor, and so deserves an unqueried quaestorship. We would not want to swear on a stack of Bibles that he was quaestor, not because the attestation is unclear, but because the early imperial Valerii were not historical scholars of the first rank: it is being argued elsewhere that they were wrong to make Manius princeps senatus. But we can deny that the Valerii knowingly or willfully invented the magistracy implied by the inscription: surely liars would have come up with something better, a second dictatorship or maybe an interregnum, and would not have contented themselves with a statement which looks like an obvious attempt to cloak service in a minor magistracy.

ESZTER SPÄT

THE COMMONITORIUM OF OROSIUS ON THE TEACHINGS OF THE PRISCILLIANISTS

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most mysterious, most controversial figures of the history of the Early Christian Church was Priscillian, the bishop of Avilla condemned to death in 385 for black magic and witchcraft. His name is linked with the biggest Hispanic heretical movement, Priscillianism, which (if we can believe contemporary sources) flourished for at least two centuries in the western regions of the peninsula. He has been accused and defended by many – in his own lifetime as well as today. Many of his contemporaries supported the bishop, his ascetic ideals and his attempts to reform the Hispanic Church, meanwhile others saw him as a heretic, a subversive individual professing dualistic ideas.¹ The charge of witchcraft served simply as an excuse to condemn him, but in reality a combination of power struggle, political interests and the suspicion of heresy motivated the events leading to his execution. His decapitation shocked and enraged even his opponents², but as the years passed by it was the image of a depraved heretic, first a Gnostic, later a Manichee that became clearer and clearer in the writings of the Ecclesiastical Fathers.³ Unfortunately we know very little of Priscillian's authentic teachings. There is no contemporary reporting on them⁴. From the end of the 4th century on more and more Church Fathers mention

¹ I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Éva Jeremiás and Prof. Zsigmond Ritoók for their help and valuable advice.

The most important source on the life of Priscillian, the details of his execution and the opinion of his contemporaries on his activities is the work of Sulpicius Severus (*Libri Chronicorum* II 46–52, PL XX).

² Ambrosius, *Epistola* XXVI, Pacatus Drepanius, *Panaegy.* Lat. XII. 29.

³ A good example of this process is given by two texts of Jerome: In the *De Viris Illustribus*, written in 392, Jerome takes no definite stand, he limits himself to stating that while some consider Priscillian a heretic others defend him "defendentibus aliis, non ita eum sensisse ut arguitur" (*Vir. Ill. CXXI.6, PL XXIII.750.*), a few years later he mentions Priscillians as a devious heretic (*Epistola CXXXIII PL XXII.1150–1151.*).

⁴ Even though the lost *Apologia* of his greatest opponent Ithacius might have served as the basis of several later writings, CH. BABUT (*Priscillien et la Priscillienisme*, Paris 1909, 14–33) and HENRY CHADWICK (*Priscillian of Avilla, The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church*, Oxford 1976, 144) consider the work of Ithacius the source of Sulpicius Severus, Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus*) and Isidore of Seville (*De Viris Illustribus*).

the movement and its founder, these writings however are rather short and contain generalities (mostly referring to a Gnostic or Manichaean movement), providing only a vague and sketchy picture of the heresy⁵.

The discovery of the so-called Würzburg Tractates⁶ – 11 theological tracts assigned to Priscillian – gave an entirely new direction to modern research.⁷ The content of the tracts definitely refutes any allegation, that the author professed heretic teachings. Following the discovery the research on Priscillian took two distinct courses. One gave credence to the antique accusers, pronouncing the writings of Priscillian attempts at self-defense that do not contain his real beliefs, or even searching for hidden meanings, ambiguities behind the text⁸. Priscillian's defenders on the other hand argue that the Tractates present the genuine convictions of its author and see the bishop as the forerunner of Western asceticism and monasticism, who fell victim to the political conflicts of his times. They analyze the anathemas of the synods and the writings of the Church Fathers with severe criticism, endeavoring to contest the credibility of these reports. Tracing the controversies and the clichés in the accusations plays a crucial part in this approach⁹.

In fact this seems to be the only viable road to further 'unravel the mystery' surrounding Priscillian. If at present it is not in our power to ascertain the real nature of Priscillian's personality and teachings, then we will have to approach the question by another route – based on scrutinizing the content of the antipriscillianist writings. The sources on Priscillianism must be thoroughly examined, their content analyzed, the contradictions and coincidences compared, and – if possible – the origin of the forwarded information tracked down, and finally – in the light of the results – the credibility of these writings reassessed. Following this concept the aim of this paper is to make the work of Orosius *Commonitorium ad Aurelium Augustinum de errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum*¹⁰ a subject of examination and redefine its place in the Antipriscillianist literature.

⁵ Our most important sources on Priscillianism are: Sulpicius Severus; the acts of the I. Synod of Toledo, I. Synod of Braga; Orosius: *Commonitorium Ad Augustinum de Errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum*; Augustinus: *Commonitorium Contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas*, *De Haeresibus Lib. I. lxx*; Thirubius: *Epistola ad Idatium*; Leo Magnus: *Epistola LVI*.

⁶ Priscillianus, *Quae Supersunt*, Ed. SCHEPPS, CSEL. XVIII, 151–157. Vindaebonae 1889.

⁷ The identity of their author may be deduced primarily from the events and biographical references mentioned in the tracts *Apologia* and *Liber ad Damasum*.

⁸ J. A. DAVIDS, *De Orosio et Sancto Augustino Priscillianistarum adversariis*; LOPEZ CANEDA, *Prisciliano, su pensamiento y su problema histórico*, Santiago de Compostela 1960; M. MENANDEZ PELAYO, *História de los Heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid 1956.

⁹ The main representatives of this line are BABUT (N. 4), B. VOLLMAN, *Studien zum Priscillianismus*, Berlin 1965 and CHADWICK (N. 4).

¹⁰ Orosius, *Ad Aurelium Augustinum Commonitorium de Errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum*, Ed. SCHEPPS, CSEL. XVIII p. 152–58.

II. THE LETTER OF OROSIUS

Orosius'¹¹ letter to his master Augustine on the aberration of the Priscillianists is one of the main pillars of the Antipriscillianist literature¹². The *Commonitorium* of Orosius is lent a special importance by the fact that it contains several pieces of information on Priscillian's teachings that cannot be found in earlier Antipriscillianist sources, and he is the first one to connect the movement expressively with Manichaeism.

I shall attempt to demonstrate that the *Commonitorium* reflects on the methods of the antique invective and antiheretical literature rather than on the real teachings of Priscillian and on the real character of his movement. Orosius, setting off from preconceptions, describes a heresy on the basis of second (or third) hand information or contemporary clichés, mixing (misunderstood or distorted) Manichaean elements with Gnostic teachings, Sabellianism and Classical Astrology. The *Commonitorium* can be divided into four parts:

The origin of the soul according to Priscillian,
A letter fragment that Orosius attributes to Priscillian,
The astrological teachings of Priscillian,
The dualistic convictions of the priscillianists and the 'apocryphal' work
Memoria Apostolorum.

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL

1. The most important and most original part of the *Commonitorium* is the one describing the origin of the soul, its fall and its imprisonment.

"Priscillianus primum in eo Manicheis miserior, quod ex veteri testamento haeresim confirmavit, docens animam quae a deo nata sit de quodam promptuario procedere, profiteri ante deum se pugnaturam et instrui adoratu angelorum: dehinc descendentem per quosdam circulos a principatibus malignis capi et secundum voluntatem victoris principis in CORPORA DIVERSA contrudi eisque adscribi chirographum. Unde et mathesim praevalere firmabat, adserens quia/quod hoc chirographum soluerit Christus et adfixerit cruci per passionem suam, sicut ipse Priscillianus in quadam epistula sua dicit:"

"First of all Priscillian was even more miserable than the Manichees, since he confirmed his heresy by the Old Testament, teaching that the soul is born of God and comes from a storehouse giving a promise that it will fight before God and is in-

¹¹ The young Orosius was a presbyter in Bracara, the West of Spain, then fleeing the Visigoth conquest he left for Africa where he joined Augustine. There – at the instigation of his teacher – he wrote his main work (*Historiarum adversum paganos libri*), that came under serious criticism from modern scholars for its shallowness, inaccuracy and exegations.

¹² The short letter dated 414 AD was probably written after Orosius joined Augustine in North Africa. Regarding the circumstances of its origin we must remember that Augustine was one of the staunchest opponents of Manichaeism and he devoted a significant part of his literary work to refuting Manichaean dogmas, ethic and concept of the world.

structed, by the adoration of the angels; it then descends through certain spheres where it is captured by the powers of the evil. By the will of the conquering evil it is forced into various bodies and is inscribed on as their property (literally: a bond is written on them). On this ground Priscillian affirmed the validity of astrology, in the sense that he asserted that this is the bond which Christ destroyed and affixed to the cross by his passion, as Priscillian himself says in a letter of his"¹³:

Translating and interpreting the text has seemingly caused no difficulties to the philologists researching Priscillianism (even though opinions differ as to the degree the text reflects the teachings of Priscillian). It is generally accepted that the *Commonitorium* refers to the descent, capture and earthly fate of the individual human soul. (This is, approximately, the only point on which the 'Antipriscillianists' and the 'defense lawyers' of Priscillian agree.) Accordingly the translations often give the plural 'souls' instead of the singular 'soul', speak of the 'migration of the souls', thus making even more explicit, that the text refers to the origin and sojourn of every single individual soul.¹⁴

However we face an unavoidable problem when evaluating the *Commonitorium* of Orosius and the works on it. As far as our (undoubtedly somewhat limited) knowledge of the religious movements of the first few centuries of the Christian era allows us to know, the idea of individual descent of the single human soul cannot be fitted into either the Gnostic or the Manichaean movement. Both the Gnostics and their spiritual heirs the Manichaeans taught the primal, pre-cosmic fall of the soul, speaking not of 'souls', but of a single Universal Soul, of a 'divine substance' fallen from the eternal divine world through a chain of tragic events¹⁵.

Endeavoring to connect to and explain by Gnostic myth what is written in the *Commonitorium* – as Lopez Caneda did¹⁶ – cannot really be justified: the different Gnostic schools saw the fall of the soul as a tragic accident, of which the divine substance or power was an innocent victim, and the idea of (voluntarily undertaken) fight is altogether alien to gnosis.¹⁷

2. It might be more fruitful and rewarding to study Manichaean mythology¹⁸, where the fight of the human soul against the dark powers of the world plays a central part and is the topic of many Manichaean hymns and prayers¹⁹.

¹³ I used the English translation of CHADWICK (N. 4) with some minor alterations.

¹⁴ For example BABUT (N. 4) writes 'la descente des ames, émanées de Dieu' (p. 281.); LOPEZ CANEDA (N. 8), MENANDEZ Y PELAYO (N. 8) and J. CABRERA (Estudio sobre el priscilianismo en la Galicia antigua: tesis doctoral, Universidade de Granada 1983) repeatedly speak of the migration of the souls (peregrinacion de las almas).

¹⁵ "A pre-cosmic fall of part of the divine principle underlies the genesis of the world and of human existence in the majority of the Gnostic systems" HANS JONAS, The Gnostic religion, Boston 1958, p. 62. (This divine power becomes later divided into small 'pieces' in the material world, thus come the human souls into existence.)

¹⁶ LOPEZ CANEDA (N. 8), cap. V.

¹⁷ JONAS (N. 15), ch. The Gnostic Imagery p. 49–99.; G. FILORAMO, A History of Gnosticism, Oxford 1994.

¹⁸ This approach might also be justified by the text itself, since Orosius speaks of the Priscillianists as 'even more miserable than the Manichees, since he confirmed his heresy by the Old Testa-

In the beginning – says the dualistic teaching of the Manichaeans – there existed two principles (or natures) side by side. “Mani worships two gods, who came to existence by themselves, eternal, one adverse to the other, one he presents as good and the other as bad. One he named light, the other darkness”²⁰.

“The Good Principle, dwelt in the region of Light, and he calls Him the Father of Greatness. And they say that outside of (or beside) Him there dwell his (Five Sh’kinas) Glories (or habitations, tabernacles)²¹: Intelligence (or Mind), Knowledge, Reason, Thought, Deliberation. And the Evil Principle he calls the King of Darkness, and he says that he dwelt in his Dark Earth in his five worlds (‘alemaw’): the world of smoke, the world of fire, the world of wind, the world of waters, the world of darkness”²².

The powers of the Darkness are in constant strife with one another²³, and while struggling they reach the border of their Kingdom, from where they catch a glance of the Kingdom of Light. They glance it and desire to possess it awakens in them so they start waging war in order to get it.²⁴ Then the Father decides to go fight Himself to protect his Kingdom and its spiritual beings. “Of these my Aeons, the five Sh’kinas, I shall send none forth to battle. For I created them for peace and blessedness. I myself will go instead and will wage war against the enemy”²⁵.

The Father however does not go to the fight himself in the physical sense of the word, but sends his hypostases (or hypostaseses). First there emanates the Mother

ment’. In my opinion this could be taken to mean, that the Priscillianists were a sect closely related to Manichaeism, or rather a ‘descendent’, or a ‘more evolved’ version of this sect.

¹⁹ We know Manichaean mythology primarily from polemical writings (Christian, Neoplatonic, Zoroastrian and Arabic), and the information gained from these has been reinforced and complemented in the last hundred years by the discovery of Copt, Persian, Chinese and Uygur texts. Even though these sources are often divided by a considerable span of space and time – reflecting the spread of Manichaeism – and consequently some myths have survived in slightly differing forms (especially as regards their terminology), they attest a uniform and unified mythology, and make possible the reconstruction of the main body of a Manichaean cosmogony (see J. C. REEVES, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Books of the Giant Traditions*, Cincinnati 1992). In the followings I shall give a short description of the origin of the world and of the soul, containing only the main motifs of the Manichaean myth that are supported by the writings born at diverse places and times.

²⁰ “duos colit deos innatos, ex semetipsis exstantes, aeternos, unum uni adversantem, et alterum quidem bonum, alterum autem malum introducit. Lux uni nomen ponuit et alteri tenebrae” Hegemonius, *Acta Disputationis Archelai VII*, MIGNE, PG X. 1438.

²¹ The emanations of the Great Father, the original meaning of the Aramaic word is ‘glory, majesty’ also ‘dwelling, tabernacle’ (A. V. W. JACKSON, *Researches in Manichaeism with special reference to the Turfan Fragments*, New York 1932, p. 223). Here the Sh’kinas represent (or rather are the hypostases of) the five main attributes, spiritual virtues or functions of the Divine Power. The word, deriving from the root SKN – to live, dwell – can also be found in the Talmud meaning the Glory of God and at the same time is connected with space, the lowest sphere [See REEVES (N. 21); on the influence of Judaism on Manichaeism.].

²² Theodore bar Khoni in JACKSON (N. 21) pp. 223–4. In other words both the bad and good principle are represented by five-five hypostases, that correspond to the fivefold division of the kingdoms.

²³ Psalms of Bema CCXXII 9.19 in *Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, ed. by L. R. ALLBERRY, Stuttgart 1938.

²⁴ Titus Bostriensis I. XII. PG XVIII. 1085–1086; Severus of Antiochia in Jonas (N. 15) p. 213.; Hegemonius VII. PG X. 1438.

²⁵ Theodore bar Khoni in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 224.

of Life (*Mater Vitae*) from the Father, then the Primal Man (*Homo Primus*), and finally the five sons of the latter, who are also called the five basic elements (light, fire, water, wind and breeze or matter²⁶). The Primal Man, putting on his five sons as a sort of armor, descends to take up the fight with Darkness²⁷.

The Primal Man enters into fight with the Lord of Darkness and its armies or five companions, but after a long struggle the powers of Darkness overcome the envoy of Light. The Primal man then turns to guile, sets up a trap offering himself as a bait, letting the sons of Darkness devour him and his armor.²⁸ With the help of this ruse the Primal Man manages to stop the attack of Darkness. The powers of Darkness, that had devoured the elements of Light (that is the Primal Man and his armor), become weaker once mixed with light, their attack is halted.²⁹ On the other hand, as a result of his sacrifice, the Primal Man himself is trapped, becomes a prisoner of the evil powers.

When the Father hears the complains of the Primal Man praying to Him, he sends his second son the Living Spirit (*Spiritus Vivens*) to his aid, who rescues the divine warrior from the prison of matter. His rescue however is not complete, his Soul remains in the deep, a prisoner of the powers of Darkness.³⁰ This Soul is no other than the armor of the Primal Man, his Five Sons or the five elements that he put on descending to the battle.³¹

Actually the expression 'armor' refers not to a physical weapon of some sort, but is a way of describing the divine substance, light armed with which the Primal Man sets off to war (that is it represents the struggle of the spiritual against the material). The princes of Darkness swallowing the armor of the Primal Man after he sacrifices himself in effect swallow this Soul comprised by divine Light particles (and thus their offense weakens when the darkness mixes with light).³²

So we arrive at the third 'act', the story of the five divine elements captured by the Darkness. The creation of the Cosmos begins. The Great Father invokes further emanations, so that they help to free the imprisoned Soul or Light particles. The

²⁶ Breeze is given by Augustine (*C. Faust.* II. 3), matter by Hegemonius (VII) and Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses sive Panarion* lib. II. tom. II. haer. LXVI. cap. XXV, Migne, PG XLII 71–72).

²⁷ "Bonus Pater... vim a se ipso quandam edidisse, quae Mater Vitae appellata sit. Ab hac primum hominem productum et elementa quinque, ventum, lucem, aquam, ignem, materiam (?), haec cum velut ad bellicum apparatus induisset" Epiphanius II. II. LXVI. cap. XXV: The five good elements or (powers) are the counterparts of the Five 'bad' elements, spiritual powers of Darkness, or as Augustine writes (*Contra Faustum* II. 3 PL XL II. 210.) good water was sent against bad water, good wind against bad wind etc.; the five powers or virtues (Virtues – Hegemonius VII) have many other names: Five Luminous Gods/Sons/Bodies, Five Sons of Light, Light Gods, Five Luminous Elements).

²⁸ "Just as a man who has an enemy mixes deadly poison in a cake and gives in to him" Bar Khoni in JACKSON (N. 21) 226 p.; Epiphanius II. II. LXVI. cap. XLIV PG XLII. 96.; Psalms of Bema CCXXII (N. 23).

²⁹ "Materia... tamquam belua ligata est" Titus Bostriensis I. XII. PG XVIII. 1086.

³⁰ "Ab eo igitur tempore animam in inferiori hac sede reliquit" Epiph. II. II. LXVI. cap. XXV.

³¹ "For pity he put on the body... the first garb of Ohrmizd (*Homo Primus*); when he had clothed the enemies in his Five Sons, He gave his Soul to the Darkness, he surrendered his own Soul" M 710 in Mary Boyce, *Some Parthian Abecedarian Hymns*, in BSOAS, London 1952, p. 446.

³² "At vero tenebrarum homines comederunt de armatura eius, quod est Anima" Hegemonius VII. "Tenebrarum vero principes... ex illius armatura, quam animam esse dicit, nonnihil ededisse" Epiph. II. II. LXVI. cap. XLII. PG XLII. 94.

Spiritus Vivens, with the help of his aids, creates the world and begins the separation of the Light from matter. The Lord of Darkness upon seeing that he is going to lose the Light particles, prepares a trap in his rage and creates man from matter and imprisons a portion of the captured Light (the Soul or armor of Primal Man) in his body³³.

Human soul is therefore indeed of divine origin, or born of God as Orosius writes "animam quae a deo nata sit". The five powers or virtues³⁴ forming the armor of Primal Man, which are later incarcerated into human bodies are the emanations of the Good Father, in other words the "denser representations of the original five hypostases of the deity, the five Sh'kinas"³⁵.

3. How does all this relate to the accusations of Orosius? There are several obvious parallels between the Manichaean myth and the alleged Priscillianist teachings: The soul goes to fight for the sake of God, is captured and shut into bodies. The only relevant difference is that while the Manichaean myth tells the imprisonment of the (pre-historic) Universal Soul, Orosius – at least according to the way he was interpreted – speaks of the individual soul.

But is Orosius really speaking of the fate, fight of the individual human soul?

A thorough study of the text of the Ecclesiastical Fathers may lead to a different conclusion. The armor of Primal Man is at the same time his own soul and the 'ancestor', source and in fact totality of all the souls, imprisoned Light particles in the world. The human soul, the individual soul is an incarcerated Light particle originating from the Universal Soul, it is also called 'viva anima' indicating that it is from the Kingdom of Light (as opposed to dead matter). In the final count the name 'soul' (anima) may refer both to the soul of the Primal Man, that is to the Universal Soul and to the individual human soul. This duplicity is reflected in the words of one of the most important works of anti-Manichaean literature, Hegemonius' polemical

³³ "Tunc ergo et ipsa materia creavit ex sese plantas vel germina; quae cum furatae essent a quibusdam principibus, convocavit omnes principes primarios, et sumpsit ab eis singulas virtutes, et fecit hominem hunc...et junxit animam in eo" Hegem. VII.

"For the purpose of not allowing the separation quickly of the light from the darkness, he arranged this Little World...Life and Light he bound and imprisoned in the body, so that that light which is being led up ... shall again be forced back through the copulation and the birth of living creatures and the separation shall thus become more slow" škand-Gumânîk Vičâr 24–27 in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 179.

³⁴ 'Virtus', 'vis' or dunamis in Greek, see above Hegem. VII, Epiphanius II. II. LXVI. XXV.

³⁵ "The five elements of Light which the Primal Man puts on as an armor are as it were denser representations of the original five hypostases of the deity, the Sh'kinas" [JONAS (N. 15) p. 218.]. This is also indicated by the fact, that the names of the five different constituents of the human soul (made up by the five virtues or elements) corresponds to the names (or functions) of the five Sh'kinas. "nomina autem animae sunt ista, mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio" (Hegemonius), "Beside Him (i.e. the Father of Greatness) there dwell his five Glories (Sh'kinas): Intelligence (or Mind), Knowledge, Reason, Thought, Deliberation" [Theodore Bar Khoni in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 223.]; The Father, who is absolute transcendent, remains outside the events of the world, if the course of mythical events makes it necessary, the divine qualities and functions become hypostases. The highest Godhead is the final source of and at the same time the totality of all emanations (see MANFRED HEUSER, A manicheus mítosz kopt források alapján, ford. és vál. MAKOVNIK PÉTER, in Pendragon 5, Debrecen, 1994, p. 13.). Human souls are the last 'products' in this chain of emanations.

writing, the *Acta Archelai*³⁶, that consistently writes Soul when retelling the myth without specifying it as the (individual) soul of the Primal Man: “tenebrarum principes...comederunt de armatura eius, quod est ANIMA... ANIMAM deorsum reliquit... vidisset Pater vivens affligi ANIMAM in corpore... misit Filium suum delictum ad salutem ANIMAE”³⁷.

Similarly Epiphanius, (who inserted the *Acta Archelai* into his own ‘catalogue’ of heresies, the famous *Panarion*) after expounding the myth goes on to polemicize with its content and makes the Soul (and not the soul of the Primal Man or the human soul) the protagonist of his attempts to refute the myth³⁸.

Other authors, like Alexander Lycopolitanus, dispensing with the minute details of the myth, simply state (immediately getting to the point): God sent the Soul into battle against the matter.³⁹

This concise, short, almost allusion like way of rewriting the myth does not necessarily mean that these authors did not know the Manichaean myth well, in all its details, after all this is the most essential, or even the sole significant motive of the myth as regards humanity or the history of the world: the sacrifice and capture of the divine substance, the elements emanated from the Father – of the Soul.

So if we carefully examine and consider the symbolism of the Manichaean myth and the exact words used by the Ecclesiastical Fathers – especially by the ever so popular Hegemonius and Epiphanius – we have to realize, that the ‘anima’ of Orosius’ *Commonitorium* is not the individual soul ready to descend and fight, but the weapon or soul of the Primal Man (here identified with the Primal Man for simplicity’s sake), that is the ‘Universal Soul’, whose fate it is to get stuck down here and be shut into bodies and which is the real protagonist of the Manichaean myth.

This interpretation is supported by the expression ‘the soul is... forced into various bodies’ (animam... in corpora diversa contrudi) in the text itself, that is one soul into several bodies. This phrase becomes comprehensible only if we accept that

³⁶ The work born in the first half of the 4th century (bet. 330 and 348) exerted a great influence on the rather stereotyped traditions of describing Manicheism in Catholic polemic literature in the course of the next centuries. The influence of the charges in the *Acta*, that soon came to be ‘standardised’, can be demonstrated in many later ecclesiastical writings, some of which relied heavily on Hegemonius’ work as their main source of information, as Puech says “se sont, faute de mieux, tout uniment contentés de démarquer le récit...donné...par les Acta d’Archélaïs”. HENRI-CHARLES PUECH, *La Manichéisme, Son Fondateur, Sa Doctrine*, Paris 1949, p. 17, and N. 10, p. 99; see more in JES ASMUSSEN, *Manichaean Literature, Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, Delmar 1975, p. 2; SAMUEL LIEU, *Manicheism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East*, Leiden 1994, p. 136.

³⁷ “The princes of Darkness ate his armour, that is the SOUL... the SOUL was left behind... the Father saw the Soul suffering in the body... sent his son to save the SOUL” Hegem. VII.

³⁸ “Principes ANIMAM, quam devorerant, in hoc corpus, tanquam in vinculum quoddam compegerint...” “ANIMAM interdum devorata, et corporibus, quae in hoc mundo sunt, inclusam esse defendit (Mani), alias a Principibus e coelo, atque ex boni dei armatura direptam...” “si ANIMAM virtus coelestis in hunc orbem emisit, ut per eam Principatus irritare Potestatesque caperet” (the princeps tied the Soul they had eaten..., he (Mani) claimed that the Soul, that is in this world, is imprisoned and otherwise robbed by the princeps from the sky and from the armour of the good god... etc.). Epiph. II. II. LXVI. XLIII–XLIV. PG XLII. 95–96.

³⁹ “Mississe igitur virtutem quamdam, quam nos Animam vocamus, in materiam, quae illi omni immisceatur” (Alexander Lycopolitanus, *Contra Manichaei Opiniones* III., MIGNE, PG XVIII).

Orosius is referring not to the (individual) human soul, but to the imprisonment of the (Universal) Soul, the parts (particles) of which are shut into material bodies to prevent their escape. Or as Epiphanius puts it: “animam interdum devorata[m], et corporibus... inclusam esse defendit”⁴⁰. Even Augustine (once a Manichee himself) preserves this phrase in the chapter on the Priscillianists in his *De Haeresibus*, that draws heavily from the *Commonitorium* for information “animam dicunt... per diversa carnis corpora seminari”⁴¹.

This chapter on the Priscillianists, where Augustine copies Orosius almost verbatim, serves as a further proof of this theory. While Orosius, speaking of the mission of the soul says, that ‘it promises to fight’ (se profiteri... pugnaturam) we may read in the *De Haeresibus*: “it descends in order to wage a voluntary fight (AGON), that is to be fought on the earth (more literally: for the sake of a fight that is to be fought on earth) (hi animam dicunt... ad AGONEM quemdam spontaneum in terris exercendum... descendere). Augustine utilizes the Greek AGON ‘fight, struggle’, which is a recurring expression of the Manichaean hymns praising the combat of the soul⁴². Augustine, once a Manichee himself was naturally familiar with the myth and the application of the Manichaean ‘terminus technicus’ can hardly be seen as fortuitous.

Finally we have the answer of Augustine to Orosius’ *Commonitorium* as yet another proof. In this work Augustine dispenses of the Priscillianist with a single sentence, without taking the pain to refute their heretical teachings on the soul for having done this before on countless occasions and in countless writings on the Manichaeans⁴³.

Someone might ask, why Orosius’ report is so elliptic, so hard to interpret. First, the Manichaean myth was more or less well known in the first half of the 5th century, at least in ecclesiastical circles. Second, it could have hardly been Orosius’ aim to give a satisfying and detailed account of the finer points of a Manichaean sect’s mythology. Finally it is obvious (as the followings will hopefully demonstrate) that Orosius, when drawing the picture of the Priscillianists, was not relying on personal knowledge acquired ‘on the field’, but uses the works of other authors, who in turn might have also drawn on the writings of others, and this inevitably leads to distortions, omissions, confusing shortenings.

4. Realizing that the *Commonitorium* simply retells – even if in a somewhat elliptic style – the traditional Manichaean myth of the descent and capture of the Soul (Anima), may help to solve the meaning of a couple of expressions in the text,

⁴⁰ Epiph. II. II. LXVI. cap. XLIII. PG XL II. 95.

⁴¹ *De Haeresibus* LXXX, Pl XLII. 44.

⁴² (Clue words are usually Greek in the Copt texts) “For I found ... a God unperishing, with whom I dwelt in the Light before I was joined with the Darkness, thy good fight (Agon) I have set myself to... stripped myself of the body of destruction, the habitation of the powers of death”; CCLXVIII.86.6 furthermore e.g. CCLXVIII.86.6, CCLXXIII.93.7.

⁴³ “Nam in quibusdam opusculis nostris... multa dicta sunt, quae valeant adversus haeresim priscillianistarum... quod est enim adversus manicheos multis a me locis de anima disputatum” (Aug. *Commonitorium ad Orosium* I, CSEL XLIX. 165).

which have so far not been clarified or their interpretation has been somewhat disputable.

The first such word refers to the 'place of provenance' of the soul, to that certain storehouse, 'promptuarium' whence the soul comes from (*animam... de quodam promptuario procedere*). Chadwick's comment is that "The concept of a treasury containing souls is Jewish"⁴⁴. The rabbinical tradition was in fact familiar with the notion, that the souls of the unborn come forth from a treasury under the throne of God⁴⁵, however in the case of a Manichaean myth we might be going too far in looking for the explanation of a thought, expression (directly) in Jewish rabbinical traditions (for that matter the teaching of Judaism and Manichaeism on the origin of the soul are definitely different).

We might fare better examining Manichaean texts. One of the recurring expressions of Copt Manichaean hymns is the Greek word 'tamieion'. The original meaning of 'tamieion' is storehouse, but here it is used to describe the two eternal kingdoms, or better as their synonym⁴⁶. In the Copt hymns the soul also comes forth from these tamieions, that is from the dwelling of Light. "O the treasure (the soul)⁴⁷ of the great ones of Life, the jewel of the living Mighty ones. O the great treasure of the living Ones. Who art you from the storehouses (tamieion)⁴⁸." Promptuarium is therefore presumably a Latin translation of tamieion in the Greek and Copt texts, and its original meaning was probably 'world', 'kingdom' or 'dwelling' (i.e. of the Light). The kingdom of Light is where the Primal Man and the Soul descended from to fight. This too literal translation of the word 'tamieion' (it might even be termed a mistranslation) also seems to indicate that Orosius composed his *Commonitorium* from other, half-comprehended writings.

The next problematic place is "*et instrui adoratu angelorum*". "And be instructed by the adoration of the angels" translates Chadwick⁴⁹. The notion of the soul being instructed by the adoration of the angels however can hardly be fitted into Manichaean mythology the way we know it.

To interpret the phrase we first have to clarify the meaning of 'angels'. The angels of Manichaeism, like all the spiritual inhabitants of the Kingdom of Light, are the emanations of the Father of Greatness. The expression 'angeli' here quite proba-

⁴⁴ P. 191 (N. 4).

⁴⁵ GINZBERG, *Jewish Legends*, New York, 1965, p. 156; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, MC MILAN, 1971; similar thoughts might be found in the writings of the Christian Fathers, for example Ambrosius, CHADWICK (N. 4) p. 204.

⁴⁶ "The Kingdom of Darkness consists of five storehouses (tamieion) which are smoke and Fire and Wind and Water and Darkness" Psalms of Bema CCXXII 9.17 (N. 23) – the storehouse (tamieion) is the equivalent of 'alemaw', the kingdom of Darkness consists of five worlds, 'alemaws' see N. 21; "My Father ... established dwellings (tamieion) of Life and set up living images in them" Psalm of Thomas 203.14 (N. 23); "the Father...being in the dwelling of Light" Psalm of Heracleides 200.1 (N. 23). Augustine uses the word 'lands' ('terrae') to express this notion: "haec fuerunt naturae quinque terrae pestiferae" (C. Epistolam Manichaeam Fundamenti XV, PL XLII. 184).

⁴⁷ The word treasure or jewel is a common symbol of the human soul or of the particle of divine light.

⁴⁸ Psalm of Thomas 208.11 (N. 23), the expression 'living' refers to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Light or to the soul coming from there (also called 'anima vivens').

⁴⁹ (N. 4) p. 192.

bly refers to the five divine 'vis' or 'virtus' (power or virtue), that is to the five sons of Light constituting the armor of the Primal Man. An-Nadim, the 9th century Arab writer (who worked on the basis of original Manichaean works) uses the denomination 'angel', when he describes, that the Spiritus Vivens and the Mother of Life descending to rescue the Primal Man glance the Primal Man and his Five Sons from the border of the two kingdoms. "The Joyousness (Mater Vitae) and the Living Spirit proceeded to the Border and looked into the Depth of that low Hell, and they saw the Primal Man and the ANGELS surrounded by Iblis (the Devil) and the Insolent tormentors"⁵⁰. So the angels are no other than the divine virtues emanated from God, forming the armor of the Primal Man. And the task of these – according to the myth – is not to adore or to instruct, but simply go to fight on the side of the Primal Man against Darkness.

In the place of 'adoratu' presumably 'adornatu' was written originally. The meaning of 'adorno' is: to equip, furnish, arm (armare, instruere, apparare)⁵¹. And the Primal man is armed by, or puts on as armor the five divine virtues (angels) "quibus indutus, tamquam *adparatum* belli, descendit"⁵². If we translate *adornatu* (*adoratu*) as armor (or equipment), the "*instrui adoratu angelorum*" instantly gains sense and can easily be fitted into the frame of Manichaean myth: it is not the exactly the anima that is being instructed or prepared, but the Primal Man that 'is armed by the armor/equipment of angels (five virtues)' or 'by the act of putting on the angels as an armor'⁵³.

Several explanations might be proposed for the distortion of the word. It is feasible that Orosius did not quite understand the written source he was using. This theory is supported by the fact, that his account is rather inaccurate, after all it is not the soul that is armed, but the Primal Man that puts on the divine virtues. It is still more probable, that later, when the text was being copied, the Manichaean myth had already become obsolete and the incomprehensible *adornatu* was corrected to *adoratu*, for the image of the angels preparing the soul for its fight by the example of

⁵⁰ Ibn an-Nadim, Kitab al-Fihrist in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 259.

⁵¹ Its participium *adornatus* (in the sense 'armed') occurs frequently in classical literature e.g. "Iuvenem armatum adornatumque aduersus Gallum productum" Livius VII. 10.

⁵² Hegem. VII.; Epiph. II. II. LXVI. cap. XXV; While Augustine writes "nescio quem primum hominem, qui ad gentem tenebrarum debellandam de lucis gente descendit, *armatum* aquis" (C. Faust. II. 3). "Just as a man who puts on *armor* for war" Bar Khoni in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 225; further meaning of the *adorno*, in medial sense is to get dressed, to put on sg., the copt Kephalaia mentions the five elements as a dress, clothing "(the Primal Man) annihilated the growth of the enemy by the clothing... but since the fire grew weak... He gave him four other clothings: the Wind, the Water, the Light and the Air" Keph. 127 in HEUSER (N. 35) p. 20.

⁵³ The noun *adornatus*, seems to be a rather rare one, (other instances are: Herbert de Losinga, Ep. 39. (Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin from British Sources), Ado Viennensis, Chronicon, MGScript. II., 9 (Mittel-Latinischen Wörterbuch), it can also be found in the Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi of Corpus Christianorum, though no source is indicated.) It might have been a 'hyperurbanised' form of *ornatus*, Orosius, like other Hispanic authors, in any case manifested a tendency to make up new words and show traces of 'iberism' (see F. FABRINI, Paolo Orosio, uno storico. Roma 1979, p. 112) *adoratus* occurs at four other authors – according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* – but chronologically Orosius is the first one of them to use it (most of the other dictionaries do not contain the noun.)

their adoration (of God) was more compatible with the generally accepted notion of the role of the angels⁵⁴.

5. There is one more motive concerning the origin of the soul that ought to be clarified: the circles, spheres that the soul passes through, the rulers of which capture it (*"dehinc descendente per quosdam circulos a principatibus malignis capi"*).

The picture of the soul descending through the spheres, putting on the properties, characteristic qualities of the stars is well known in classical literature.⁵⁵ But can we accept this thought as a Manichaean teaching? Since the universe and with it the stars and the spheres were a 'historical consequence' of the descent of the Primal Man, Orosius' claim is 'chronologically' impossible⁵⁶.

While the Manichaeans did not pay much attention to the voyage of the soul across the heavens, the spheres and stars played a crucial role in Gnostic systems. The Gnostics scorning the material world saw the embodiment of the unavoidable tyranny of universal Fate (*heimarmenē*) in the eternal and inflexible order of the rotation of celestial objects, so the stars representing (or controlling) cosmic order became hostile powers⁵⁷.

Among the odious stars special place was reserved to the planets, the main helpers and corulers of the malevolent Creator. Gnostic literature devoted great attention to the lords of the spheres, the archons. Naturally they play no role in the fall of the soul here either, considering that the theft or fall of the divine power is a pre-cosmic event for Gnostics as well, but they exert a fateful influence on human history. The archons strive to keep the souls – their 'food', that gives, life, vital force to the lifeless matter⁵⁸ – in the world, in their power. The archons try to prevent the return of the divine power to the Father. Their influence makes humans sin and keeps them in the oblivion of matter. As for the ascent of the souls, it is literally bared by the princes of the spheres. Numerous Gnostic works gave advice how the ascending soul could outwit or convince the guards of the spheres. One of the main aims and tasks of the Gnostic Savior is to crush the power of the celestial archons and make the way leading upward free. The Savior conquers the archons, thus annihilates the influence of the archons on the human souls, in other words destroys the cheirogra-

⁵⁴ Spontaneous deterioration of the text is also possible, other example of this also occurs in the short text: in the story of the Light Virgin we read *eo* where *eo* must have stood originally see N. 85.

⁵⁵ Its most classic description can be read in Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* (Com. I. 11–14). The thought was incorporated into Gnostic systems in a changed form and new evaluation. Already the masterpiece of Hermetic Literature *Hermes Poimandres* builds in the idea that each component of human nature is a 'gift' of the planets, but these components or qualities are all viewed as negative, constituting the psyche, the bodily soul that together with the body aims at the destruction of the divine spirit, the pneuma (*Hermes Poimandres*, 20–25 in BENTLEY LAYTON, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, New York 1995, 456–57).

⁵⁶ Actually no statement to this effect can be found in either the writings of the Ecclesiastical Fathers or the extant Manichaean works.

⁵⁷ See JONAS (N. 15), ch. The Cosmos in Greek and Gnostic Evaluation pp. 241–265.

⁵⁸ "Principatuum potestatumque cibum animam apellant, sine qua vivere illos non posse" Epiph. Pan. lib. I. tom. III., XL.

phum, the fateful bond forced on souls.⁵⁹ The descent and ascent of the Savior through the spheres is the topic of a number of Gnostic Works⁶⁰. But why did Orosius incorporate this half classical, half Gnostic image into a Manichaean myth?

Orosius method is far from unusual according to contemporary measures. In classical invective literature it was common procedure to pile up every possible accusation and defamatory allegation against the accused and this 'literary tradition' was inherited by Christian polemics. As for a Manichaean, in his case it was more than natural to deploy the Gnostic 'inheritance' against him. "The Late Roman Church" says Lieu⁶¹ "was highly experienced in combating heresies within her rank. When faced by the challenge of the missionary efforts of the Manichaeans, her leaders could draw from the well-stocked armory of ideas and arguments which their predecessors had built up in earlier disputations with Gnostics and Marcionites"⁶². Augustine's above-mentioned chapter on the Priscillianists in the *De Haeresibus* also indicates that Priscillian (or more exactly Orosius in his *Commonitorium*) mixed Gnosis with Manichaean teachings. This is the reason for Augustine to write that the Priscillianists selected their sordid ideas from all kinds of heresies in an odious way⁶³.

IV. THE LETTER FRAGMENT

1. Orosius concludes the description of the 'Priscillianist myth' on the origin of the soul with a letter fragment allegedly written by Priscillian, that in his view reflects Priscillian's teachings and supports what was reported in the *Commonitorium* ("sic et ipse Priscillianus in quadam epistula sua dicit...").

Both the authenticity and the interpretation of the fragment is highly disputed. Some philologists consider it a forgery, others think it is authentic, yet others maintain that it is a piece of Gnostic or Manichaean writing but not from Priscillian's pen.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ The thought and the expression *cheirographum* referring to this fatal influence was familiar to Christian authors as well. "Christus Iesus... delens quod adversus nos erat cheirographum quod erat decretis contrarium et tulit ilud de medio adfigens cruci; Principatus et potestates transduxit fiduliaciter, triumphans eos in semetipso." Paul, Col. 2.14; Ignatios of Antiochia, Ep. Efez. 9.; Terullianus, de idolatria 9.

⁶⁰ E.g. First Thought in Three Forms p. 96, Book of John p. 49., Poem of Delivarence pp. 50–51. in BENTLEY LAYTON (N. 55).

⁶¹ (N. 36) p. 158.

⁶² Similar method was used by Augustine, Orosius' teacher to discredit Manichaeans, when he stated in the *De Duabus Animabus* that the Manichaeans attributed to souls to human beings, one physical, one spiritual. The Manichaeans never professed this Gnostic teaching as Augustine must certainly have known. R. FERWERDA, Two Souls, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, 1983, 360–37; ASMUSSEN, Xuastuanift (N. 36) p. 18., N. 69.

⁶³ "Priscillianistae... maxime Gnosticorum et Manichaeorum dogmata permixta sectantur, quamvis et ex aliis haeresibus in eas sordes, tamquam in sententiam quandam, horribili confusiones confluerint" Hares. LXXX.

⁶⁴ BABUT (N. 4) pp. 281–2., CHADWICK (N. 4) p. 193.

The translation and interpretation of the fragment did not prove to be an easy task. "Il est impossible de découvrir dans le Fragment un sens suivi"⁶⁵. Even though researchers have devoted some attention to the second, practically untranslatable part of the letter (generally attributed an astrological meaning⁶⁶), the fragment as a whole, its deeper meaning and its connection with the preceding account (apart from the astral motives) was neglected.

Now, however, the fragment, or at least its first half, becomes interpretable, if we consider, that a Manichaean myth must by necessity be supported by a text Manichaean 'in content'.

"Haec prima sapientia est in animarum typis divinarum virtutum intellegere naturas et corporis dispositionem, in qua obligatum caelum videtur et terra et omnesque principatus saeculi videntur adstricti; sanctorum vero dispositiones superare."

2. 'Prima Sapientia' is simply the knowledge necessary for salvation (for the liberation of the soul from the prison of matter, darkness), that is the redeeming Gnosis, which means becoming acquainted with the real nature, origin and fate of the human soul, the pneuma. "What liberates is the knowledge of who we were, what we became, where we were, whereinto we have been thrown, whereto we speed, wherefrom we are redeemed, what birth is, and what rebirth."⁶⁷ The Lord of Darkness shut the Light into bodies with the aim of keeping them in oblivion, in spiritual darkness, and so to prevent them desiring to return to the Kingdom of Light⁶⁸. The importance of the 'awakening' knowledge (the Gnosis) that helps the soul to regain its consciousness is amply demonstrated by those Manichaean hymns, that remind the soul its divine origin. "To you I will speak my captive soul, remember your real home...remember the devouring...remember the hard battle of old..."⁶⁹. The first sentences of the letter refer to this liberating knowledge. "prima sapientia est in animarum typis divinarum virtutum intellegere naturas" [the first step of Gnosis (or the most important Gnosis) is to recognize the nature of the divine virtues in the types (or forms) of the souls]. The human soul is the 'descendent' of the Anima, the armor of Primal Man, of the Light devoured by Darkness, that is of the five Divine Virtues⁷⁰ (The Five Luminous Gods). These five Light Sons correspond to the five Sh'kinas representing the spiritual qualities of the Father⁷¹. The first step of the Gnosis is to be aware that man's soul is of divine origin, and that its constituents are the five divine virtues or spiritual qualities of the Kingdom of Light. The clue to the

⁶⁵ BABUT (N. 4) p. 282.

⁶⁶ CHADWICK (N. 4) pp. 192–3.

⁶⁷ Excerpta ex Theodoto 78,2 in JONAS (N. 15) p. 45.

⁶⁸ "Afterwards he (Ahriman) from the Five Elements, the armor of Ohrmizd the Lord, extracted the soul which is good, and bound it within the pollution. Like one blind and deaf he made it, senseless and debauched, so that its first foundation it knew not and the source of itself" Turfa Pahl. Frag. S. 9. in JACKSON (N. 21) p. 79.; "since I was bound in the flesh, I forgot my divinity, Christ, I was made to drink the cup of madness, I was made to rebel against myself" Psalm to Christ 117.19 (N. 23).

⁶⁹ M 33 in ASMUSSEN, JES, Xuastvanift, Studies in Manicheism, Copenhagen 1965, p. 49.

⁷⁰ Virtutes (Hegemonius VII), see N. 33.

⁷¹ See III. 2, N. 34.

other half of the sentence, as to what else makes part of the saving knowledge, must be sought in Manichaeism cosmogony, in the Manichaean views on the disposition, arrangement of the world.

3. The rescue of the Primal Man from the prison of Darkness does not mean the end of the suffering of the part of divine Light, because the light particles forming the armor of Primal Man are still languishing 'down there'. Then the Spiritus Vivens, who plays the part of the demiurg in Manichaean mythology⁷², creates the ordered world, arranging the chaotic parts of the Darkness (the demons) so as to make the separation of the Light particles mixed with darkness easier. He defeats the archons and makes ten skies from their stretched skins and eight earths from their bodies, and nails the princes of the Darkness to the firmament as planets⁷³.

The meaning of the text therefore is: "The Gnosis is... to understand... the disposition of the world (body), in which the sky, the earth and all the princes of the material world are seen to be bound". We may translate '*dispositio corporis*' as the disposition not only of the body, but of the whole created and arranged world as well.⁷⁴ The "*omnesque principatus saeculi adstricti*" (the bound princes of the world) may refer both to all the demons of Darkness bound, forced into order, from whom the Spiritus Vivens made the arranged world, and to the main archons, princes, whom he nailed (or in other word tied) to the firmament.⁷⁵

All this knowledge is crucially important for the human soul, for it has to know, that the material world, the earth, the sky and the planets are not its 'real, original' world (the Kingdom of Light), but the parts of Matter, the hostile Darkness forced into an arranged form.

⁷² The world demiurg is used by Alex. Lycop. in C. Man. Opin. III. (PG XVIII. 415) and by the Greek anathema formulas (S. Clemens I. Rom. Pot., Opera Dubia, Recogn. Ap. III PG I. 1461). So the demiurge of Manichaeism is seen in a different light than the Gnostic Demiurg who creates the cosmos for his own wicked aims.

⁷³ Hegemonius VIII: Tunc Vivens Spiritus creavit mundum...descendens eduxit principes et crucifixit eos in firmamento...et iterum creavit terram, et sunt octo" (PG X. 1439).

"He flayed the sons of Darkness and made this sky form their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains, since there is in them a Mixture and a Mingling of the Light which was swallowed in the beginning" Ephraem Syrus, Prose Refutations, P. 14 ed. and transl. by C.W. MITCHELL, Oxford, 1912; škand-Gumânîk Vičâr 8 in JACKSON (N. 21).

⁷⁴ The Manichaeans equated the macrocosmos with the microcosmos: "Dieser ganze Kosmos ... entspricht dem Bilde des Körpers des Menschen. Die Bildung dieses Körpers des Fleisches entspricht dem Bilde des Kosmos" (Kephalaia LXX. 24 in H. J. POLOTSKY-A. BÖHLIG, Kephalaia, Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Stuttgart 1940), "corpus enim hoc mundus vocatur, ad similitudinem magni huius mundi" (Hegemonius VII). At the same time we may call the material world body, since it was made from the bodies of the defeated archons: "Spiritus Potentem de corporibus gentis tenebrarum mundum fabricasse" (Augustine, C. Faustum XX. 9 PL XLII. 375).

⁷⁵ The expression 'to tie, bind' is used for example by the Zoroastrian škand-Gumânîk Vičâr 9 "the demon Kuni, with many demons, was captured by them, and some of these were bound to the firmament" [in Jackson (N. 21) p. 117] and Turfan Pahlavi Fragmentum M. 98 "he (i.e. the Living Spirit) fastened the seven planets... and he bound them on high to that which is the lowest heaven" (in JACKSON p. 31).

4. The sentence is concluded by the phrase "*sanctorum vero dispositiones superare*" – "and to overcome the disposition (arrangement) of the saints". At first glance 'saints' are rather confusing, revoking the image of some Manichaean saints. But what would be the connection between saints, the arrangement of the world and Manichaean cosmogony? Once again other authors give the clue to the solution of the text.

According to Evodius, Mani speaks of those sinful souls in his *Principles* (*Epistula Fundamenti*), who – sunk in their love of the secular world – work on the ruination of the holy elements (*sancta elementa*), and are consequently forever banished from the Holy Kingdom⁷⁶.

The holy elements (*sancta elementa*) refers to the five elements⁷⁷ forming the armor of the Primal Man, that is the divine Light particles shut into matter. The 'disposition', the arrangement of the world binds these as well, the world is a prison not only for the powers of Darkness, but also for the Light particles, devoured, mixed with matter and waiting to be purified⁷⁸.

The bearer of Gnosis – through his knowledge and his conscious fight against the material world, which springs from this knowledge – contributes to the liberation, purification of the imprisoned Light, helps it to break out from the jail of the arranged (created) world of matter. The act of overcoming the (material) arrangement of the world – with the aid of Gnosis – belongs to the central concept of the 'deus salvandus'⁷⁹.

⁷⁶"Item in Epistola Fundamenti sic dicit de illis animabus (i.e. the sinful souls): quae mundi amore errare se a priore lucida sua natura passae sunt, atque inimicae lumini sancto exstiterunt, aperteque in perniciem Sanctorum Elementorum se armarunt...a beatitudine et gloria terrae sanctae arcerunt" Evodius, *De Fide* V., MIGNE, PL XLII. 1141.

⁷⁷"Quinque elementa", the light, the fire, the water etc. see Hegem. VII and Epiph. II. II. LXVI. cap. XXV.

⁷⁸"L'Envoyée la Lumière...au moyen de cinq sortes de demons et des cinq corps lumineux et par la combinaison de leurs deux forces, constituta les dix cieus et les huit terres de l'univers" E. CHAVANNES-P. PELLIOU, *Un Traité Manichéen Retrouvé en Chine*, p. 514, *Journal Asiatique* 10^e sér., XVIII, 1911, pp. 499–617.; "this world (is)... a prison for all the powers of Darkness. It is also a place of purification for the Soul that was swallowed in them" (Ps. CCXXIII 67.4).

⁷⁹The Manichee, or any man at that, is responsible not only for his own soul, but for the liberation of the Light in the world in general. This thought is symbolised by the notion of the 'deus salvandus', meaning that portion of the Divine, which is dispersed in the world and waiting for redemption. "non solum in coelo atque in omnibus stellis, sed etiam in terra atque in omnibus quae nascuntur in ea, confixum et colligatum atque concretum Christum dicere, non iam Salvatorem vestrum, sed a vobis salvandum" (August. C. Faustum II. V). It is the believer's duty to take an active part in the fight against the evil and to do everything possible – with his deeds and his profession of faith – for the purification and liberatio of Light. "I have made myself clean according to my power... Thy holy name I have also made clean of defilement" Ps. CCLXXI 89.24 (N. 23); "I have purified thee, my God, from flesh and blood... these Lights (the Sun and Moon ships carrying the souls upward) that are on high I have made them ferries for me... I have hung to thy defence, I have spurned the whole world" Ps. CCLXIX 87.15 (N. 23). This duty was given a central place in the moral teachings, way of life and even dietary customs of the Manichaeans. (Thus providing wonderful target for the mockery of the Ecclesiastical Fathers. The ironic words of Augustine, for example, could be considered commonplaces: "Nam et ipsa vanitate seducti, seducitis Auditores vestros, ut vobis cibos afferant, quo possit ligato in eis Christo subveniri per vestros dentes et ventres, Talibus enim auxiliis cum solvi ac liberari praedicatis" Aug. C. Faust. II. V, MIGNE, PL XLII. 212) As the *Epistula Fundamenti* attests, those who let themselves be

The phrase "*sanctorum vero dispositiones superare*" fits into these chain of thoughts: Gnosis is to understand the nature of the divine souls, the arrangement of the material world and (through this understanding) "overcome the arrangement of the holy elements (in the matter)".

Having analyzed the letter, it might be asked again: to whom should it be ascribed? Its content indicates an author versed in Manichaean lore. The concise, almost abbreviated but at the same time perfectly clear composition testifies that the composer was a Manichee or at least exceedingly familiar with Manichaean teachings – much more than it could be supposed of Orosius. At the same time, taking its style and the words used into consideration we may exclude Priscillian's authorship⁸⁰. Where Orosius got hold of the letter, unfortunately we shall probably never know, but it is quite feasible that he was indeed quoting from a genuine Manichaean writing⁸¹. (Whether he understood it is altogether another matter, after all the content of the fragment, though pertaining to Manichaean mythology, is not directly connected with the fate of the soul, as Orosius claims.)

V. MEMORIA APOSTOLORUM AND THE STORY OF THE LIGHT VIRGIN

1. But Orosius has more to say about the Priscillianists. He continues the *Commonitorium* with expounding the astrological teachings of Priscillian, but as this basically corresponds to the ideas known from classical and Gnostic astrology⁸², there is no need to pay them further attention here. Finally Orosius mentions, that Priscillian supported his teachings by a book called *Memoria Apostolorum*⁸³. The book illustrates his dualistic teachings. It asserts – writes Orosius – that there is an eternal realm of Darkness, where the Ruler of the world, who shut the souls in the matter proceeded from. This is proved by the parabola of the Sower (Matthew 13), for had he been a good sower, he would not have sowed the grain among stones (i.e. into bodies)⁸⁴.

seduced by the world and so hinder the purification of the Light particles or do not do everything in their power for their purification, cannot return to the Kingdom of Light.

⁸⁰ BABUT (N. 4) pp. 283–4.

⁸¹ Other contemporary works also prove that Manichaean works were available at this time to the Catholic clergy. Evodius and Augustine both quote from the *Thesaurus* and the *Epistula Fundamenti* (both attributed to Mani): "innumerabilibus locis de libris Manichaei recitabo... in ipsa epistola Fundamenti..." (Aug., C. Secundum PL XLII. 580; De Natura Boni 44, I. 44 PL XLII. 568; C. Felicem II. 5, PL XLII. 538) while the anathemas known under the name of I. Clement Pope (S. Clementis Opera Dubia Recognitiones III. PG I. 1466–1467), or Cyrillos of Jerusalem (Cyrillos, Cath., VI. 22 PG XXXIII. 575–578) mention the titles and contents of several Manichaean books.

⁸² CHADWICK (N. 4) pp. 198–200.

⁸³ The *Memoria Apostolorum* is also mentioned by Turribius, bishop of Astorga, as one of the 'blasphemous apocryphes' read by both the Manichaeans and Priscillianists. (Ep. ad Idatium et Ceponium) PG LIV. 694.

⁸⁴ This typical interpretation of the Biblical parabola can also be found in Augustine's work as an argument of the Manichaean Felix (C. Felicem II. 2) PL XLII 536–537.

2. Furthermore it is also written in this book, according to Orosius, that natural phenomena are caused by magic and not by the providence of God⁸⁵. Rain and thunder are created in the following way: God, when he wants to give rain to humanity, shows a certain Light Virgin to the ruler of humidity, who sweats in his desire and since he is unable to reach the virgin groans and moans⁸⁶.

The 'Seduction of the Archons' is a well-known motive of Manichaeism mythology⁸⁷. The story of the Light Virgin fits into the frame of Manichaeism cosmogony, giving explanation to the birth of vegetal and animal life, and indirectly to that of human race⁸⁸.

The Manichaeism myth is at first sight rather different from the story of Orosius' Light Virgin. There exists, however (in the works of Christian writers) another version of myth, that creates the missing link between the two versions and throws light on the origin of the 'Orosian' myth. This version can be found in the *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius (and in the works of his followers), and for some reason differs from the original version significantly. The essential difference is not in the story itself, more or less corresponding to the one told above, but in the fact that Hegemonius did not succeed in inserting the myth of the Light Virgin into its 'rightful place' within the Manichaeism myth of creation.

Hegemonius explains the cause of death this way (*mortis vero causa hominibus est ista*): a beautiful virgin came to desire the archons nailed to the Firmament, and appeared as a beautiful maiden before the male archons, and as an attractive youth before the females. The archons were inflamed by lust and since they could not catch her they were completely overwhelmed by desire. When the virgin suddenly disappeared, the biggest archon made clouds in his rage to cover the world in shadow, and just like a man from work he started sweating in his efforts and suffering, and the sweat became rain.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ "arte, non potentia Dei omnia bona agi in mundo".

⁸⁶ "In quo etiam libro de principe humorum et de principe ignis plurima dicta sunt...dicit enim esse virginem quandam lucem, quam deus volens dare pluviam hominibus principi humorum ostendat, qui dum eam adprehendere cupit, commotus consudet et pluviam faciat et destitutus ab eo mugitu suo tonitrua concitet." ('eo' was probably 'ea' in the original text since the Light Virgin is feminine).

⁸⁷ See FRANZ CUMONT, « La Séduction des Archontes » in *Recherches sur Le Manichéisme*, Bruxelles 1908, pp. 54–68.

⁸⁸ After the Spiritus Vivens arranged the world, the Father calls to Life the Third Messenger and the Light Virgin. Their task is to lead the Light upwards, back to its place. They try to liberate and retrieve the Light swallowed by the archons nailed to the sky. They appear in seducing forms in front of the tied archons, awakening their desire. The archons tied and unable to move let their seed fall in their impotent lust. The Light particles are freed, but some of them is so sullied by their contact with darkness that they become too heavy, are unable to rise and fall down to the earth and the sea. Plants and animals are born from them. The demons devour the plants to repossess the Light particles, and eventually The Lord of Darkness robs the Light from them that he shuts into bodies, when he makes the human race after the image of the Messenger and the Virgin. The story, perhaps due to its erotic, lascivious character survived in the writings of many authors (Evodius, *De Fide* XV–XVI, August., *C. Faustum* XX. 6, *Commonitorium* quod fertur Augustini (CSEL XXV), Theodore Bar Khoni, *škand-Gumânîk Vičâr* – not mentioning Manichaeism texts).

⁸⁹ Hegemonius VIII. PG X. 1442.

The fall of the seed of the archons is often likened to rain by other authors too⁹⁰, perhaps to make the image more vivid, or as an euphemism. Hegemonius however (unfortunately his source is unknown) knows the motive only as the reason for the birth of rain. Why this should cause the death of men is not quite clear. Hegemonius probably suspected, that the story should somehow be fitted into the myth of the creation of humankind, but as he did not know how, he relied on his own fantasy (perhaps thinking of the Deluge of the Bible). In any case the myth turned out a bit clumsy, and those following Hegemonius did not adopt the death motive. With this the story of the Light Virgin obtained a life of its own outside its mythological frame. It appears completely removed from its original context, and serves solely to explain the creation of rain.

An eloquent example of the metamorphosis of the myth is given by three authors, who relied on Hegemonius⁹¹.

Cyrillos of Jerusalem simplifies the story to a great extent, saying that winter storms are born, when a pretty youth is amorously pursuing a maiden⁹². Titus of Bostra writes, that the rain is the sweat of the guards of matter, who lusting after the powers of good sweat rain⁹³. Finally Theodoreos attributes the rain to divine Providence, adding that what the obscene Manichaean tales teach about the princes of matter sweating rain in their desire after the daughter of light is not true⁹⁴.

This peculiarly distorted version of the myth of the Light Virgin is extant only in the works of authors following the Hegemonian tradition. In other writings of Orosius' time, like in Evodius, or in the *Commonitorium* passed on under the name of Augustine⁹⁵, or even in the works of Augustine himself, the story retained its original form and meaning.

Having considered all this it may probably be accepted that the 'Manichaean weather report', the tale of the Light Virgin raising thunder and rain in the *Commonitorium* of Orosius can be traced back to the tradition 'founded' by Hegemonius⁹⁶.

⁹⁰ The rain was the seed of the Mazdarans (demons) "škand-Gumânîk Vičâr 14.

⁹¹ See above N. 35, PUECH (N. 36) pp. 17–18, LIEU (N. 36) p. 136.

⁹² "Illi autem imbres ex amatorio aestu oriri statuunt: audentque dicere esse quamdam in coelo speciosam virginem cum juvene formoso: eos quo tempore cameli aut lupi, suae foedae cupidinis tempora habere: itaque hiberno tempore hunc in virginem insano furore incurrere, illum vero fugere aiunt, istum persequi, atque inde sudorem emittere, quo ex sudore imbrem existere" Cyrillus Hierosolimus, *Catheceses de Uno Deo* VI. 34, PG XXXIII. 599–600.

⁹³ "Imbres dicit esse superfluentias praesidium materiae, qui ex amore laborant adversus potestates boni, qui cum ita laborent, sudores eorum esse definit, id quod in eis, ut ipse putat, abundat et superfluet" Titus Bostrensis, *Adversos Manicheos* II. 32, PG XXXIII. 1195–1196.

⁹⁴ "Neque enim, juxta obscenissimas Manetis fabulas, materiae principes, lucis filiam concupiscentes, sudant, et pluviam supeditant, sed univversorum Opifex innuit, et nubes coguntur" Theodoreos, *Haereticorum Fabulae* v. 10, PG LXXXIII. 487–488.

⁹⁵ *Commonitorium* quod fertur Augustini.

⁹⁶ Hegemonius' work became known in the Western part of the Empire early on. Already Philastrius Bresciensis, a contemporary and compatriot of Priscillian refers to *Acta Archaelai* in his *De Haeresibus* written in 385. LIEU (N. 36) (p. 136) deduces from this that by that time there already existed a Latin version.

3. Finally Orosius concludes the *Commonitorium* stating, that Priscillian denied the separate existence and distinct personality of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Trinity⁹⁷. Although it is not possible to deal in this paper exhaustively with this complicated dogmatic problem and the place it filled in antipriscillianist polemics, it must be observed, that this was taught by the Sabellianists (or Patripassionists), a Trinitarian heresy, who dissented from Orthodox Christianity only in the question of interpreting the Trinity and were in no way related to the dualistic movements.

VI. THE PLACE OF OROSIUS IN THE ANTIPRISCILLIANIST LITERATURE

1. Summing up what was written so far, we may draw the conclusion, that the *Commonitorium* is a compilation of diverse elements from different systems (Manichaeism, Gnosticism, Sabellianism and Classical Astrology) and sources (antiheretical writings and probably original Manichaean works or fragments of works). It seems very likely for example that Orosius made use of the *Acta Archelai* (or one of its later elaboration, perhaps the *Panarion* of Epiphanius): he must have borrowed the story of the Light Virgin from this source. The employment of the expression *Anima* as the protagonist of the myth reminds us of the style of Hegemonius, and even more Epiphanius, but in any case indicates a written source. This theory is reinforced by such 'misinterpretations' in the text like the 'mythological inaccuracy' in the case of '*animam... instrui adoratu angelorum*', or the erroneous use of the word *promptuarium*, that can be accounted for only by the superficial reading of some text, or by not understanding what was read⁹⁸.

This procedure, the accumulation of accusations of diverse character and different origin, conforms to the traditions of ancient invective⁹⁹.

2. Naturally someone may ask, whether we can exclude the possibility, that Priscillian indeed professed Manichaean ideas, and Orosius worked on the basis of literary patterns, because this facilitated his task, or because this was demanded by the traditions of contemporary invective, antiheretical literature. Perhaps the internal development of the topoi of antipriscillianist literature can offer a satisfactory answer to this question.

Orosius wrote his *Commonitorium* forty years after Priscillian was executed by Magnus Maximus the usurper marching against Gratianus. As I have already men-

⁹⁷ "Trinitatem autem solo verbo loquebatur, nam unionem absque ulla existencia aut proprietate adserens sublato et patrem filium spiritum sanctum hunc esse num Christum docebat."

⁹⁸ It's probably not by chance that both were left out from Augustine's report (*De Haeresibus*), just like the distorted myth of the Light Virgin.

⁹⁹ Augustine proceeded in a similar way in his above mentioned anti-Manichaean *De Duabus Animabus*, or this is why such teachings were ascribed to Marcion and Nestorios, which those – as far as it can be reconstructed – never professed. See A. DOMINI, *História do Cristianismo*, Lisboa 1993, p. 121. and LÁSZLÓ VANYÓ, *Az Ókeresztény Egyház és Irodalma*, Budapest 1988, pp. 715–718.

tioned at the beginning of this paper, the work of Orosius contains a number of information, that cannot be detected in the antipriscillianist writings of the preceding forty years. Sulpicius Severus, Jerome (and later Isidore of Seville¹⁰⁰, who seems to rely on the same source as the other two) mention Priscillian as the pupil of the Gnostic Marcus of Memphis¹⁰¹, that is as a Gnostic himself. In the acts of the Council of Toledo of AD 400 assembled to take measures against the Priscillianists none of the anathemas point at a specifically Manichaean movement¹⁰². The letter of Jerome *Epistula ad Ctesiphontem*¹⁰³ written in 415 is the first text (beside the *Commonitorium*) that mentions Priscillian as the compiler of the teachings of the Gnostic Basilides on the one hand, and of Mani on the other. What kind of novel information could Jerome receive since composing the *De Viris Illustribus*, where with reticent uncertainty he simply wrote: some claim that Priscillian is the pupil of Basilides and Marcus, while others deny this¹⁰⁴. The answer might be sought in the fact, that Orosius fleeing the Visigoth conquest in 414 fled to Augustine in North Africa, and then, at the instigation of Augustine, moved to Palestine – to Jerome! A tiny, but not insignificant fact.

As for the fight of the soul, its fall onto the earth and imprisonment, furthermore the tale of the Light Virgin or the creation of rain there is no trace whatsoever of these in the writings of the preceding four decades. On the other hand they definitely figure in the later writings following the *Commonitorium*. These works demonstrate very well how certain accusations, commonplaces were born and lived on – always in a more and more distorted form.

Sufficient has been said on the influence of Orosius on Augustine's antipriscillianist work. Subsequent to Orosius and Augustine we possess only two more sources of significance, that mention Priscillian's name along with that of Mani. One is the answer of Leo Magnus to the letter of Thuribius, bishop of Asturia¹⁰⁵ (c. 445), the other is the acts of the Council of Braga in 562. Unfortunately however both works – considered very important and often quoted – use the *Commonitorium* as its primary source. Proof for this is given by a small 'printing error'. Both Pope Leo and the acts proclaim that Priscillian taught, that the souls commit a sin in their heavenly home and are shut into different bodies as a punishment¹⁰⁶, depending on the gravity of their sin. This plainly contradicts the statement of Orosius about the soul voluntarily descending to fight. But Orosius devoted only the first half of his work to the

¹⁰⁰ Viribus Illustribus XV. PL LXXXIII. 1092.

¹⁰¹ Probably the great Gnostic teacher of the 2nd century, the Egyptian Marcus famous for his knowledge of magic – chronologically this is quite impossible.

¹⁰² Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. VIVES, Madrid 1963.

¹⁰³ Ep. CXXXIII, MIGNE, PL XXII. 1150–1151.

¹⁰⁴ Vir. Ill. CXXI. 3 Basilides' name was probably attached to Marcus, because just like 'the Gnostic Magician', he also gave a prominent place in his system to astrology, mystical numerology and he was also rumoured to conjure with the aid of magical incantations and demons.

¹⁰⁵ Leo Magnus Rom. Pont., Epistula XV, PL LIV. 678–692.

¹⁰⁶ Leo, XV. 10 PL LIV. 684–685. "animas... in coelesti habitatione pecasse, atque ab hoc ad inferiora delapsas... in diversis corporibus esse inclusas sorte diversa et conditione dissimili, ut quidquid in hac vita... provenit ex praecedentibus causis videatur accidere", Braga VI "animas humanas dicit in caelesti habitatione pecasse et pro hoc in corpora humana in terra deiectas".

Priscillianists, the second one expounds the errors of the so-called Origenists, who maintain that the souls had committed some kind of a sin and were thrust into bodies to repent "*mundum novissime ideo esse factum, ut in eo animae purgarentur quae ante peccarunt*" and adds that the fate of the soul depends on the gravity of the sin "*minor culpa maiorem locum mesruit*". Considering that in a complete mythological system such a change, that would radically alter the notions on the place and role of man in the universe (that is the core around which the whole system is built) is most unlikely to occur, we may assume that the new version is due to a misreading, confusing of Orosius' work. We may consequently draw a line of tradition traced back to Orosius in the antipriscillianist literature. As regards Orosius' work, enough has been said on the circumstances of its origin, its objectivity, reliability.

Did we manage to advance in the field of Priscillianist research? The 'analysis' of Orosius' *Commonitorium*, if it does not directly take us nearer to learning the real teachings of Priscillian, at least makes us seriously reevaluate the validity of the antipriscillianist literature as a source, and the picture painted by these very sources of the 'heretic' bishop.

3. What does all this signify from the aspect of the problem of Priscillianism, apart from the pleasure of solving the text and revealing the contemporary parallels, the possible sources used? The *Commonitorium* and those late writings that display the influence of Orosius, following the traditional methods of invective literature, aimed not so much at an objective and realistic account, but at the denigration of the enemy, and were not choosy in their methods. Alternatingly they drew from the traditional stock of accusations, or copied each other uncritically and carelessly. Revealing the methods utilized by Orosius and his followers perhaps entitles us to draw the conclusion, that we should receive all the other writings concerning the Priscillianists with caution and doubt as well – after all, just like in the case of Orosius, the roots of the methods employed by other contemporary antiheretical authors must be sought for in the traditions of invective literature.

APPENDIX

AD AURELIUM AUGUSTINUM COMMONITORIUM DE ERRORE PRISCILLIANISTARUM (ET ORIGENISTARUM)

Priscillianus primum in eo Manichaeis miserior, quod ex veteri testamento haeresim confirmavit, docens animam quae a deo nata sit de quodam promptuario procedere, profiteri ante deum se pugnaturam et instrui adoratu angelorum: dehinc descendente per quosdam circulos a principatibus malignis capi et secundum voluntatem victoris principis in corpora diversa contrudi eisque adscribi chirographum. Unde et mathesim praevalere firmebat, adserens quod hoc chirographum soluerit Christus et adfixerit cruci per passionem suam, sicut ipse Priscillianus in quadam epistula sua dicit:

Haec prima sapientia est in animarum typis divinarum virtutum intellegere naturas et corporis dispositionem, in qua obligatum caelum videtur et terra omnesque principatus saeculi videntur adstricti, sanctorum vero dispositiones superare. Nam primum circulum et mittendarum in carne animarum divinum chirographum, angelorum et dei et omnium animarum consensibus fabricatum patrirarchae tenent, qui contra formalis militiae opus possident, et reliqua.

Tradidit autem nomina patriarcharum membra esse animae, eo quod esset Ruben in capite, Iuda in pectore, Levi in corde, Beniamin in femoribus, et similia, contra autem in membris corporis caeli signa esse disposita idest arietem in capite, taurum in cervice, geminos in brachiis, cancrum in pectore et cetera, volens subintellegi tenebras aeternas et ex his principem mundi processisse, et hoc ipso confirmans ex libro quodam qui inscribitur 'memoria apostolorum', ubi salvator interrogari a discipulis videtur secreto et ostendere de parabola evangelica quae habet exitum seminans seminare quia non fuerit seminator bonus, adserens quia si bonus fuisset, non fuisset negligens vel secus viam vel in petrosis vel in incultis iaceret semen, volens intellegi hunc esse seminantem qui animas captas spargeret in corpora diversa quae vellet. In quo etiam libro de principe humidorum et de principe ignis plurima dicta sunt, volens intellegi arte, non potentia dei omnia bona agi in hoc mundo. Dicit enim esse virginem quandam lucem, quam deus volens dare pluviam hominibus principi humidorum ostendat, qui, dum eam adprehendere cupit, commotus consudet et pluviam faciat et destitutus ab eo mugitu suo tonitrua concitet. Trinitatem autem solo verbo loquebatur, nam unionem absque ulla existentia aut proprietate adserens sublato et patrem filium spiritum sanctum hunc esse unum Christum docebat.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USAGE OF THE LATIN GERUNDIVE

In an earlier study I have examined the usage of the Latin gerundive¹ (and of the gerund) and, in the same context, the system of the Latin participles as well². However, I did not go into the much debated question so far, whether it was the gerundive form that developed earlier, or the gerund. In this paper I extend my previous analysis, and I want to give the outlines of the historical development in the usage of the gerundive.

It is fundamental to realise that the gerundive represents the *imperfecta actio* (imperfect aspect), just as the gerund. To settle this question I have disposed nine different arguments³, but in fact the first of them is sufficient in itself, namely that one *that the gerundive is always formed from the imperfect root of the verb*⁴. Furthermore, the imperfect root is a secondary formation of the stem of the verb, from which it is only⁵ possible to derive forms having *imperfecta actio* (imperfect aspect).

The classification of the kinds of gerundive, elaborated here, adequately illustrates the historical development of both the gerundive, and its use. It is interesting to note that the different grammatical cases of the gerundive have different functions. The kinds of gerundive and the various grammatical cases of its usage are demonstrated in the classification elaborated below. (There are 3 basic types, with subdivisions giving a total of 7 usage types.)

¹ Cs. TÖTTÖSSY, A latin gerundivum: Ant. Tan. 16, 1969, 205 ff.

² Cs. TÖTTÖSSY, The System of the *adiectivum verbale* in the Latin Language: Ann. Univ. Bud. Sectio Classica 1, 1972, 69 ff.

³ See note 2, op. cit. 69 ff.

⁴ In teaching Latin a significant source of confusion may arise (if both teacher and student are mentally alert) in explaining that: (1) there is an *instans* form called *participium instans passivi* which is formed from the *imperfectum* stem of the verb; while (2) the gerund, which has basically the same form, has *imperfecta actio*. (In addition: these are interconvertible!) On the other hand, other *instans* forms (*participium instans activi* and *infinitivus instans activi*) are formed from the supine form of the stem of the verb.

⁵ Cs. TÖTTÖSSY, Origin and Development of the Forms of the Latin Future Active Infinitive and Participle: Acta Ant. Hung. 38, 1998, note 17.

1) The gerundive *without* force of necessity (having the grammatical function of a *participium imperfectum deponentis vel passivi*, present passive and deponent participle) which is, in form, an *attribute*.

1a) This type of gerundive, if it is a participle whose usage developed in the early historical period, can function as a real attribute which more closely defines the noun, e.g. *oriundus*, *secundus*, *senescendus*, etc. This type can also fulfil the role of the *praedicativum*⁶, just like any other adjective; either on its own, as an attribute, or predicative complement to the verb *sum*. E.g.: *longissimum spatium senescendorum hominum* (Var. L. 6,11), “the very long course of life of senescent men”; and ... , *cum Lavinium a Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent* (Liv. 1,23,1), “as Lavinium from Troy, and Alba from Lavinium, (so) the Romans are originating from the ancestral race of the Alban kings”. In this usage, however, there is, naturally, no equivalent gerund, and again there is no implication of necessity.

1b) The gerundive occurs as an attribute in constructions which have parallel form to: *in medio foro*, *in summo monte*, and similar examples of nouns used in conjunction with an attributive. In Latin the meaning may be e.g. either “in the central forum”, or “in the centre of the forum”⁷. I call the latter *inverted attributive construction*⁸, because in fact it is the noun which expresses the meaning of an adjective⁹. This is the reason why the attribute stands before the noun in Latin. This terminology is also appropriate because in Ancient Greek usage the attribute and the noun *must* be used with the order of words actually inverted, to express the alternative meaning. For example ἡ νῆσος ἐσχάτῃ means “the edge of the island”, but with the usual word order (ἡ ἐσχάτῃ νῆσος) would mean “the extreme island”. An example of this construction is: ... , *ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliquē deprehensi tererent* (Sall. Cat. 48,4), the correct and exact translation of which is: “... that the arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus and the others may not frighten him”. Another example:

⁶ See note 13, below.

⁷ The usual attributive construction is rather *in foro medio*, “in the central forum”, and the inverted attributive construction is *in medio foro*, “in the centre of the forum”.

⁸ The syntax I propose here has several new concepts and new terms. One of these new terms (in addition to *praedicativum*) is the *inverted attributive construction*. As described above, an adjective (or participle, or pronoun) can fulfil the syntactical function of the attribute, as well as that of the *praedicativum*. Furthermore there is a construction which consists of an adjective (or participle) and a noun, but this time it is the noun which expresses the meaning of an adjective, which has the form of an attribute. That is why I name this the *inverted attributive construction* (a syntactical term which I have introduced). Examples are the Latin construction *in medio foro*, and the Greek construction ἡ νῆσος ἐσχάτῃ. In other languages, the Latin, Greek and Sanskrit inverted attributive constructions must be interpreted and translated in the same way as we now interpret the Latin gerund construction standing with the accusative, and this was in fact the way the speaker and writer of the time interpreted them. It is the gerund construction, which developed from the gerundive construction, which indicates that even the classical Latin speaker interpreted the inverted attributive constructions in this way.

⁹ For more details see CS. TÖTTÖSSY, *The Participium Absolutum in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin*, in: *Indologica Taurensia* (Official Organ of the International Sanskrit Studies), Vol. III–IV: *Proceedings of the Second World Sanskrit Conference* (Torino 9–15 June, 1975). Torino 1976. 477 ff.

post civitatem a L. Bruto liberatam (Cic. Phil. 5,17), "after the liberation of the state by L. Brutus"¹⁰. This type of gerundive construction can be formed only from transitive verbs and from the verbs *utor*, *fruor*, *fungor*, *potior*, *vescor*, because this time the gerundive has always passive sense, already.

1b α) In most of these occurrences the gerundive construction may be substituted by a gerund construction employing the same case or preposition, e.g. ... *felix vobis corrumpendis fuit* (Liv. 3,17,2), "he was successful in corrupting you". Another example may be: *Meo nomine recitando omnes magistratus praesentes plausum dederunt* (Cic. Att. 4,1,6), "At the reading of my name all the magistrates (who were) present applauded". As an example for the usage of the gerund construction instead of the gerundive can be quoted: *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis?* (Verg. A. 2,6), "Who could abstain from tears during the telling of such things?"¹¹

1b β) The other kind of gerundive construction in this sub-category is when it occurs in conjunction with the verb *curo*, as an expressive form of the causative. Similarly, this can be only formed from transitive verbs, and from verbs like *utor* (see list above). In this case the accusative of the gerundive can only be used, and here there is no gerund equivalent since that has no accusative form without preposition which can be used alone. E.g. *Hunc* (sc. *per fugam*) *Fabricius reducendum curavit ad Pyrrhum* (Cic. Off. 3,86), "Fabricius saw to it that this fellow was taken back to Pyrrhus" (translation of the ed. of the Loeb Classical Library). (Or, more strictly, "Fabricius took care of the transfer of this (fugitive) back to Pyrrhus".)

2) I discern two main kinds of gerundive *with* force of necessity¹², both having the sense of imperfect aspect.

2a) Firstly, those governed by verbs where the gerundive fulfils the syntactical function of the *praedicativum*.

¹⁰ The inverted attributive construction has two versions: *without* preposition, and this time it can stand in any of the five cases (see the first example above) and *with* preposition (see the second example above). In my opinion the "ablative absolute" is nothing else but an inverted attributive construction without preposition, put in the ablative case. Further examples of inverted attributive constructions are the Greek *genitivus absolutus* (e.g. θεοῦ διδόντος), and the Sanskrit *locativus absolutus* (e.g. *mṛte patyau*, "after the death of her husband", *goṣu dugdhāsu sa gataḥ*, "after the milking of the cows he went away"). The development of these "absolute" constructions from subordinate clauses cannot be regarded as real linguistic concept. But if there is a gerundive that stands as a participle in such a construction and in the ablative, then by linguistic tradition it is (illogically) *not* called "ablative absolute".

¹¹ The former examples are the so-called "gerundive constructions in strict sense". The last example shows that it is not always possible to use the gerundive construction instead of gerund + acc. (and vice versa), see e.g. R. KÜHNER-C. STEGMANN, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. Teil II. Bd. I. Hannover (1976) 1992. 736, note. On the other hand it is clear that these gerundives cannot be translated with phrases expressing necessity.

¹² See phase IV, below.

2a α) Gerundives in this sub-group (as in 1b) can also be formed from transitive verbs only, and from verbs like *utor* (see list above, section 1b). They can be used together with the active form of certain verbs (*do*, *trado*, *mitto*, *relinquo*, etc.), in the accusative case, agreeing with the noun, or in the nominative case if these verbs (*do*, etc.) are in the passive form. In Latin this is in reality not an adverbial phrase indicating purpose but a *praedicativum*¹³: e.g. *Dant eum Vestae educandum* (Enn. var. 75), "They give him to Vesta as an educand" ("... to be educated"). Or again, ... *quae* (sc. *Sicilia*) *mihi defendenda tradita est* (Cic. Verr. 5,188), "... which (Sicily) was given to me to be protected". Instead of these constructions, the accusative (or nominative) of the noun can be followed, instead of by the gerundive *praedicativum*, by a gerund in conjunction with the preposition *ad*. This time the gerund has the grammatical function and also the form of an adverbial phrase indicating purpose: e.g. *quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum* (Cic. Off. 2,46), "whom they themselves chose, for the sake of imitation" ("... to imitate").

2a β) The nominative forms of this gerundive can be used only in conjunction with the various forms of the verb *sum*, and relate to a noun in the nominative case: e.g. *Resistendum senectuti est*, ... *eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt*. (Cic.

¹³ The nouns (and noun-valued pronouns) are completed by attributes, while the verbs and adjectives are completed by adverbial phrases. One type of adverbial phrase, in Latin, Greek, as in Sanskrit as well, although associated with and subordinated to a verb or adjective and being complement of the verb, at the same time refers to a noun (or to a noun-valued word) in the sentence, and is in grammatical correspondence with this noun, regarding its case, number, and (if possible) its gender, too. I call this type of adverbial phrase a *praedicativum*. The essential characteristic of the *praedicativum* is that it refers to the noun *at the action indicated by the verb* (or at the state indicated by the adjective), and in most cases it is in grammatical agreement with the noun-valued word to which it refers. The attribute, on the other hand, is *independent* of the action indicated by the verb, while the adverbial phrase belongs only to a verb (or an adjective). The traditional nomenclature *attributum praedicativum*, *appositio praedicativa*, *nominativus* and *accusativus praedicativus*, together with several other expressions, I include, on the basis of their common characteristic essence described above, in this term *praedicativum*. The Greek participle ὄν, οὖσα, ὄν (similarly to the adjective subordinate to it) is a *praedicativum*. There is a form of the attribute that is *not* in grammatical agreement with the noun with which it is associated, and to which it is subordinate: e.g. ... *a Pyrrho perfuga senatui est pollicitus* ... (Cic. Off. 1,40), "a fugitive (coming) from Pyrrhos promised the senatus ...". But such phrases are nevertheless actually attributes. There is a similar form of the *praedicativum* as well, for example the *ablativus qualitatis* can have the value of the *praedicativum*. Further examples: ... *ipse animo firmissimo venit* ... (Cic. Sest. 62), "... he came with a very firm soul himself ..."; ... *et eo quidem consilio* ... (Cic. Fin. 1,72), "... namely with that intention ...". The *praedicativum* can also be used in conjunction with a praeposition: *Utrum tu pro ancilla me habes an pro filia?* (Pt. Per. 341), "Do you consider me as a maidservant or as your daughter?"; *in culpa sunt* (Cic. Fin. 1,10,33), "they are culpable". An adjective (or participle, or pronoun) which is in grammatical agreement with the noun can fulfil the following functions in the sentence: (1) attribute; (2) *praedicativum*; (3) it can be part of an inverted attributive construction; and (4) it can have the value of a noun as well. Both the *praedicativum* and the attribute have a form that is not in grammatical agreement with the noun to which they respectively refer. The apposition always behaves similarly to the attribute (although the former is always noun-valued, and it is always in grammatical agreement with the noun to which it refers), still syntactically it is different from the attribute, and an article has to precede it in Greek (and also in Hungarian). Irrespective of the way we translate these constructions into English, German, etc., they have to be interpreted according to their syntactical function in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, and *not* according to their translations into other languages.

Sen. 35), "One must resist senescence ..." (*impersonal* construction with an *intransitive* verb), "... and one must compensate for its faults by means of diligence" (*personal* construction with a *transitive* verb). The accusative forms of this gerundive only occur in the *acc. c. inf.* construction, and relate to a noun in the accusative case: e.g. ..., *qui mortem contemnendam esse non viderit* (Cic. Sen. 66), "... , who did not comprehend that death is contemptible". This kind of gerundive can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs. In this instance verbs like *utor*, etc. occur only in impersonal constructions: e.g. *Suo cuique iudicio est utendum* (Cic. N.D. 3,1), "Each man must use his own judgement".

2b) This gerundive with force of necessity can always be used, in all the grammatical cases, (1) as attribute, (2) as *praedicativum*, or (3) as noun: e.g. (1) as attribute: ... *nuntiatur terrae motus horribilis cum ... multis metuendisque rebus* (Cic. Har. 62), "... a terrible earthquake is announced, together with several fearful things"; *miranda facta dicis* (Pt. Rud. 344), "you say admirable things"; ... *maiores nostri labores non fugiendos ... aerumnas ... nominaverunt* (Cic. Fin. 2,118), "Our ancestors named hardships that should not be avoided as troubles". (In order to preserve the meaning of this gerundive, the negative gerundive must be translated as "should not" or "must not".) (2) As *praedicativum*: ... *metuendus magis quam metuens ... inquit* (Liv. 2,12,8), "... he spoke as a man to be feared rather than fearing" (this example in addition elucidates the same *actio* of *metuendus* and *metuens*). (3) As a noun: *At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem plura quidem tollenda reliquendis* (Hor. S. 10,1,50), "But I have said that he "flows" as a muddied (*praedicativum*) (stream), often indeed carrying (*praedicativum*, *participium coniunctum*) more things (worthy) to be omitted than to be preserved".

3) Lastly, the future tense (*instans*) meaning of the gerundive developed in Late Latin, and the (incorrect) usage of the term *participium instans passivi* in today's school grammar-books can be traced back to this development through its use by the grammarians of that time: e.g. *Hannibal, cum tradendus Romanis esset, venenum bibit* (Eutrop. 4,5), "Hannibal, when he was to be given to the Romans, drank poison". This sentence is taken from the *Breviarium ab urbe condita, libri X*, written before 370 AD by Eutropius, the *epistolographus* of Emperor Constantine. An example of the usage as a future passive infinitive is to be found in the *Vita Hadriani* of Aelius Spartianus (probably in the 4th century AD): *A Sura comperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse* (Spartian. Hadr. 3,10), "He heard from Sura that he would be adopted (future in Latin!) by Trajan".

The occurrences (in classical Latin) of the above type-classifications of gerundives appearing in the different grammatical cases may be represented, in tabular form, as follows. In the table the more characteristic combinations are indicated with "O", the infrequent ones with "o", while non-existent combinations are shown by "-".

	Nom.	Acc.	Prep. Acc.	Gen.	Dat.	Abl.
1a)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
1b α)	–	–	O	O	O	O
1b β)	–	O	–	–	–	–
2a α)	<i>o</i>	O	–	–	–	–
2a β)	O	<i>o</i>	–	–	–	–
2b)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>

From the table, we see that except the accusative, each of the grammatical cases of the gerundive has only *one* really characteristic use. (The accusative is used with classes (1b β) and (2a α), but in fact neither of these occur very frequently.)

There has been a great difference between the scholarly opinions on the question of whether the gerund or gerundive was the original form¹⁴. Some scholars have considered the gerund to be the earlier form, in consequence of having misunderstood the essence of the two constructions. Others have been influenced by the lack of other occurrences of the suffix *-ndo-* among the adjectival suffixes in Latin, although it can be found in adjectives like *iucundus* and *fecundus*. (If this is a special participle suffix, then in fact it is easy to understand why it cannot be found among the suffixes of other adjectives.) My concept concerning the development of the use

¹⁴Two mistakes are frequently made in connection with the analysis of the development of the gerundive and the gerund: (1) to assume that they originate from different forms, and (2) to consider the gerundive as not being the prior form. Priscian correctly assumes that the gerund developed from the gerundive (the genitive of the former from the corresponding case of the latter, etc. See P. AALTO, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*. Helsinki 1949. p. 17). At the same time, Priscian's error was the reason why the usual alternative name of the gerundive became *participium instans passivi* instead of the correct *participium imperfectum passivi*. AALTO (op. cit. pp. 20–23) gives a wide-ranging overview on the opinions of renowned and eminent scholars from the beginning of the 19th century on the explanation of the development of the *-ndo-* form, which opinions sometimes now make us smile. I forbear to go into further detail on these opinions, since this would require a complete paper. The first suggestion for the explanation of this development, that of FR. BOPP (see FR. BOPP, *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send, Armenischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*. III. Berlin–Paris 1871. 183 ff.), is in closest (though not complete) agreement with my views on this question. AALTO (op. cit.) also gives a comprehensive overview on the usage of the gerundive and the gerund, as do KÜHNER–STEGMANN, op. cit. Teil II. Bd. I. 727ff., and also M. LEUMANN–J. B. HOFMANN–A. SZANTYR, *Lateinische Grammatik*. Bd. II. (1926–1928⁵) München 1965, 368 ff., as well as other grammatical works. However, Aalto does not provide any exegesis of the development and usage in question, such as it is attempted here. Even the authors of recent works do not attempt this. E.g. E. C. WOODOCK, *A New Latin Syntax*. Bristol (1959) 187. 157 ff.; M. HAMMOND, *Latin (A Historical and Linguistic Handbook)*. London 1976. 197 ff.; H. PINKSTER, *Latin Syntax and Semantics*. London–New York 1990. 145.; A. L. SIHLER, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York–Oxford 1995. 626 ff.

of the gerundive, the outlining of which is the main object of this paper, is as expounded below:

I. The first historical stage: participles having similar forms like *oriundus* (< **ori-o-nd-o-s*)¹⁵ ("originating from"), *secundus* (earlier intransitive), ("following", "second", later "prosperous") and *senescendus* ("senescing") develop first from intransitive, deponent verbs and then from intransitive, non-deponent verbs, in order to express the meaning of the *participium imperfectum medii vel deponentis* (present participle), without passive meaning and without force of necessity. Then similar imperfect forms (*participium imperfectum passivi sine necessitate*) developed also from transitive, deponent verbs, and from transitive, non-deponent ones.

II. Next, since this form of the gerundive had already developed from all the verbs, inverted attributive constructions could be formed with its help, in a similar way to the usage with other participles (e.g. *post urbem conditam*; and *multa dicta sunt ab antiquis de contemnendis ac despiciendis rebus humanis* (Cic. Fin. 5,73), "the ancients were talking a lot about the contempt and disdain of human things").

III. In the inverted attributive constructions, which I analysed above, it is the noun which expresses the meaning of an adjectival, attributive part. That this is not only my opinion, but the opinion of the ancient Romans as well, is proved conclusively by the development of the gerund, since the gerund must be literally translated in the same way as I translate the inverted attributive construction¹⁶. It was in this

¹⁵ It is evident from my above representation that I regard the *-o-* as the formative suffix element of the 1st major conjugation in Indo-European. This develops into *-u-* in the Latin 3rd conjugation, as usual (e.g. *gerundus*), then later into *-e-*, while in the other conjugations naturally we find the same vowel which appears before the suffix *-nt-* of the *participium imperfectum activi* (present active participle) also before the suffix *-nd-*. In my opinion the *participium imperfectum* of the deponent verbs was missing from the conjugation of the verbs originally having middle voice character. The Old-Italian languages developed an ingenious solution in order to fill this gap. Since the vowel declensions are used in conjunction with the participles of the middle voice, therefore the derivation of the endings *-us* (< **-o-s*), *-a*, *-um* is clear. The suffix *-nt-* is used in the *participia imperfecta activi* (present active participles) and I see a similar suffix *-nd-* in the deponent conjugation, the *-d-* of which in Latin may possibly be a phonetic borrowing from an Italian dialect. (In the Oscian word *upsannam* (~ *operandam*) we find the *-nn-* developed from *-nd-*, and in Umbrian we find the form *-n-*, e.g. *pihaner*.) I think it probable, however, that *-nd-* is after all not a dialectic form, but a group of sounds parallel with the *-nt-* suffix of the *participium imperfectum activi*. As *-nt-* would have been strange in the vowel-declension but as there was an *-nd-* (and even *-undo-*) in the adjectives ending in *-cundus* and *-bundus*. This *-nd-* has become the suffix of the gerundive instead of and *-u-nt-o-* form. Later the gerundive, which was originally a *participium imperfectum deponentis* gradually fulfilled ever wider syntactical functions, and its meaning also broadened correspondingly, as I outlined above. In the process the gerund also developed from it as a separate form. The form of this gerundive was not inherited from the Indo-European participle system, and perhaps that was the reason why its syntactical functions developed more flexibly, first according to the patterns of the Indo-European participles (see class 1 above) and later in a more individualistic way (classes 2 and 3 above). Consequently the semantic changes of the gerundive always have syntactical bases and origins.

¹⁶ It is just this historical development of the gerund that proves that the Romans interpreted the inverted attributive construction in the same manner as myself, since in the course of time they devel-

third historical stage that the gerund developed as an abstract verbal noun, and later it was used to express an abstract noun also in the case when an inverted attributive construction could not be used¹⁷: e.g. ... *posteriora ... me a scribendo tuis iniustissimis atque acerbissimis incommotis retardarunt* (Cic. Fam. 5,17,1), "the later times hindered me from writing because of your most unmerited and distressing troubles". Otherwise Latin uses participles in inverted attributive constructions instead of abstract nouns¹⁸.

IV. A later-developed variant of this gerund-construction is the one with the preposition *ad*, being syntactically the adverbial complement of purpose: e.g. *Exemplum ceteris ad imitandum dedit* (Enn. var. 75), "He gave an example to the others for imitation". On the other hand if this gerund with the preposition *ad* is interchanged with the gerundive (the situation here is the reverse of what was described above, since this time it is not that the gerund is developed by linguistic usage instead of the gerundive, but the gerund is expressed by its "equivalent", i.e. by the gerundive), then a phrase like *exemplum imitandum* can only be interpreted if we ascribe a force of necessity¹⁹ to this form which already fulfils the function of the *praedicativum*, i.e. if we translate it as "he gave the others an example to be imitated". This force of necessity was transferred from the constructions with verbs like *do* to the gerundive constructions with *sum*, and the usage of the gerundive described in (2a β) developed as well²⁰. Nevertheless all these forms have the meaning of a *participium imperfectum passivi (cum necessitate)*.

V. The gerundive expresses necessity that derives from the circumstances: e.g. in the sentence ... *domos nostras et patriam ipsam vel diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus* (Cic. Fam. 16.12.1), "We left our homes, and even our country ..." the words *diripiendam* and *inflammandam* mean "whose fate (inevitably) is that they are to be robbed and burned". The phrase, at this stage of historical development, still means that it is their inevitable fate *today*²¹.

VI. The next stage of development then involves the implications that: (1) If it is their "fate" *today*, then this will *be fulfilled* in the future, so the phrase will have an *instans* (future) value. (2) However, the actual fulfilment of this is not at all desirable, therefore the force of necessity disappears.

oped the abstract noun of action, the gerund. Since the gerundive itself is a kind of participle which historically developed in Italy, and does not have an Indo-European origin, it was easier for them to develop a new usage from it, viz. a noun expressing action, see note 15.

¹⁷ See note 11. above.

¹⁸ The ground for this usage is the fact that always persons or things appear in front of our mental eyes instead of abstract nouns, just like in the expression *Lentulus et Cethegus deprehensi* (see class 1b above), in which Lentulus and Cethegus appear (in arrest) in front of our mental eyes.

¹⁹ By the knowledge of the use of the Greek *adiectivum verbale* -τέος¹, the sense of necessity was well-known to the Latin writers and even for a part of those who just spoke the language.

²⁰ See examples quoted above, under class (2a β).

²¹ This kind of gerundive expresses necessity derived from the circumstances. In the example quoted, the necessity comes *only* from the circumstances (leaving our homes, etc.), and does not express any kind of wish.

The new meaning of Latin sentences of this kind is then “We left our homes and even our country, which will be robbed and burned (in the future)”. The meaning intended by Cicero was however still “... whose fate now is that they are doomed to be robbed and burned”. So the *participium instans* (now really!) *passivi* form developed, without implying necessity in this case. Because of the complicated development of the *infinitivus instans passivi* (future passive infinitive) its usage was not common in spoken Latin²², and even Cicero did not use it frequently in his correspondence. Therefore this gerundive in the accusative case became used in the *accusativus cum infinitivo instanti* constructions as well: e.g. *A Sura comperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse*²³, “He heard from Sura that he would be (future in Latin!) adopted by Trajan”.

The above form was already in use in the time of Priscian, a teacher of Latin grammar in Constantinople in the early 6th century AD. This is the reason why he writes, in his *Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII* (2,567): “*amandus: ὁ φιληθισόμενος καὶ ὁ φιλητέος*”. This definition implies that in his opinion this form may be a *participium instans passivi*, or alternatively a gerundive with force of necessity²⁴, but in fact the gerundive of the Classic Latin is on one hand a *participium imperfectum passivi sine necessitate*, and on the other hand a *participium imperfectum passivi cum necessitate*. This was the actual linguistic usage in the Latin of his age, and he applies the same usage when dealing with classical Latin. The above-mentioned work had substantial influence on the teaching of Latin grammar in subsequent centuries, and this dictum expressed by Priscian was the original and fundamental reason why this form was then, and still is, named *participium instans passivi* in school Latin grammar-books. Priscian did not have the benefit of the knowledge of the concept of the “inverted attributive construction” presented in this paper, and that is why he did not indicate the so-called gerundive constructions as additional types, expressed e.g. with the gerund²⁵.

It has been one of my intentions in this paper to express the view that the gerundive construction is only *one* form of the type which I have called the “inverted attributive construction”. It is important to recognize this fact, because even Priscian, as well as later scholars, were misled by the failure to do so.

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²² See KÜHNER–STEGMANN, op. cit. Teil II. Bd. I. 710 f.

²³ See class (3) above.

²⁴ In Greek: *adiectivum verbale necessitatis*, in Latin: *participium imperfectum cum necessitate*.

²⁵ The form *amandus*, of course, cannot be expressed using the gerund.

ZSUZSANNA VÁRHELYI

WHAT IS THE EVIDENCE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF PUNIC CULTURE IN ROMAN NORTH AFRICA?

1. INTRODUCTION

“Carthaginian culture, on the other hand, did not decline: it was murdered by the Romans” said Arnaldo Momigliano in his book on cultural confrontations in the late Hellenistic period.¹ As he argues, the Carthaginians were wiped out of the cultural interaction of the age under the Roman influence that was even more pervasive than that of the Greeks on the native Egyptian heritage; and finally both cultures vanished from the basic grid of Western civilization. Similar murderous terms are often used to describe what can be seen as the probably absolute disappearance of an independent, distinctively Punic culture under Roman rule.

What is implied with such a discourse, however, leads to a major debate in the field that centers around A. Laroui’s and M. Bénabou’s post-colonial attacks on Romanization studies in general.² Their claim for a continuous “nationalist” resistance to alien rule was a reaction against the shared cultural stance of Western scholarship and European colonial rule in North Africa, that tended to treat the Roman impact from an unquestionably positive, teleological perspective.³ In replying to Bénabou’s thesis P. Garnsey claimed that Rome never had a *mission civilatrice*, and aimed at most at acculturating the local élites: any survival of Punic culture was due not to local resistance, but to Roman tolerance.⁴ The debate continues, but the two sides seem to miss the dialogue, and while Bénabou cannot accept a Punic agenda that could also explain the long-term, essentially peaceful coexistence of various cultural elements, Garnsey is reluctant to fully appreciate how the very colonist agenda of

¹ Alien Wisdom. The Limits of Hellenization. Cambridge 1971, 4.

² A. LAROUÏ, L’histoire du Maghreb, un essai de synthèse. Alger 1970; M. BÉNABOU, La résistance africaine à la romanisation. Paris 1975. See now D. J. MATTINGLY–R. B. HITCHNER, “Roman North Africa”, JRS 85, 1995, 165–213, esp. 169–170 with further literature.

³ In a more recent paper Bénabou dealt with this very concept of “survival” of non-Roman cultures: “Les survivances préromaines en Afrique romaine”, In: C. M. WELLS (ed.), L’Afrique Romaine: Les conférences Vanier. 1980 – Roman Africa: The Vanier Lectures. 1980. Ottawa 1982. 13–27.

⁴ P. D. A. GARNSEY, “Rome’s African Empire under the Principate”, in: P. D. A. GARNSEY–C. R. WHITTAKER (eds), Imperialism in the Ancient World. Cambridge 1978, 223–254.

“civilizing the African élite” can ruin the traditional structure and further innovative capacity of Punic culture.

In my paper I would like to reconsider the existence and relevance of Punic culture in Roman North Africa. To avoid the pitfalls that could be associated with a search for high culture according to our Western concept, and that, as Momigliano showed us, would not leave much to discuss, I will examine all the evidence Bénabou identified as speaking for his *ca(u)se*: language, onomastics, religion and social organization.⁵ Besides, in my arguments I would like to reconsider the evidence for the social distribution of the surviving Punic features. The somewhat trivial differentiation that the Romanization of North Africa was confined only to the cities and the upper classes⁶ is an important claim, that, however, needs qualification. I would prefer emphasizing a concept of Punic or Punicized society that was in a state of instability upon the Roman annexation and in which Romanization was also a factor in social mobility. While our evidence shows Utica or Cleitomachus as ready to welcome the Romans and we can safely assert the standard Roman policy of aristocratic relations with their Punic counterparts, we also know about various personal strategies available to individual Puns: there is archaeological evidence for inward geographical mobility in the last two pre-Christian centuries as well as literary evidence for the appearance of Africans in other parts of the Empire. The issue I intend to address here is, then, if the preserved Punic cultural features provided a distinctive identity for any group of people, that would have continued to participate in these cultural practices not only because of (large-scale) personal continuities, but also because of a self-referential understanding in terms of Punic society and culture valued as distinct *within* the Roman Empire. That is, we need to distinguish between the survival of Punic elements in North African culture as an additional and accidental local feature of Roman identity in this area on the one hand, and as a system of culture not closed to, but self-consciously independent from the Romans on the other.

2. THE EVIDENCE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF PUNIC CULTURE

2.1. LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

The most essential evidence comes from the use of Punic language. The set of languages other than Punic spoken in Roman North Africa includes Latin, Libyan, Greek and Hebrew. In spite of earlier different claims, it is now widely accepted that

⁵ Punic art and architecture, whose continuity seems to be relevant to my problem, are not discussed in this paper. Let me simply refer here to P.-A. FÉVRIER's paper, “Colonisation romaine et forme artistique dans les provinces de la Méditerranée occidentale”, in: M. Galley (ed.), *Actes du 2^e Congrès international d'étude des cultures de la Méditerranée Occidentale II*, Tunis 1978, 49–102.

⁶ This goes back at least to T. R. S. BROUGHTON'S *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, Baltimore 1929.

not only Libyan, but also Punic survived well into the High Empire; both well attested in the literary and epigraphic evidence.

The best-known literary evidence for the survival of Punic language down to the 5th c. CE comes from St. Augustine.⁷ As its historicity is now widely accepted,⁸ a survey of the surviving literary evidence down to that age should follow here, based on Fergus Millar's compilation.⁹ Of relative value as evidence is Apuleius's degrading reference to his stepson, who speaks only Punic (Apol. 98,8–9); as well as the references to Septimius Severus and his family speaking Punic (Statius, *Silvae* 4.5.45–6; *Epit. Caes.* 20.8; *SHA* 15.7.): they all project an opposition between Punic and Latin (and even Greek in some cases), in which the latter ones are considered to be the main literary languages. The *topos* is (even though we do not know how real the problem was) that to speak only Punic is shameful. This relative value of Punic comes through in our legal sources as well: we learn that "*Fideicommissa* may be devised in any tongue, not only Latin or Greek, but Punic or Gallic or any other" (Ulpian, *Dig.* 32.11. pr), and the concessions to use languages other than Latin in legal issues usually allow first for Greek, and only in a second category for Punic, Celtic or Syriac.¹⁰

Less evidence supports the argument MacMullen once made in favor of a possible resurgence of Punic against Latin in the 4th c. CE, perhaps even with Bible translations to Punic. As his thesis goes, the process started with the emergence of numerous provincials from e.g. Gaul and Africa into high imperial positions (including Septimius Severus as emperor), that led to a recognition of the status of these languages as well at the turn of the 2nd to 3rd c. CE. Even if one accepted this theory, it is hard to tell in what terms the Punic revival was a cultural self-realization of the provincial élite, as MacMullen claimed in a parallel to the contemporary Celtic Renaissance.

The first argument against such a Punic revival is that there is no evidence that would encourage us to believe that there was any high literature written in Punic after the fall of Carthage, which is symbolically expressed in the act that the library of Carthage was given to the Numidian Kings (Plin. *NH*, 18.22). Cleitomachus wrote his consolation in Latin (though his Punic origin has been questioned),¹¹ and so did all later illustrious men of Africa: Cassius Dionysius, Apuleius, Fronto, and Terence just to mention a few. It was in Latin, that Arnobius of Sicca expressed his anti-Roman feelings (1.5, 2.73, 4.4, 7.50–51).

⁷ Letters 108.5.14; 209; *Iohannis Ep.* 11.3.

⁸ W. M. GREEN, "Augustine's use of Punic", *Univ. Cal. Studies in Semitic Phil.* 11, 1951, 179–190, contra C. COURTOIS, "S. Augustin et le problème de la survivance de la Punique", *Rev. afr.* 94, 1950, 259–282.

⁹ "Local cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa", *JRS* 58, 1968, 126–134. From his list I dismissed *Jer. Com. ep. Gal. II* (MIGNE, PL 26.357) and *Procop. Bell. Vand.* 2.10.20, because their value is very ambiguous.

¹⁰ The best discussion is still R. MACMULLEN, "Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire", *AJPh* 87, 1966, 1–12.

¹¹ S. GSELL, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*. Paris 1920–1928. Vol. 4, 214.

Secondly, the epigraphic evidence does not support a late Punic revival, either. The collection of Punic inscriptions supports the now generally accepted view of Charles Picard.¹² The habit of setting up extended Punic inscriptions written in neo-Punic script seems to reach its highest level in the 1st c. CE. Many such inscriptions are bilingual with the same text co-occurring in Latin.¹³ I do not know of any study that would have compared the linguistic features of such inscriptions concerning their tendency to translate Punic idioms into Latin or vice versa. However, the existence of even monumental inscriptions either in Punic only or in two languages in the 1st c. CE shows that the role of Punic was not yet dismissable.

Here is to be mentioned the special group of Punic inscriptions, of questionable date, written in the Latin alphabet and coming from Tripolitania.¹⁴ They could belong to any time from and after the 2nd c. CE, while the latest (IRT 877) from Lepcis is as late as the 4th c.¹⁵ One of the earliest pieces being a stamped (!) tile, these inscriptions were mostly funerary and thus private in nature.¹⁶ Their debased Punic seems to suggest that for their speakers no literary Punic was available any more, while the use of Latin script for their language suggests a surrounding culture in which Latin writing was in use. Mattingly explained their existence by the survival of the Punic vernacular among Latinized literary surroundings. In such circumstances, the Latino-Punic inscriptions can be seen as a Punic cultural innovation, and a step towards saving the availability of written texts in Punic for private purposes. As such, they seem to represent the confinement of Punic language to the private sphere, while the very fact of their invention shows some surviving identification with the Punic language and traditions. The group, however, is too small and too limited geographically to draw conclusions from for the whole area. At the same time, it is important as the kind of innovative element that shows the acceptance of Romanized surroundings, but aims at keeping up Punic traditions as still distinct.

The epigraphic evidence for the geographical distribution of languages spoken in Roman North Africa shows that while in the cities Latin replaces Punic as the primary language, in the villages Punic emerged against Libyan. Bénabou's model added two more possible linguistic zones: (2) places where Latin does not penetrate due to the lack of institutional structures; and (3) places where Latin does not penetrate intensively enough to modify the pre-Roman linguistic preferences and thus Punic or Libyan enjoy renewed popularity.¹⁷ The significance of this model is that it allows for the possibility that linguistic Romanization may not necessarily have been

¹² H. DONNER-W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, I–III, 3rd ed. Berlin 1971–1976. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1881–1962) does not include late Punic inscriptions. For individual publications see the bibliographies listed in F. MILLAR, *Local cultures*, 131. n. 45. G. C. PICARD, *La civilisation de l'Afrique Romaine*. Paris 1959, 104–109.

¹³ CIL VIII and IRT (*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, ed. J. M. REYNOLDS–J. B. WARD-PERKINS, Rome–London 1952) do not give the Punic text when they list such inscriptions.

¹⁴ R. G. GOODCHILD, "The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania", *Antiquaries Journal* 30, 1950, 135–144. with the interpretation of G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Sulle iscrizioni 'Latino-Libiche' della Tripolitania", *Oriens Antiquus* 2, 1963, 65–94.

¹⁵ F. MILLAR, *Local cultures*, 133.

¹⁶ D. J. MATTINGLY, *Tripolitania*. Ann Arbor 1994, 160–161.

¹⁷ *La résistance*, 489.

an either geographically or chronologically continuous process. And it shows again that Punic could keep up or even gain in importance in certain areas under the Empire, but mainly in areas (private, peripheral) that were less relevant for the developing new African society as a whole.

For all this evidence is best seen against the more than 30,000 Latin inscriptions that come from Roman Africa. They outnumber both Punic and Libyan inscriptions not only in the public sphere, where Latin obviously faces less competition, but also in the private, most significantly among funerary inscriptions. This evidence seems to suggest that even if there was a segment of population among whom Punic survived or even flourished there was some factual content to the literary topos of Punic becoming the secondary language behind Latin.

2.2. NOMENCLATURE

It is well known that Latin names from North Africa have certain peculiar features. Kajanto identified these first as the Semitic practice of using theophoric names, cognomina in the form of Participium Passive, and names that carry good omens.¹⁸ Was, then, Punic culture kept alive in traditional naming practices?

The onomastic data from North Africa is now readily available in numerous collections: in the Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions,¹⁹ Names in the Neo-Punic Inscriptions;²⁰ and those from Latin in the Index Onomastique des inscriptions latines de la Tunisie, Suivi de Index onomastique des inscriptions latines d'Afrique,²¹ and the North-African Names from Latin Sources.²² These data have been subject to much linguistic attention and even though some of the conclusions are only tentative, mostly there is not much discussion about the obvious prevalence of Punic elements.²³ Historically, it seems that the untranslated Punic elements fall in relative number greatly by the Christian period, even though Semitic elements can be recognized in some of the names of Christian martyrs from the once Punic area.²⁴

The nature of the surviving written evidence directs the research towards Punic names in Latin sources, and especially name change. Concerning the patterns, however, little new analysis has been offered. The standard reference is still to works like Birley's discussion of names in Lepcis Magna, who uses the linguistic classification

¹⁸ I. KAJANTO, "Peculiarities of Latin Nomenclature in North Africa", *Philologus* 108, 1964, 310–312.

¹⁹ F. L. BENZ, *Studia Pohl* 8, Roma 1972.

²⁰ K. JONGELING, Groningen 1983 (non vidi).

²¹ Z. BEN ABDALLA–L. L. SEBAI, Paris 1983. For the Late Roman Empire we have now: A. MANDOUZE, *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas Empire. I. Afrique (303–533)*. Paris 1982.

²² K. JONGELING, Leiden 1994. This is a linguistic analysis that does not include translated Semitic names or Latin names special to Africa.

²³ K. JONGELING, *North-African Names*, I–XXVII.

²⁴ E. LIPINSKI, s.v. "Martyrs", in: id. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et punique*. Turnhout 1992.

of Herzog from 1897.²⁵ According to this, three patterns of change can be established: (1) taking a totally new Latin name that is not related to the original name; (2) adapting the original name to a similar-sounding Latin one; and (3) translating the original name into Latin. While for my purposes this third category is the most relevant, it is worth noting that all three options included the abandonment of the Punic linguistic element. It is in the third category mainly that we can find traces of attempts to preserve something of the Punic nomenclature practices. The translations usually produce names that still mark the peculiar relation between the person and a divinity, who was most likely a privileged protector. Bénabou contrasted this practice with the different function of Roman nomenclature that aims at individualizing the person by his or her name among strictly given elements.²⁶

In the only geographically extended numerical analysis Jean-Marie Lassère compared the frequency of turning from Latin to (unspecified) African names and *vica versa* in the same families.²⁷ The result shows that in the cities that became much Romanized by the end of the Republic (Carthage, Saldae) the practice of non-Roman nomenclature were very early out of question, while even in the only later Romanized villages, the tendency of turning to Roman names were much more frequent, than that of giving up one. What Lassère fails to discuss is the relative frequency (17 to 30 in Thubursicu Numidarum and 17 to 54 in Mactar) of turning back to African names at some of these locations. Unfortunately, he does not provide chronological information about his findings, and thus leaves this problem impossible to evaluate without a whole new analysis.

Lassère, at the same time, refers us back to Bénabou, who himself attributed only relative value to the evidence of linguistic change.²⁸ Obviously it is hard to differentiate between the natural fidelity towards heritage and a conscious resistance to the fashion of romanizing names. At the same time, Bénabou's skepticism shows that there is not much evidence that there would have been any intent to keep up Punic names as long as the language survived.

2.3. RELIGION

That a great number of elements from pre-Roman Punic religion survived until the arrival of Christian religion into North Africa is a commonplace. Toutain in his great overview of pagan cult in North Africa could identify only two elements that definitely had disappeared: human sacrifice and sacred prostitution.²⁹ A similarly

²⁵ A. R. BIRLEY, "Names at Lepcis Magna", *Libyan Studies* 19, 1988, 1–19; R. HERZOG, "Namenübersetzungen und Verwandtes", *Philologus* 56, 1897, 33–70.

²⁶ M. BÉNABOU, *La résistance*, 501–2.

²⁷ *Ubique populus: peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Severes (146 a.C.–235 p.C.)* Paris 1977, 439–66. In the analysis he considers originally African vs. Roman, i.e. any changed, names.

²⁸ M. BÉNABOU, *La résistance*, 499.

²⁹ J. TOUTAIN, *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain. Première partie: les provinces latines*. Vol. 3. Paris 1920, 119. The later claims for human sacrifice may well be ahistorical (e.g. *Tert. Apol.* 9.2–3).

peaceful coexistence seems to emerge from Garnsey's words, "the Romans were on the whole tolerant of local cults as long as they did not become a focus of disturbance and rebellion".³⁰ As far as the arguments from the other side are concerned, Bénabou questions the role of the surviving elements as residues in the developing system of new Africo-Roman religion (379–380). In his opinion, the very special, "African" characteristics of this new religion prove the vitality of Punic religious beliefs. The issue is, then, how the famous syncretisms of Baal with Saturn, Tanit with Iuno-Caelestis, Shadrappa with Bacchus, and Melkart with Hercules are to be interpreted. I am not going to go much into the morphologic changes, that are obvious; it is the less easily approachable semantic and syntactic elements, the content and the structures, that need discussion.³¹

The historical sequence of religious change consists of two steps: first, the arrival of Punic religion to Africa and the Punicization of the local Libyan elements, and secondly, the arrival of Roman and various other religious features from the Mediterranean parallel to the process of Romanization.³² This is important to keep in mind, because the Punic seemingly "original" elements themselves are not evenly distributed and are subject to different influences.

This pattern seems to emerge from the best analysis of a geographically limited area: Tripolitania.³³ First, while the cult of the two main Punic gods Baal and Tanit is attested in Sabratha and Gheran, in Lepcis Magna the presence of only three other Punic divinities are attested: Shadrappa, Milk' Ashtart and El Qone Aras (267); then under Roman rule these cults are syncretized into that of Saturn (with a bilingual inscription to Baal-Sapurnus from Sabratha from the turn of the 1st and 2nd c. CE), Caelestis (for Tanit as the open sky), Hercules-Liber Pater (for the Lepcian pair of Shadrappa and Milk' Ashtart), while the cult of El Qone Aras can only provisionally identified with that of Neptune.

The most important cult that shows Punic continuity is that of Baal-Saturn. While recent scholarship has emphasized the Punic characteristics of the cult, James Rives has called attention to its public uses widespread in North Africa.³⁴ As a result, we can now see, that the god, to whom private dedications may go exactly because of those Punic associations, starts to emerge in secularized functions like civic roles or as related to the cult of the emperor. Rives explains this process with the patronage of the élite that integrates the cult of Saturn into Roman culture and thus ensures its flourishing, that of a native cult in his argument, throughout the imperial period (149). However, the issue is exactly if the popularity of Saturn was more than a sim-

³⁰ P. D. A. GARNSEY, "Rome's African Empire under the Principate", in: P. D. A. GARNSEY–C. R. WHITTAKER (eds), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Ann Arbor 1978, 223–254, 253.

³¹ That the change may have run on these two different levels was first claimed by F. DECRET–M. FANTAR, *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1981, 272.

³² BÉNABOU, *La résistance*, 378–379.

³³ V. BROUQUIER-REDDÉ, *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine*. Paris 1992.

³⁴ M. LE GLAY, *Saturne africain: Histoire*, Paris 1966, as well as the more recent: "Nouveaux documents, nouveaux points de vue sur Saturne africain", in: E. LIPINSKI (ed.), *Studia Phoenicia VI: Carthago*. Leuven 1988, 187–237; J. B. RIVES, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. Oxford 1995, 142–150.

ple inclusion of certain native elements in the cult and what the Punic continuity, claimed by the élite, was based on. To me, what seems the most relevant is that the cult of Saturn in its new form was supposed to conceptualize a civic world that centered around Roman elements, like the imperial cult, and thus can hardly be called Punic any more. The case is similar to Rives' other suggestion for the survival of Punic beliefs: the use of theophoric names in official civic titles.³⁵ In what is again an example of secularization, the traditional identifications with a Punic god (as with Ashtarte in Sicca Veneria (ILS 6783)) turn out to be used in syncretized form in formalized Latin titles and are thus taken to stand for an essentially non-Punic content.

In fact, Rives tried to discuss the kind of identity these new, syncretized cults could provide. He identifies their social relevance in the symbolic function that they carry as native cults, that for the élite can express "their dual sense of pride: their African gods were great Roman gods" (153). However, this should call our attention to the fact, that even if claimed so, these gods are not distinctively Punic any more. In contrast, it seems that the first step, the spread of Punic religion did offer such a Punic essence even to its non-Punic practitioners: when the Berber couple in El Hofra sacrificed their child to Baal and Tanit in the late 2nd c. BCE or many others followed the Punic funerary rites for centuries further, they did so because the Punic rites were capable of give meaning to their act and their world as essentially Punic. Once these rites were to serve a world of mixed Latin and other values, they may have continued only with some formal changes, but they lost their Punic nature.

In a chronological chart based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidence Brouquier-Reddé shows that in Tripolitania the Punic cults enjoyed their greatest popularity in the 1st c. CE, but disappeared by the end of the 3rd c.³⁶ Rives identified the Carthaginian revival in the 2nd c. CE, but, as we have seen, its elements are already Punic mixed with Latin. Historically, then, the process can be seen as an extension of the validity of Punic divinities, until their religious functions apparently came to cover such a diverse group of followers and such a diverse reality, that they came to lose their essence as Punic. In a competition of diverse divinities available in the Mediterranean, their importance became relative. There was no continuity between Punic religion and later Christian developments, and if Christianity was more successful in the African countryside, it had more to do with the religious diversity already present, than with Donatists taking up the "Semitic continuity".³⁷

2.4. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The extent of Romanization can also be tested in reference to political institutions. Much recent attention has been given to the survival of the use of Libyan tribal

³⁵ J. B. RIVES, *Religion and Authority*, 135–139.

³⁶ V. BROUQUIER-REDDÉ, *Temples et cultes*, 319.

³⁷ Of course, no one would argue this any more like W. H. C. FREND, *The Donatist Church*. Oxford 1971.

law as attested on the Tabula Banasitana under Marcus Aurelius as well as to the role that the leader of the tribes played in the process.³⁸ Claims for surviving Punic elements concern some major institutions: the survival of Punic districts (RST), the survival of the office of sufetes, and probably also that of the *Xprimi*.³⁹

The territorial division of the African countryside, the system of *pagi*, has been claimed to go back to the Punic system of districts in the territory that once belonged to Carthage.⁴⁰ Picard collected the evidence claiming that the territorial division of the *pagi* corresponded to the earlier Punic system of RST, which usually consisted of a number of villages. The survival of RST into *pagus* is, at the same time, paralleled by the development of the Romanized internal organization of the cities, also called *pagi*. If the semantic field of the Latin word thus blurs our picture, it needs to be left open if the Punic rural organization could survive because of the strong local traditions, that the Romans were, especially inside the fossa, uninterested in changing, or because of the geographical conditions in which they provided a well-suited, working system, considered worthy of adapting by the Romans.

It is much more important and obvious that the heritage of the constitutions with sufetes on the top goes back to a Punic origin.⁴¹ We find that under Roman rule approximately thirty *civitates* do have sufetes, who are often the eponymous officials of these cities.⁴² Epigraphic evidence can help us reconstruct the diverse geographical distribution of these cities. As M.C. Poinssot showed, a great percentage of these cities are in the Fahs Plain, where Punic colonization was once systematically carried out.⁴³ Picard reconstructed the historical development of the institution starting with the Puns taking over Libyan habitations and introducing their constitution there, – in the second step the synthesis of these Libyan and Punic institutions was basically taken over by the Romans. The heritage of the sufetal magistracy, being essentially of a civic function, contributes to its survival when the Romans annihilate military offices, like that of the centenaries. In fact, this two-step muster allows us to interpret a strange feature of the magistracy at certain locations, most peculiarly with the appearance of three sufetes in Mactar. The Punic structure was here evidently added on to an existing Libyan constitution, and thus with the inclusion of their original lead-

³⁸ G. C. PICARD, *La civilisation de l'Afrique Romaine*. 2^{ème} ed. Paris 1990, 49–53 with further literature.

³⁹ I accept J. GASCOU's view that the curiae were not of Punic origin. See his "Les curies africaines", *Antiquités Africaines* 10, 1976, 33–48.

⁴⁰ G. C. PICARD, "Le pagus dans l'Afrique romaine", *Karthago* 15 (1969–1970), 1–12. is the best survey of this issue and my arguments are based on PICARD's view adumbrated here as also in his "L'administration territoriale de Carthage", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. PIGANIOL*. Paris 1966, Vol.3, 1257–1265.

⁴¹ G. C. PICARD, "Une survivance du droit public punique en Afrique romaine: les cités sufétales", (Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: I diritti locali nelle province romane con particolare riguardo alle condizioni giuridiche del suolo. (Roma, 26–28 ottobre 1971) Roma 1974 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 194) 125–134.

⁴² E. LIPINSKI, s.v. "Cité suffétale", in: id. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et punique*. Turnhout 1992. with list of these cities.

⁴³ "Suo et Sucubi", *Karthago* 10, 1959–1960, 93–130, esp. 124–125.

ing magistrate, the city ended up with three people in the primary executive civic office.⁴⁴ When these cities achieved colonial status, the magistrate of the *sufetes* was simply turned into that of the *duumviri* (or *triumviri* in cases like that of Mactar). Unfortunately, we do not know enough of the magistracy of the *Xviri* or *Xprimi* to claim a similar historical logic, but it is possible that we are dealing here again with the remnants of a Punic community surviving into the Roman establishment.

Picard also suggested that the survival of the institution of *sufetes* was paralleled by the survival of traditional Libyan-Punic law in these cities. As we do not have any evidence to prove or disprove this, the suggestion must stand here as a reminder that concerning the internal structure of North African cities, especially in their pre-colonial stage, we know almost nothing. The institutes of RST and of the *sufetes* came down to us, exactly because they lived long enough to be preserved in Latin sources. The argument *ex silentio* in this case, however, may be strong enough to prove that we are dealing here with the perseverance of certain pre-Roman forms under the Empire, while many others, that we do not know of, must have been cancelled or could cease to be called by non-Latin names at an earlier stage. On the one hand, the process suggests a selective tolerance on the part of the Romans rather than active resistance on the part of the non-Roman population, but, on the other hand, the role of eponymous *sufetes*, for example, could contribute to the Punic identification of habitations until their disappearance in the 2nd c. CE.

3. A CASE STUDY FOR THE SURVIVAL OF PUNIC CULTURE IN ROMAN NORTH AFRICA: MACTAR

I have chosen Mactar for my case study, because 150 km southwest of Carthage, it belonged to the Punic city's territory, but did not share her fate in 149 BCE.⁴⁵ As for the history of Mactar, we have no literary evidence of any kind. Masinissa I seized the area in 149 BCE and the village must have served as a military fortress of the Massilian kings. The evidence of the megalith necropolis shows that Mactar gained in importance and in population in the 1st c. BC: the 14 surviving Libyan inscriptions (12 out of which are funerary) date to this period.⁴⁶ Charles Picard assumes that a group of Punic or Punicized Libyan colonists must have arrived to Mactar after the fall of Carthage and established a Libyan-Punic civilization, that in the following two centuries has served as "un des centres de résistance à la romanité".⁴⁷ Mactar was annexed by Caesar in 46 BCE. Its legal status within the

⁴⁴J. A. ILEBARE, *Carthage, Rome and the Berbers. A Study of Social Evolution in Ancient North Africa*. Ibadan 1980, 23.

⁴⁵G. Charles PICARD, "L'administration territoriale de Carthage", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. PIGANIOL*. Paris 1966, Vol. 3. 1257–1265. Mactar belonged to the *pagus Tuscae* (App. Lib. 68).

⁴⁶G. CHARLES PICARD, "Civitas Mactaritana", *Karthago* 8, 1957. Esp. 25–41.

⁴⁷*Civitas Mactaritana*, p. 25.

Roman Empire has been subject to debate, but it seems now established that it became a *colonia* between 176 and 180 CE.⁴⁸

The evidence of Punic culture consists of numerous inscriptions, archaeological structures and institutional peculiarities. To start with the language, Punic must have been spoken in Mactar already before the probable arrival of Punic colonists, as the village had contacts with Carthage. There is, however, no written Punic evidence before the 1st c. BCE, and the surviving Punic inscriptions (though more than a hundred) are outnumbered by more than 300 Latin inscriptions from the territory of the city. The Neo-Punic inscriptions can be dated to the first c. CE down to the middle of the 2nd c. Punic is definitely not used any more in inscriptions after 180 CE.

The onomastic evidence shows that non-Punic elements start to occur in the second half of the 1st c. CE. It is under Trajan that the a great segment of the indigenous population starts turning to Romanized nomenclature.⁴⁹ To evaluate the evidence for linguistic change I used two available analysis from the field: the first from the 1st c. CE, the second from between the 4th and 6th c. In a Latin inscription of 88 AD, that was made by the (Romanized) association of the *iuvenes* in Mactar, we find 69 young people listed, also including their parents' names.⁵⁰ The names are linked to three languages that are being spoken in the community: Latin, Punic and Libyan. Among the youth we see 35 Latin names, 20 Punic and 2 Libyan; among the fathers 25 Latin, 23 Punic and 11 Libyan names, not mentioning the questionable ones. These Latin names, however, are what we would later call "African" and often carry such religious values. Rogatus, that occurs seven times, is evidently the equivalent of Mattambaal, while the correct Latin translation of this name would be Datus, that only occurs once; Fortunatus (6 occurrences) is the Latin for Baric or Baricbal. Concerning a more general overview of epigraphic evidence from Mactar, we find 17 cases in which fathers with Latin names give their sons African names, while in 54 cases the more obvious sequence of turning from African to Latin names.⁵¹ What the first of these data suggests, however, should not be misunderstood. Here a comparison with the now available collection of Christian inscriptions in Mactar, dating from the 4th to the 6th c., can help. Among them, Françoise Prévot identifies 53% of the inscribed population as wearing principally these changed, "African" names, though the tendency is towards using Latin names.⁵² From our point of view it is even more interesting that in 51 cases from among the 221 Latin texts, that include names that are translations of so-called Punic names (with passive participium, theo-

⁴⁸ *Civitas Mactaritana*, pp. 153–155; J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère*. (CÉFR 8), Rome 1972, pp. 147–151 (contra L. TEUTSCH). Mactar seems to have become a *colonia* without ever being a *municipium*.

⁴⁹ A. M'CHAREK, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux II^e et III^e siècles ap. J. C.*, Tunis 1982, 190.

⁵⁰ *Civitas Mactaritana*, pp. 90–91.

⁵¹ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique populus: peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Severes (146 a.C.–235 p.C.)* Paris 1977, 439–66.

⁵² *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar. V. Les inscriptions chrétiennes*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 34. Rome 1984.

phoric compositions and names of good omen), Punic linguistic elements, like names of Punic gods or Punic words, are non-existent.⁵³

We know of two Punic gods that were worshipped in Mactar. The sacred area of Baal Hammon is symbolically located: on the way towards Carthage.⁵⁴ No evidence of human sacrifices occur, but the steles recording animal sacrifices, estimated to be a few hundred in number, can be dated to the 1st c. CE and end in ca. 130. Under Septimius Severus the *tophet* of Baal disappears, and a new temple is dedicated to Saturnus. The other god is more mysterious, Hoter Miskar: his sanctuary occupies a great territory in the Northeastern part of the city.⁵⁵ His first altar dates to ca. 100 BCE and the cult flourishes until Hadrian. Among the related epigraphical findings we have one of the longest Punic inscriptions from Roman North Africa, which shows the Punic associations of Hoter Miskar. The association related to the cult is called *mizrach*, that leads the magnificent enlargement of the sanctuary at the time of its highlight in the 1st c. CE. Under Marcus Aurelius the cult of Bacchus is introduced at a location earlier sacred for the Libyan population, and later Ceres and Apollo occur here as well.

The turn from Punic to Roman in religion is usually put to 130 CE, and attributed less to the Romans than to the Romanized African élite.⁵⁶ A sign of this Romanization can already be seen in the association of the *iuventutes* in Mactar, whose inscription, mentioned above, dates to 88 CE. In the 1st c. CE their social background is more varied, but by the 3rd c. they are clearly aristocratic. These organizations, the *mizrach* and the *iuventutes*, suggest that Mactar may have been a *civitas libera* with the right of association. The *civitas* even had an old, "Numidian" forum dating to the beginning of the Imperial period, but also a temple of *Roma* and Augustus. It must also have kept its role as administrative centre of an RST in the 1st c. CE, imitating her role in the Punic era.⁵⁷ The survival of the magistracy of three *sufetes* until they were turned into *triumviri* in the 180's has been mentioned above.

The Punic survivals of Mactar can be best seen in the face of our now available knowledge about its society.⁵⁸ M'charek has shown that Mactar had a dynamic society, with continuous immigration from the middle of the 1st c. CE, and the first 250 years see a slow Romanization, from which the Italian and the local élite tend to profit most. In fact, this élite is unified by their interest in Romanization and there is no local interest in keeping up Punic culture from the beginning of the 2nd c. CE. In the 3rd c. even the lower social groups emerge as mostly Romanized. As it seems from the work of M'charek, Punic culture survived at its full strength to the 1st c. CE due to its unquestionable validity and the little Romanization in the area. As Ro-

⁵³ I considered only the most certain cases of transcriptions and also avoided the names ending in *-osus* or *-icus*. See op. cit. 199–202.

⁵⁴ G. C. PICARD, *La civilisation*, 39–40.

⁵⁵ G. C. PICARD–C. PICARD–A. BOURGEOIS–C. BOURGEOIS, "Rapport préliminaire sur la fouille du sanctuaire de Hoter Miskar à Mactar 1982", *Karthago* 20, 1979–1980, 5–80.

⁵⁶ G. C. PICARD, *La civilisation*, 40–41.

⁵⁷ G. CHARLES PICARD, "Pagus Thuscae et Gunzuzi", *CRAI* 1963, 124–130.

⁵⁸ We owe this knowledge to the work of A. M'CHAREK, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux II^e et III^e siècles ap. J.C.*, Tunis 1982.

manization speeded up in the 2nd c. and influenced especially the élite, Punic culture started to decline. Romanization seems to have been identified with upward social mobility in approximately this time. Somewhat simplified we could say that once people of lower social statue came to be influenced by the growingly Romanized culture, there was no one to identify with the Punic heritage, and it slowly disappeared as a distinct element from the culture of Mactar.

4. CONCLUSION

In my paper I tried to show that it is possible to see Roman Africa in more differentiated terms than the black and white of being romanized or resisting it. I tried to argue for a dynamic society in Africa and changing policies from Rome, that all influenced the survival of pre-Roman elements. As for Rome's strategies, I still find the explanation given by Gascoü the best: he distinguished between two periods of Romanization in North Africa; first, one of the more authoritarian kind under the Flavians and Trajan and secondly that of the cultural Romanization during the period from Hadrian to Septimius Severus, among whom only the latter aims at turning the Africans into Romans.⁵⁹ It seems then, that especially in the less exposed areas of Africa, Punic language and its culture could survive and flourish during the 1st c. CE. It was the gradual combination of Punic and Latin elements as well as the acceptance by the élite of a Romanized identity in the 2nd c. that all led to what was the loss of the values attached to Punic culture. The way in which this happened was not unique, as it can be seen in the difference between the various programs of the élite in Carthage and in Mactar. But it is clear, that even if elements of the Punic culture or the language itself survived well into later times, Punic culture as distinctively valuable did not. This difference must be kept in mind, no matter which side one stands concerning the effects of Romanization. Because the developing African identity does include Punic features, but it belongs to the Roman Empire and is essentially not Punic in nature any more.*

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⁵⁹ J. GASCOÜ, "La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord", ANRW II.10.2. (1982) 136–320, 221.

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